

*Labor Omnia Vincit*

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**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**  
**OF THE**  
**SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION**  
**OF**  
**THE AMERICAN**  
**FEDERATION OF LABOR**



**HELD AT**  
**SEATTLE, WASHINGTON**  
**OCTOBER 6 TO 16, INCLUSIVE**

**1941**

17  17  
**RANDELL INC.**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**



# OFFICERS

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION

## OF LABOR

### 1942

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W. C. BIRTHRIGHT.....	<i>Thirteenth Vice-President</i>	Indianapolis, Ind.
GEORGE MEANY.....	<i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	Washington, D. C.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated .....	1	158	Frank Gillmore, 45 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	11	David L. Behncke, 3145 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Ill.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and .....	2	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y.
		20	C. W. Sickles, Machinists' Building, Washington, D. C.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United.....	4	66	Irvan Cary, Room 307, Eddystone Hotel, Detroit, Mich.
		65	Jerry Aldred, Room 307, Eddystone Hotel, Detroit, Mich.
		65	Peter G. Noll, 4706½ Main Avenue, Norwood, Ohio.
		65	Lester Washburn, 565 Hollister Building, Lansing, Mich.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	5	169	A. A. Myrup, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		169	Joseph Schmidt, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		169	Peter Beisel, 157 Selma Avenue, Webster Groves, Mo.
		169	William McGuern, 2915 East Cherry Street, Seattle, Wash.
		168	Herman Winter, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen .....	5	98	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		98	Charles T. Crane, Room 407, Labor Temple, Fourth and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oreg.
		98	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, N. Y.
		98	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Tex.
		98	Anthony Merlino, 615 Central Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
			* Charles Whitmah, 4121 Arcade Square, Seattle, Wash.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of...	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		25	John Pelkofer, 2328 West Orchard Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
			† W. F. Weibel, R. 7, Box 3280, Sacramento, Calif.

\* Substituted for Patrick H. Reagan beginning October 9, Third Day.

† Substituted for John Pelkofer beginning October 9, Third Day.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	4	107	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		107	William E. Walter, 504 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		106	Jasper N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans.
		106	Harry Nacey, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, N. Y.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of .....	3	73	John B. Haggerty, 302 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		73	J. B. Prewitt, 301 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		73	(Miss) Anastasia Becker, 300 St. Louis Avenue, Fort Worth, Tex.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	3	103	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
		103	Frank W. Anderson, 4909 North Mar-mara Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		102	Tom Cory, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	140	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		140	Albert J. Kugler, 2474 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City, N. J.
		140	Joseph Hauser, 3631 Salena Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109	William J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		109	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	Richard J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		108	William J. Moran, care Labor Advocate, El Paso, Tex.
		108	Edward L. Nolan, 7 Cerritos Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
		108	Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
			* W. T. Matthews, 6003 42nd Avenue, S. W., Seattle, Wash.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United .....	2	58	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Ill.
		57	William Tracy, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Ill.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	5	104	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		104	J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		104	E. M. Woods, 1218 Hillcrest Boulevard, Millbrae, Calif.
		104	Leslie L. Myers, Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
		104	C. F. Strickland, 528 Kimmeridge Drive, East Point, Ga.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	5	140	William L. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
		140	Jess Fletcher, 1905 1/2 Third Street, Seattle, Wash.
		140	William H. Cooper, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
		140	David Sullivan, 570 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		140	Charles Hardy, 109 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.

\* Substituted for Richard J. Gray beginning October 7, Second Day.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway .....	4	163	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.
		163	Joseph Tremblay, 744 Third Avenue, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
		162	Irvin Barney, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.
		162	J. J. Fitzgerald, 68 Ontario Street, Albany, N. Y.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of .....	8	375	William L. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		375	M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		375	Frank Duffy, Carpenters Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		375	Charles W. Hanson, 130 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		375	M. J. Sexton, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Ill.
		375	Raleigh Rajoppi, 837 Valley Street, Vauxhall, N. J.
		375	James E. Ricketts, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		375	Albert E. Fischer, 1228 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United .....	4	42	William Schoenberg, 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.
		42	Arthur J. Strunk, 549 West Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.
		42	Melvin Ferron, Central Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		42	John Forrest, 617 University Street, Seattle, Wash.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America .....	1	87	R. E. Van Horn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of .....	4	41	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Mo.
		41	Harold E. Greenwald, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		41	M. Minaden, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
		41	John Ztello, 1740 East 12th Street, Room 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office .....	5	81	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mount Rainier, Md.
		81	William I. Horner, 2316 North Wakefield Street, Arlington, Va.
		81	E. E. Henriksen, 3406 34th South, Seattle, Wash.
		81	Edward P. Seyb, 738 Forest Avenue, Webster Groves, Mo.
		80	Ray O. Shuster, 1001 Sherman Street, Denver, Colo.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway .....	3	367	George M. Harrison, 701 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		367	Thomas E. Hinton, 517 Railway Exchange Building, Seattle, Wash.
		366	Forrest H. Amo, 3211 East Cherry Street, Seattle, Wash.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail .....	2	427	W. G. Desepte, 175 Miramar Avenue, San Francisco, Calif.
		427	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car....	1	14	C. A. Atkinson, 1618 Third Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Coopers' International Union of North America .....	2	23	James J. Doyle, 168 Dartmouth Street, Boston, Mass.
		22	Sam Toussaint, 3033 Harrison Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union.....	2	17	Joseph O'Neill, 216 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		16	Sol Cilento, 1417 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	22	C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	288	Ed. J. Brown, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		287	A. E. Martin, 1406 Textile Tower, Seattle, Wash.
		287	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		287	H. H. Hudson, 560 South Third Street, Louisville, Ky.
		287	J. Scott Milne, 910 Central Tower, 703 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		287	Walter J. Kenefick, P. O. Box 504, Springfield, Mass.
		287	Chas. M. Paulsen, 4937 West Cuyler, Chicago, Ill.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10, Boston, Mass.
		34	Harry Milton, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		34	F. B. Comfort, 20 West Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers, International Union of Operating .....	6	134	Wm. E. Maloney, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		134	Frank A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		133	Joseph S. Fay, Room 1519, 111 Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		133	Oliver W. Carter, 3906 S. E. Pine Street, Portland, Oreg.
		133	Joseph J. Delaney, Room 1519, 111 Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		133	Bert Swain, 14 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	35	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		35	Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		35	Henry F. Schmall, Tower Grove Bank Building, 3138 S. Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	186	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		185	Max Maximilian, Second and Main Streets, Fire Headquarters, Seattle, Wash.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	5	69	John Clinton, 330 S. Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
		69	James L. Kelley, White Bear Lake, Minn.
		69	John England, Holland Hotel, Seattle, Wash.
		68	George Wright, 330 S. Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.
		68	John Casselman, 2886 Jefferson, Ogden, Utah.
Garment Workers of America, United.	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		80	Albert Adamski, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		80	George C. Slater, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		80	William R. Brooks, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
		80	Morris Blumberg, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....	7	322	Miss Wave Tobin, 408 E. 11th Street, Kansas City, Mo.
		322	Eduardo Molisani, 231 E. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
		322	Abraham Plotkin, 329 W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill.
		321	Bernard Shane, 397 St. Catherine Street, West, Montreal, Canada.
		321	Joseph Breslaw, 60 W. 35th Street, New York, N. Y.
		321	Isidore Nagler, 218 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
		321	Luigi Antonini, 218 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	4	50	James Maloney, Room 1531, 12 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
		50	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, N. Y.
		50	J. Belton Warren, Box 255, Laurens, S. C.
		50	Robert L. Frey, 1807 S. Elm Street, Muncie, Ind.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window.....	1	16	Joseph E. Mayeur, 691 S. Warren Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.	3	68	Harry H. Cook, 204 Hardee Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		68	Harry C. Hatch, 415 N. Meridian Street, Dunkirk, Ind.
		67	Leo A. McCormick, 844 Coronado Terrace, Los Angeles, Calif.
Government Employees, American Federation of.....	3	80	James B. Burns, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		80	Mrs. Berniece B. Heffner, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		80	Herman E. Schwandt, 815 Airport Way, Seattle, Wash.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2	25	Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy, Mass.
		25	Nicholas Russo, 27-06 168th Street, Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	5	64	Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		64	Martin Lawlor, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		64	Marx Lewis, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		64	Herman Finkelstein, 1947 E. 17th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		64	Nathaniel Spector, 31 W. 37th Street, New York, N. Y.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, Inter- national.....	7	263	Jos. V. Moreschi, 821 15th Street, N. W., Fifth Floor, Washington, D. C.
		263	Joseph Marshall, 25 Taylor Street, Room 201, Golden Gate Building, San Francisco, Calif.
		263	Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		262	James Bove, 55 W. 42nd Street, 731 Bryant Park Building, New York, N. Y.
		262	J. B. Etchison, 414 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		262	A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Ill.
		262	Robert Sheets, 4521 S. "M" Street, Tacoma, Wash.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Inter- national Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America...	7	309	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, N. Y.
		309	Hugo Ernst, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		308	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, N. Y.
		308	Chris Lane, 39 Sheridan Avenue, Medford, Mass.
		308	Louis Koenig, 601 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Mich.
		308	Pauline Newman, 107 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		308	Nat Messing, 92 E. 53rd Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1	55	David Levine, 514 County-City Building, Seattle, Wash.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	Harry J. Hagen, 4750 Highland Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
		27	Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union.	4	101	William J. Donovan, Room 608, 10 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
		101	Sam J. Byers, Room 608, 10 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
		101	Fred A. Moore, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
		101	Ray Nickelson, 658 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash.
Leather Workers' International Union, United.....	1	29	Bernard G. Quinn, 826 Lafayette Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Letter Carriers, National Association of .....	5	120	William C. Doherty, Room 408, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		120	William J. Gorman, Room 405, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		120	George A. Bang, Letter Carrier, care Post Office, Omaha, Nebr.
		120	Everett W. Cox, Letter Carrier, care Post Office, Joliet, Ill.
		120	Raymond Lieberman, 14949 Evanston Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	5	Julius V. Madison, Carnation, Wash.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	43	William J. Riehl, 450 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		43	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Ill.
		43	Albert E. Castro, 205 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	3	205	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
		205	John R. Owens, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
		205	T. A. Thronson, Labor Temple, Tacoma, Wash.
Machinists, International Association of .....	6	370	H. W. Brown, Room 704, Machinists Building, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		370	N. P. Alifas, Machinists Building, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		370	John Clayton, Room 31, 5 Park Square, Boston (11), Mass.
		370	D. M. Burrows, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		369	James Edgar, Room 1509, 265 W. 14th Street at Eighth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
		369	A. O. Wharton, Route 2, Box 676, Tucson, Ariz.
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of.....	5	132	E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
		132	J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont, South Bend, Ind.
		131	T. F. Holleran, 312 Brooks Building, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
		131	C. E. Crook, 1101 Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill.
		131	T. J. Finneran, 849 Pacific Building, San Francisco, Calif.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of....	2	28	William McCarthy, 815 15th Street, N. W., Room 306, Washington, D. C.
		27	John J. Conway, Suffolk Apartments, 1415 Clearview Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	30	Captain C. F. May, 9 Main Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	6	142	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Ky.
		142	Dennis Lane, 160 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.
		142	Earl Jimerson, 733 Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.
		141	Joseph Hofmann, 5210 Beacon Street, Seattle, Wash.
		141	M. S. Maxwell, 3012 16th Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		141	John J. Walsh, Pearl River, N. Y.
			* T. J. Lloyd, Salt Lake City, Utah.

\* Substituted for Dennis Lane beginning October 10, Fourth Day.



## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	50	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
		50	James J. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		50	James W. Close, 620 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		50	James T. Moriarty, 122 Bowdoin Street, Boston, Mass.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	5	85	Harry Stevenson, Lock Box 688, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		84	L. A. Hutchinson, care A. C. Blackman, 1701 Leighton Avenue, Anniston, Ala.
		84	John F. Hogan, 60 Milton Street, Indian Orchard, Mass.
		84	Frank Jeannette, 708 Park Row Building, New York, N. Y.
		84	Alphonse Stein, 17-A, Van Dam Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Musicians, American Federation of...	6	167	James C. Petrillo, 1450 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 646 Woodruff Avenue (Westwood), Los Angeles, Calif.
		167	C. L. Bagley, 900 Continental Building, 408 S. Spring Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
		167	Harry J. Steeper, 225 74th Street, North Bergen, N. J.
		166	A. Rex Riccardi, 120 N. 18th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
		166	Vincent Castronovo, 123 Sutton Street, Providence, R. I.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	175	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Ind.
		175	Joseph F. Clarke, 3919 N. Seventh Street, Tacoma, Wash.
		175	John Oliver, 326 Stuyvesant Avenue, Newark, N. J.
		175	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Mass.
		175	Christian M. Madsen, 3207 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
		174	A. W. Wallace, 1446 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	86	Arthur Huggins, Room 217, Standard Building, 112 State Street, Albany, N. Y.
		86	Ernest B. Lambton, Standard Building, Room 216, 112 State Street, Albany, N. Y.
		86	Joseph Addy, Standard Building, Room 225, 112 State Street, Albany, N. Y.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	2	40	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		40	Grant Ross, 1433 Lee Place, Detroit, Mich.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	4	53	John E. Rooney, 15113 Shore Acres Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		53	M. J. McDonough, 401 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
		53	John H. Donlin, 5145 W. Cermak Road, Cicero, Ill.
		53	John Feeley, 2170 Filbert Street, San Francisco, Calif.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	91	George Masterton, Machinists Building, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		91	Thomas E. Burke, Machinists Building, Ninth Street and Mt. Vernon Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		91	George Meany, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		91	Charles M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago, Ill.
		90	Harry J. Ames, 2622 50th Avenue, S. W., Seattle, Wash.
Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies Handbag	2	50	Samuel Reinlib, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
		50	Samuel Laderman, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.....	2	36	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		36	Ray Kelsay, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car..	2	36	A. Philip Randolph, 217 W. 125th Street, Room 301, New York, N. Y.
		36	Milton P. Webster, 4231 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	4	40	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		40	Frank Hull, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		40	Joshua Chadwick, Grant Street, Newell, W. Va.
		40	Ray Dickey, 400 Eighth Street, Wells-ville, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	10	Eppa Honey, 1507 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International .....	5	92	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		92	Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee.
		91	J. B. Boscoe, Box 121, Commerce Station, Minneapolis, Minn.
		91	Joseph D. Shaughnessy, 3267 Conkling Place, Seattle, Wash.
		91	Frank Smith, 235 Pioneer Building, Seattle, Wash.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	5	89	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		89	H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Mass.
		88	James S. Killen, Route 6, Box 31, Olympia, Wash.
		88	Samuel Ashton, 526 Dawson Street, Port Arthur, Ont., Canada.
		88	Elmer Meinz, 1955 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.
		*	John Sherman, 910 North Union, Tacoma, Wash.

\* Substituted for H. W. Sullivan beginning October 13, Fifth Day.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	6	135	W. D. Mahon, 260 E. Vernor Highway, Detroit, Mich.
		135	Joseph J. Kehoe, 334 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		135	Henry Nelson, 311-313 Chouteau Building, 4030 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
		134	Andrew Wigstrom, 609 Pence Building, Minneapolis, Minn.
		134	Robert Arnott, 56-60 Bond Street, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		134	Arthur Seward, 229 Hickory Avenue, Tenafly, N. J.
Railway Mail Association.....	2	114	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		113	L. C. Macomber, P. O. Box 1768, Spokane, Wash.
			* William E. Howard, 9207 15th Street, N. E., Seattle, Wash.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	2	22	George W. Jones, 840 Junipero Serra Boulevard, San Francisco, Calif.
		22	J. M. Gaviak, 1804 Terminal Tower, Cleveland, Ohio.
Seafarers' International Union of North America.....	4	50	Harry Lundeborg, 59 Clay Street, San Francisco, Calif.
		50	James Waugh, 545 Dock Street, Terminal Island, Calif.
		50	Edward Coester, 86 Seneca Street, Seattle, Wash.
		50	John Peratrovich, Ketchikan, Alaska.
		†	Hugh Murphy, 340-B, Cambie Street, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of.....	1	9	George L. Warfel, 301 First Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	3	140	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, N. J.
		140	E. J. Brock, 760 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		140	O. M. Jacobson, P. O. Box 927, Tacoma, Wash.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	5	68	Arnold S. Zander, 448 W. Washington Avenue, Madison, Wis.
		68	Clifford B. Noxon, 3190 S. Washington Street, Englewood, Colo.
		67	John F. McCann, 7959 S. Bishop, Chicago, Ill.
		67	Gordon W. Chapman, 448 W. Washington Avenue, Madison, Wis.
		67	W. W. Miller, 1603 W. Eighth Avenue, Spokane, Wash.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International....	2	43	Leo J. Buckley, 2812 Harrington Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
		43	Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 E. 28th Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	21	Paul A. Givens, 8 E. Market Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
		20	P. J. Cullen, 205 W. Wacker Drive, Room 922, Chicago, Ill.
Stove Mounters' International Union..	2	27	Edw. J. Winter, 503 N. Third Street, Belleville, Ill.
		26	Joseph Lewis, Box 190, Centerville, Calif.

\* Substituted for L. C. Macomber beginning October 13, Fifth Day.

† Substituted for John Peratrovich beginning October 14, Sixth Day.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Teachers, American Federation of....	4	{	67 George S. Counts, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, N. Y. 67 Irvin R. Kuenzli, 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 67 Ira S. Turley, 509 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 66 Miss Selma M. Borchardt, 1741 Park Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	6	{	681 Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind. 681 John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Ind. 681 Frank W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash. 680 John O'Rourke, 265 W. 14th Street, New York, N. Y. 680 George Wilson, 639 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 680 Robert Lester, 423 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	2	{	167 H. G. Brown, Volga, S. Dak. 166 D. J. Mahoney, 304 Third Avenue, S. E., Waseca, Minn.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1		40 W. L. Allen, 113 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
Textile Workers of America, United..	1		153 William E. G. Batty, 98 Shawmut Avenue, New Bedford, Mass.
Tobacco Workers' International Union.	1		178 W. Warren Smith, 806-809 Realty Building, Louisville, Ky.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	4	{	40 Sal B. Hoffmann, 2812 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 40 Alfred Rota, 610 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 40 Al Gord, 4202 N. Huson Street, Tacoma, Wash. 40 James R. Sims, 1609 W. Second Street, Aberdeen, Wash.
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United.....	1		31 Rudolph Heint, 710 E. 84th Street, Chicago, Ill.
Building and Construction Trades Department .....	1		1 John P. Coyne, 500 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1		1 John P. Frey, 402 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1		1 I. M. Ornburn, Room 200, A. F. of L. Building, 901 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor..	1		1 R. R. Wade, Box 66, East Tallassee, Ala.
California State Federation of Labor..	1		1 C. T. Lehmann, 301 Labor Temple, 540 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor...	1		1 George W. Brayfield, 312 Insurance Building, Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.	1		1 John J. Egan, 1024 Main Street, Bridgeport, Conn.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Leo H. Hill, 808 Main Street, Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Dewey L. Johnson, City Hall, Atlanta, Ga.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	August Rosqvist, Box 249, Pocatello, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben C. Soderstrom, 704 Security Building, Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 612 Paramount Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Clem Blangers, 957 S. Santa Fe, Salina, Kans.
Maryland - District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	M. F. Heatley, 917 Chestnut Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Kenneth I. Taylor, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor..	1	1	George W. Dean, 12731 Hamburg, Detroit, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor.	1	1	Holt Ross, Biloxi Hotel, Biloxi, Miss.
Missouri State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	Wm. J. Bingel, Jr., 2345 Lafayette Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	James D. Graham, Box 1176, Helena, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.. 1	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, 412 W. 13th Street, Grand Island, Nebr.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.... 1	1	1	Gene Keefe, 514 Wheeler Avenue, Reno, Nev.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant Street, Manchester, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor. 1	1	1	Louis P. Marciante, 508 Parkway, Trenton, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor.. 1	1	1	Thomas J. Lyons, 265 W. 14th Street, Room 1102, New York, N. Y.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	C. A. Fink, P. O. Box 522, Spencer, N. C.
North Dakota State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	W. W. Murrey, 10 16th Street, S., Fargo, N. Dak.
Ohio State Federation of Labor..... 1	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, Suite 405 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.... 1	1	1	D. E. Nickerson, 506 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen .....	1	1	Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 8 Navas Street, Santurce, Puerto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Lev G. Loring, Labor Temple, Memphis, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry W. Acreman, 717 Littlefield Build- ing, Austin, Tex.
Virginia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	O. C. Moore, 1436 W. 48th Street, Nor- folk, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor.	1	1	James A. Taylor, 1200 Textile Tower, Seattle, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Thomas Cairns, 503 Grant Street, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Herman Seide, 321 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Martin Cahill, 108 W. 25th Street, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Aberdeen, Wash., Grays Harbor County Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Walter L. Brackinreed, 413 E. First Street, Aberdeen, Wash.
Albuquerque, N. Mex., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Wayne Dykes, 304 S. Second Street, Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	William J. Lawler, 1019 Washington Street, Allentown, Pa.
Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union..	1	1	W. W. Finch, 212½ W. Seventh Street, Amarillo, Tex.
Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Charles H. Gresty, Box 32, Arkansas City, Kans.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades....	1	1	Albert W. Gossett, 249 Hurt Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union....	1	1	W. A. Rowe, 1331 Estes Street, Augusta, Ga.
Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council .....	1	1	Daniel Harris, 116 18th Street, Bakers- field, Calif.
Barberton, Ohio, Central Labor Union.	1	1	H. C. Cartmel, 84 Fernwood Avenue, Barberton, Ohio.
Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Ida M. Peterson, 523 Indiana Street, Bel- lingham, Wash.
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of La- bor .....	1	1	Dioan Summers, 712 N. Grant Street, Bloomington, Ind.
Boise, Idaho, Trades and Labor Coun- cil .....	1	1	J. K. Morgan, 8 Maine Street, Boise, Idaho.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John J. Kearney, 184 W. Canton Street, Boston, Mass.
Boulder City, Nev., Central Labor Council of Clark County.....	1	1	Ragnald Fyhen, Box 967, Boulder City, Nev.
Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Fred Blair, 2128 Eighth Street, Bremer- ton, Wash.
Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council....	1	1	Jeff O. Johnson, 11407 S. Michigan Ave- nue, Chicago, Ill.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor.....	1	1	G. K. Strausser, 703 Third Street, S. W., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank W. Snyder, Box 1658, Charleston, W. Va.
Chehalis and Centralia, Wash., Twin City Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mrs. Maude M. Meyers, 201½ W. Main Street, Centralia, Wash.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Thomas L. Slater, 648 N. Leamington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and La- bor Assembly.....	1	1	Leslie G. Goudie, 216 S. Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union.	1	1	John J. Hurst, 407 Railway Clerks Build- ing, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Central Labor Union of Harrison County.....	1	1	Paul H. Gooch, Gore Hotel, Clarksburg, W. Va.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor.	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Ave- nue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Harry M. Garrett, Labor Temple, Colum- bus, Ga.
Contra Costa County, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Floyd Rains, 729 Castro Street, Martinez, Calif.
Council Bluffs, Iowa, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Gordon E. Beck, 2640 Avenue D, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council... 1		1	Arvil Inge, 1727 Young Street, Dallas, Tex.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union... 1		1	Arthur H. Fix, 36 Plum Street, New- town, Ohio.
Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor As- sembly.....	1	1	R. L. Voorhees, 122 W. 14th Avenue, Denver, Colo.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Jas. W. Soutter, 1367 E. 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Park and Montcalm, Detroit, Mich.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.... 1		1	Fred A. Hatter, 1601 Butler Street, Easton, Pa.
Elgin, Ill., Trades Council.....	1	1	E. D. Van Fossan, Labor Temple, Elgin, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Ellensburg, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Albert Birchall, 502 Okanogan Street, Ellensburg, Wash.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 639 Salem Avenue, Apt. 2-A, Elizabeth, N. J.
Eugene, Oreg., Central Labor Union..	1	1	John Ricks, 1392 Willamette Street, Eugene, Oreg.
Everett, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	Archie V. Carmichael, 4002 Friday Avenue, Everett, Wash.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Michael J. Burke, 611 Welch Boulevard, Flint, Mich.
Grand Coulee, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	James C. Egan, Box 68, care S. S. Bartels, Grand Coulee, Wash.
Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Richard Romegardner, P. O. Box 255, Grand Island, Nebr.
Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Austin G. Thompson, 1915 Central Avenue, Great Falls, Mont.
Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton Doll, Labor Temple, 439 S. Second Street, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John F. Cauley, Astor Hotel, Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Honolulu, Hawaii, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Ruben Ortiz, 1129 Second Avenue, Honolulu, T. H.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Adolph J. Fritz, 721 S. Noble Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, 508 N. Chicago Street, Joliet, Ill.
Juneau, Alaska, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Chinella, P. O. Box 885, Juneau, Alaska.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Geo. J. Harrison, 3605 Wood Avenue, Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council..	1	1	Hugh S. O'Neill, Room 206, Labor Temple, 1440 Woodland Street, Kansas City, Mo.
Kelso and Vicinity, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. H. Hankins, Box 646, Kelso, Wash.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank Weizenecker, 39 W. McMicken Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Jack G. Young, Box 2453, Ketchikan, Alaska.
Klamath Falls, Oreg., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Earl K. Edsall, Ninth and Walnut Streets, Klamath Falls, Oreg.
Kodiak, Alaska, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward Camden, Kodiak, Alaska.
La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	George W. Hall, Labor Temple, 423 King Street, La Crosse, Wis.
Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John Reid, 306 Bauch Building, Lansing, Mich.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Robert J. Watt, Room 409, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.



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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Lewiston, Idaho, Central Labor Union of Nez Perce County, Idaho, and Asotin County, Washington.....	1	1	R. W. Tousley, Route No. 2, Box 61, Clarkston, Wash.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, Labor Temple, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Sidney Le Bow, 24 Maryland Avenue, Lowell, Mass.
Marshfield, Oreg., Southwestern Oregon Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Ethel Murphy, Labor Temple, Marshfield, Oreg.
Medford, Oreg., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Charles W. Tower, P. O. Box 669, Medford, Oreg.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Raymond F. Brown, 1005 Galloway Avenue, Memphis, Tenn.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council .....	1	1	F. H. Ranney, 518 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wis.
Missoula, Mont., Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	S. H. Rivin, 1201 S. Fifth Street, W., Missoula, Mont.
Modesto, Calif., Central Labor Union.	1	1	H. F. Blanchard, 604 10th Street, Modesto, Calif.
Mount Vernon, Wash., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	E. Wilfred Janson, Route 5, Box 94, Mount Vernon, Wash.
Muskegon, Mich. (Greater Muskegon), Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Earl Smith, 840 Reynolds Street, Muskegon Heights, Mich.
Nampa, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	H. I. Hansen, 1804 Sixth Street, South Nampa, Idaho.
Napa, Calif., Central Labor Union...	1	1	George Bobst, 943 Juarez Street, Napa, Calif.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Robert L. Soule, 627 North Street, New Orleans, La.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity .....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 W. 14th Street, Room 1101, New York, N. Y.
Olympia, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	James B. Jackson, Labor Temple, 315 Capitol Way, Olympia, Wash.
Omaha, Nebr., Central Labor Union..	1	1	James Sullivan, Labor Temple, Omaha, Nebr.
Oregon City, Oreg., Central Labor Council, Clackamas County.....	1	1	R. L. Derhammer, 1420 16th Street, Oregon City, Oreg.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 166 Clemow Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	D. M. Hurley, 3118 Seward Park Avenue, Pasco, Wash.
Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	John Templeton, 149 Parker Avenue, Hawthorne, N. J.
Pendleton, Oreg., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Tom Estabrook, P. O. Box 175, Pendleton, Oreg.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Marion D. Lambert, Labor Temple, 114 E. Gregory Street, Pensacola, Fla.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.	1	1	John H. Wald, 400 N. Jefferson, Peoria, Ill.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Frank Burch, 814 Commonwealth Street, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Pocatello, Idaho, Central Labor Union.	1	1	J. B. Brandt, 1344 N. Arthur, Pocatello, Idaho.
Port Angeles, Wash., Central Labor Union .....	1	*1	William C. Adams, 114 W. 10th Street, Port Angeles, Wash.
Portland, Oreg., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Fred E. Cushman, 979 Maplewood Avenue, Portsmouth, N. H.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Otto F. Nelsson, 19 Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Joseph Powers, 316 N. Boundry Street, Raleigh, N. C.
Rapid City, S. Dak., Central Labor Union .....	1	1	Keith Little, care Buckaras Inn, East St. Joe Street, Rapid City, S. Dak.
Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	Miss Paula Day, 610 W. Fifth Street, Reno, Nev.
Richmond, Ind., Central Trades Council .....	1	1	William J. Kyle, 324 South West Fourth Street, Richmond, Ind.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union..	1	1	William Finnan, 1118 Greenwood Avenue, Rockford, Ill.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council .....	1	1	Robert L. Ennis, Labor Temple, Sacramento, Calif.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, Room 9, Labor Temple, St. Joseph, Mo.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union .....	1	1	Guy Tipton, 4030 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly .....	1	1	Mary Toman, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
Salem, Oreg., Trades and Labor Council .....	1	1	C. W. Crory, c/o H. E. Barker, 1368 Nebraska Ave., Salem, Oreg.
Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. G. Kenyon, 141 Main Street, Salinas, Calif.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor .....	1	1	Fullmer H. Latter, 739 Gudgell Street, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council .....	1	1	Lester F. Harris, 1006 Western Avenue, San Bernardino, Calif.
San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward F. Pierce, Labor Temple, 621 Sixth Avenue, San Diego, Calif.
San Fernando Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	E. T. Baldwin, 411 E. Broadway, Glendale, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council..	1	1	Wendell J. Phillips, 3644 25th Street, San Francisco, Calif.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Santa Clara County, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	George W. Jenott, 1031 Laurie Avenue, San Jose, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Al Mason, 1418 Second Street, Santa Monica, Calif.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	W. M. Tanner, 8 W. 57th Street, Savannah, Ga.
Seattle and Vicinity, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Sioux City, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Floyd T. Smith, 2322 Jennings Street, Sioux City, Iowa.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Paul Mueller, 315 Empire State Building, Spokane, Wash.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor..	1	1	Robert E. Woodmansee, 223½ S. Sixth Street, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Claud Hawley, Room 230, Wilhoit Building, Springfield, Mo.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Geo. McKenna, 119 E. Clark Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council..	1	1	H. S. McIlvaigh, Labor Temple, Tacoma, Wash.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	William P. Covert, 63 McRae Drive, Leaside, Ontario, Canada.
Tri-City Federation of Labor (Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.).....	1	1	Leo Paulsen, 614 Sturdevant Street, Davenport, Iowa.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council..	1	1	Frank C. Chesebro, 426 El Dorado Street, Vallejo, Calif.
Vancouver, B. C., Canada Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Percy R. Bengough, Room 200, 529 Beatty Street, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.
Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council.....	1	1	L. O. Palmer, Box 185, Vancouver, Wash.
Wallace, Idaho, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Herbert H. Hult, 720 Residence Street, Wallace, Idaho.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Locher, 1211-A Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Wenatchee, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Gerhart Lehman, Wenatchee, Wash.
Willapa Harbor, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	{	Karl Wonhoff, 1114 Water Street, South Bend, Wash.
Windsor, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1		* William Bonallo, 1018 Mitchell Street, Aberdeen, Wash.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Arthur Sterling, 437 Wyandotte, W., Windsor, Ontario, Canada.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor..	1	1	C. V. McCoy, 109 S. Second Street, Labor Temple, Yakima, Wash.
		1	Martin J. Parkinson, 307 Walnut Street, Yonkers, N. Y.

\* Substituted for Karl Wonhoff beginning October 9, Third Day.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 605 Clara Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.....	1	1	S. O. Dann, P. O. Box 720, Mobile, Ala.
Air Line Dispatchers' Association No. 22856, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	L. M. Kuhnley, 3265 Walnut Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1	14	Eddie R. Stahl, 3304 Market Avenue, East St. Louis, Ill.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22442, Vancouver, Wash.....	1	2	C. L. Smith, 314½ E. 18th Street, Vancouver, Wash.
Bag Workers' Union No. 21483, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Urban Boutiette, Route 8, Box 115 E, Seattle, Wash.
Brewery Workers' Union, Honolulu and Vicinity, No. 22052, Honolulu, T. H.....	1	1	Lawrence Clifford Freitas, 1435 Liholiho Street, Honolulu, T. H.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20479, Mount Vernon, Wash.....	1	2	Grace Houser, 116 Fir Street, R. No. 4, Mount Vernon, Wash.
Cannery Workers' Union (Kent and Vic.) No. 20845, Kent, Wash.....	1	1	Theodore G. Stredicke, Route 1, Kent, Wash.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, Calif.....	1	8	Robert Melgar, 282 Waverly Street, Sunnyvale, Calif.
Chemical and Plastic Product Workers' Union No. 20346, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	John Ingebright, 1215 N. 44th Street, Seattle, Wash.
Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	4	Elbert O. Lea, 3518 N. 41st Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Codfish Workers' Union No. 21537, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Fred Stuckey, 343 N. 81st Street, Seattle, Wash.
Dental Workers' Union No. 20753, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Roy Lemon, 2928 Queen Ann Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	William J. Williams, 2445 Vicente Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont.....	1	1	John H. Driscoll, 552 W. Granite Street, Butte, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.....	1	20	Claude A. Watkins, 2316 63rd Street, Kenosha, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 18546... 3	1	54	Felix Reisdorf, 3314 A. N. 38th Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 19806... 40			
Metal Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 19340... 7			
Metal Workers' Union, Corrugated, No. 19339, Milwaukee, Wis.... 4			
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.....	1	4	John D. Tuttle, 1151 Bedford Avenue, S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	32	William Ketner, 1841 Rose Tree Lane, Westgate Hills, Manoa, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1	4	Morris Pratt, 5728 W. Moreland Street, East St. Louis, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.....	1	3	S. H. Paque, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Waukegan, Ill.....	1	8	J. S. Erickson, 628 Lincoln Avenue, Waukegan, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.....	1	9	Arthur M. Pierce, 512 Seventh Street, Muskegon Heights, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	27	Walter J. Mason, 544 Creedmoore Avenue, Barberton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 21222, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	J. H. Kellogg, 10101 Greenwood Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knoxville, Tenn.....	1	9	W. O. Headrick, 1704 Euclid Avenue, Knoxville, Tenn.
Federal Labor Union No. 22543, Springfield, Ohio.....	1	1	Eugene Sharpe, 931 Lagonda Avenue, Springfield, Ohio.
Florists and Gardeners' Union No. 20975, Seattle, Wash.....	1	2	C. Gust Dahlbeck, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 19157, Tacoma, Wash.....	1	3	Ted M. Hopkins, Labor Temple, Tacoma, Wash.
Flour, Feed and Grain Elevator Workers' Union No. 21343, Hutchinson, Kans.....	1	1	L. L. Hefner, 830 E. Sixth Street, Hutchinson, Kans.
Flour Mill Workers' Union No. 21101, Springfield, Ill.....	1	3	S. P. Ming, Box 273, St. Louis, Mo.
Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20228, Olympia, Wash.....	1	3	Eliza Prine, Seventh and Frederick Streets, Olympia, Wash.
Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20251, Puyallup, Wash.....	1	3	Oscar Williams, 103 E. Pioneer Avenue, Puyallup, Wash.
Fur Workers' Union No. 20926, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Miss Phyllis Meagher, 4016 36th S., Seattle, Wash.
Fur Workers' Union No. 21479... 1	1	3	Harry Simon, 275 Brunswick Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Fur Workers' Union No. 21480... 1			
Fur Workers' Union No. 21481... 1			
Gas Workers' Union No. 22296, Yakima, Wash.....	1	1	John W. Lyman, 728 S. 10th Street, Yakima, Wash.
Health Machines and Devices Operators and Assistants' Union (Everett, Tacoma, Spokane and Seattle) No. 22775, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Ray T. Frederick, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Insurance Agents, American Federation of Industrial and Ordinary, No. 22874, Petersburg, Va.....	1	1	E. L. Bracy, 1416 Ferndale Ave., Petersburg, Va.
Knitting Workers' Union No. 22508, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Reuben Paulson, 1014 Minor Avenue, Seattle, Wash.
Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Frank Turco, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Nurses, American Federation of Registered, No. 22698, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Hazel B. Garrett, 1819 E. Republican Street, Seattle, Wash.
Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	5	W. Robert Probey, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Office Employees' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Miss Alice Cline, 1200 Textile Tower, Seattle, Wash.

# DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Office Employees' Union No. 16821, Portland, Oreg.....	1	3	J. Howard Hicks, 1332 S. E. Rex Street, Portland, Oreg.
Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, 418 Auditorium Street, St. Paul, Minn.
Office Employees' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	2	Mrs. Elma A. Goodwin, Room 735, 112 W. Ninth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
Office Employees' Union, Retail Department Store No. 22243, Seattle, Wash.	1	5	W. L. Lamberton, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Wash.
Office Employees' Union, Wholesale, Retail and Miscellaneous, No. 22563, Seattle, Wash.....	1	1	Archie M. McLean, Rt. 11, Box 274 B., Seattle, Wash.
Office Workers' Union No. 17661, Minneapolis, Minn.....	1	6	Miss Violet Johnson, 18 N. Eighth Street, Minneapolis, Minn.
Office Workers' Union No. 20360, Tacoma, Wash.....	1	2	George P. Firth, 305 Labor Temple, Tacoma, Wash.
Office Workers' Union No. 22900, Marshfield, Oreg.....	1	1	Miss Rosemarie E. Gatchell, P. O. Box 161, Marshfield, Oreg.
Oyster and Cannery Workers' Union No. 20116, Willapa Harbor (South Bend), Wash.....	1	2	Mrs. Helen Munson, Box 56, Bay Center, Wash.
Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	2	Lawrence T. Bregante, 31 Jensen Street, San Francisco, Calif.
Patrolmen's Union, Railway (Greater New York), No. 22411, New York, N. Y.....	1	2	David Marock, 402 Marine Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 22596, Portland, Oreg.....	1	1	W. L. Gary, 2813 N. Broadway, Seattle, Wash.
Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Ind.....	1	2	Kenneth Scales, 403 W. Fifth Street, Bloomington, Ind.
Saw, File and Steel Products Workers' Union No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa..	1	22	Anthony Wahner, 2648 N. Emerald Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Shrimp Headers' Union, United, No. 21044, Galveston, Tex.....	1	1	Miguel Suarez, 2709 Avenue H, Galveston, Tex.
Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.....	1	7	John Dunaway, 1825 S. Main Street, Blackwell, Okla.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	1	James B. Mahan, 611 Fletcher Trust Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union (Southern Division) No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn.....	1	3	H. B. Cardwell, 225 Walton Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y..	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.....	1	4	Joseph M. Grossman, 99 E. Fourth Street, New York, N. Y.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	G. W. Thomson, 1 Links Road, Epsom, Surrey, England.
			E. Hough, Miners' Offices, Durham, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	1	1	H. C. Simpson, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

## DELEGATES TO THE SIXTY-FIRST CONVENTION

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Dele- gates	Number of Votes
89	National and International.....	304	41,341
3	Departments .....	3	3
36	State Bodies .....	36	36
128	Central Labor Unions.....	128	128
69	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	64	315
2	Fraternal Organizations .....	3	3
327		538	41,826

## LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan. *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1911 * { Wm. B. McFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1927 { John Coesfield. Michael Casey.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi.
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1934 { Michael J. Collieran. Edward Flore.
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1919 { † Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1937 { William C. Birthright. John B. Haggerty.
1906 { Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	1938 { P. J. Morrin. Daniel J. Tobin.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	1939 { Felix H. Knight. James Maloney.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainor.	**1940 {
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Langer.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.	**1941 {
1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1926 { † Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.	

### From British Trades Union Congress

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1895 { Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.	1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	1911 { G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	**1914 {	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.



## LIST OF DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES (Continued)

1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.	1934 { A. G. Walkden. John Stokes.	1938 { Joseph Jones. J. W. Stephenson.
1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naesmith.	1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin. John Brown.
1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.	1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir Walter Citrine.
1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.	1937 { William R. Townley. John C. Little.	1941 { George W. Thomson. Edward Hough.

### To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski	1931 Charles J. Case.
1903 John Coleman.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1932 Frank B. Powers.
1904 John H. Richards.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1921 John O'Hara.	1935 James Maloney.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1910 John J. Manning.	1925 James Duncan.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1926 James B. Connors.	1940 Claude O'Reilly.
1912 John T. Smith.		1941 Harry Stevenson.

### From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Francq.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1899 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1900 David A. Carey	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1903 James Simpson.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1904 John A. Flett.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1933 Fred J. White.
1905 William V. Todd.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1934 William Dunn.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1937 Rod Plant.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1924 John Colbert.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1925 Donald Dear.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1926 Richard Lynch.	1940 E. A. Jamieson.
1912 John W. Bruce.		1941 H. C. Simpson.

### From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

### From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly. Roberto Haberman.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas. Roberto Haberman.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino. Jose F. Guterrez. Salustrio Hernandez.
		1941 { Luis N. Marones Roberto Haberman.

\*No convention.

\*\*No delegates

†Did not attend.

# Conventions

## of

# American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa. ....	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio .....	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y. ....	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill. ....	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C. ....	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio .....	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md. ....	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo. ....	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass. ....	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich. ....	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala. ....	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa. ....	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill. ....	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo. ....	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y. ....	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio .....	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn. ....	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo. ....	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich. ....	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky. ....	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa. ....	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La. ....	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass. ....	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif. ....	November 14-26.
1905	Minneapolis, Minn. ....	November 13-25.
1906	Norfolk, Va. ....	November 12-24.
1907	Denver, Colo. ....	November 11-23.
1908	Toronto, Ontario, Canada. ....	November 9-21.
1909	St. Louis, Mo. ....	November 8-20.
1910	Atlanta, Ga. ....	November 14-26.
1911	Rochester, N. Y. ....	November 13-25.
1912	Seattle, Wash. ....	November 11-23.
1913	Philadelphia, Pa. ....	November 10-22.
1914	San Francisco, Calif. ....	November 9-21.
1915	Baltimore, Md. ....	November 8-22.
1916	Buffalo, N. Y. ....	November 13-25.
1917	St. Paul, Minn. ....	November 12-24.
1918	Atlantic City, N. J. ....	June 10-20.
1919	Montreal, Quebec, Canada. ....	June 9-23.
1920	Denver, Colo. ....	June 7-19.
1921	Cincinnati, Ohio .....	June 13-25.
1922	Portland, Oreg. ....	June 12-24.
1923	El Paso, Tex. ....	October 1-12.
1924	Atlantic City, N. J. ....	November 17-25.
1925	Detroit, Mich. ....	October 5-16.
1926	Los Angeles, Calif. ....	October 4-14.
1927	New Orleans, La. ....	October 3-14.
1928	Toronto, Ontario, Canada. ....	November 19-28.
1929	Boston, Mass. ....	October 7-18.
1930	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. ....	October 6-17.
1931	Cincinnati, Ohio .....	October 5-15.
1932	Washington, D. C. ....	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	San Francisco, Calif. ....	October 2-13.
1934	Atlantic City, N. J. ....	October 1-12.
1935	Tampa, Fla. ....	October 7-19.
1936	Denver, Colo. ....	November 16-27.
1937	Houston, Tex. ....	October 4-15.
1938	Cincinnati, Ohio .....	October 3-13.
1939	New Orleans, La. ....	October 2-13.
1940	Seattle, Wash. ....	November 18-29.
1941	Seattle, Wash. ....	October 6-16.



# CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1942

## PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behoves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

## CONSTITUTION

### ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and

at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

7 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

8 Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

9 Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

10 All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

11 The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a

bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialist, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports

made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and

shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$20,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

## ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$18,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and

International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

## ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee, and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

## ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be



\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$5.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2)

or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and, if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.



## ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central

Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

## ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of 1 cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding 10 weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

## ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement be-

tween a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union

whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each di-

rectly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join

it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in Departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other Departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said Departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said Departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject

found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll call be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

## FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline

any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor, in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor.

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings).  
THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

# **Sixty-first Annual Convention**

of the

## **American Federation of Labor**

### **1941**

Seattle, Washington, October 6, 1941

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## **REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**

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### **FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION**

Pursuant to law the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Senator Auditorium at ten o'clock, Bert Swain, Chairman of the Arrangements Committee, presiding.

Preceding the opening of the convention a musical program was given by Birnbaum's Orchestra with vocal solos by Harold Sorbl.

Chairman Swain: On behalf of the Local Arrangements Committee it gives me great pleasure and a privilege to introduce to you a fellow unionist, a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and for the past seven years president of the Seattle Central Labor Council—Brother Claude O'Reilly.

The orchestra played the Star Spangled Banner.

Chairman O'Reilly: The invocation, by the Right Reverend John F. Gallagher, Vicar General of the Diocese of Seattle. Please rise.

### **INVOCATION**

(Right Reverend John F. Gallagher,  
Vicar General of the Diocese  
of Seattle)

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. At this, the opening session of the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, when its leaders and delegates are gathered together to solve the great problems and determine the policies safeguarding the vital interests of their members and the union, it is right and proper that we turn our minds and our hearts to God for aid and for guidance.

Our objectives are in keeping with the ways and the plans of Divine Providence, and Divine Providence would expect that you initiate your deliberations with an appeal for aid.

Let us turn, first, to God, the Father, the Creator, He Who made the earth and gave to every man the right to share in the fruits thereof. As man has found it necessary to band together with his fellows and to set up the state and the government for his protection, so man has found it necessary to join with his fellows and set up this institution that will protect his share of the fruits of the earth.

To the Creator, then, the Giver of these rights, we turn and ask for guidance with confidence. For does not this institution of the American Federation of Labor protect and maintain the dignity of the human personality that has been made like unto the image of the Father? And since man has been made to that image, despite his station in life, his dignity is inviolate, no matter who would attempt to destroy it, whether it be industry or a philosophy of government that would make of him a machine. To God, the Father, then, we confidently pray as instruments of His providence.

Let us turn to God the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer, He Who saw fit when He came into the world to be born into the home of the Carpenter of Nazareth, who saw fit to work in the shop of His foster father and thereby exalted for all future generations the station of him who labors. In a special way He belongs to us. We feel among the privileged, for He was a fellow laborer.

But let us be mindful that with this privilege comes the responsibility of following these principles of charity and justice, for we are mindful that He who declared that the laborer was worthy of his hire also taught that we render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and who demanded that we love not only our friends but our enemies, that we forgive those who persecute us.

Thus he will demand that in the glory of our strength we must be just even toward those who would be unjust.

We turn to God, the Holy Ghost, the Enlightener, He whom the Son promised to enlighten the hearts and the minds of men who gave courage to the Apostles for the task that was before them. Of Him let us beg the gifts that He brings—understanding, wisdom and fortitude. For in these days of crisis the tasks that confront us are enormous and vital for the welfare of labor. Now is the time of danger, and it will be only a wise leadership that will maintain the principles and the standards that have been established and at the same time safeguard the nation.

To the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Trinity, the Triune God for all eternity, let us commend this convention. May He protect you from all danger from without and from within, from the injustice of those who would destroy you from without, from the cunning and the deceit of those who would exploit you from within. May He guide you in justice and charity. In His hands may you become the flail with which He will separate the chaff from

the wheat for the advancement of the American working men.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

Accompanied by the orchestra Harold Sorbi sang several solos.

### Chairman Claude O'Reilly

Chairman O'Reilly: President Green, distinguished guests, delegates to this Sixty-First Convention, ladies and gentlemen—Welcome on behalf of the Central Labor Council and the State Federation of Labor you surely are.

It has been quite awhile since you were here before, 28 years, to be exact, this month. A lot of us at that time were on the sidelines, but we remember well when you were here. Some of us were having difficulty with our employers and some of us were getting along. The organization that I belong to was in a little controversy at that time, and I will assure you it was no sit-down strike; it was a strike of the Teamsters' Union in 1913, when you were here. There were other strikes right in that year or so following, and before that, the Machinists' strike and the Switchmen's strike, and out of those strikes and troubles and heartaches we have come a long way in the last 28 years.

We have established in this city a union town, with leaders that will sit down with the employers and settle their difficulties across the conference table. If we have done nothing else, we have done that. You come from good union towns yourselves; that is why you are here.

I just mention these things in passing to let you know and feel how happy we are to have you back again this year. We have been trying for some time to have this great organization hold its convention out here in Seattle, and by the good help of several of the International presidents and delegates we were able to do so at the convention last year in New Orleans.

So you can appreciate and realize how we feel. While you have been running all over the country to different cities we, like other cities, have built up, we feel, a labor movement here as nearly 100% organized as you can find anywhere in America. We are proud of that record and we are proud of you. We are proud to have you here with us and we want you to enjoy yourselves while you are here. We realize you have a tremendous amount of work to do, and we also know you intend to do it.

With that, on behalf of the Council and the State Federation of Labor, I



am happy to welcome you here this morning.

I will now introduce the speakers who will welcome you to the city for the city and the state.

I thank you.

It gives me pleasure, indeed, to introduce to you the Mayor of our city who will welcome you here on behalf of the citizens of Seattle and tell you of some of the fine fishing spots that we have in this vicinity, and I think maybe, if you will arrange it, he will take you out and help you catch the fish. We will leave that to the Mayor.

It gives me pleasure and it is an honor and a privilege to present to you this morning the Honorable Mayor Earl Millikin of Seattle.

### HONORABLE EARL MILLIKIN

(Mayor, City of Seattle,  
Washington)

Mr. O'Reilly, President Green, members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished guests and assembled delegates: Naturally it is a proud moment for me, as Mayor of Seattle, to have this opportunity to welcome the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled.

As the former speaker said, 28 long years have gone by since you last assembled in this city. We are proud to have you here today. We wish to congratulate you upon your choice of a convention city. We wish to extend a cordial welcome not only to our friends of the United States of America but to those delegates who come from those nations that are now allies in the cause of belligerent democracies in the world our sister nation, the Dominion of Canada, and Great Britain.

It is a source of pride not only for the United States generally but for the State of Washington specifically that between us and British Columbia to the north there stretches only an imaginary line, the 49th parallel, and that our friendship has existed through many years and will continue in perpetuity.

I know that organized labor built Seattle, but I didn't know it was their role to advertise Seattle in the state of Washington, but since I have looked at this beautiful book being distributed today as a souvenir of this convention I realize the part that organized labor is playing in advertising the state as well as in its building and construction; and as I size up the problems that

confront this convention this morning, a death yesterday in Washington, D. C. brought home to me the things this nation as a democracy, and backed by the American Federation of Labor, stands for. In a time when the race is persecuted throughout the world in many places, especially in the totalitarian nations, there died yesterday in Washington, D. C., Justice Brandeis, 23 years a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and a writer of many decisions that have made possible the growth of democracy in the world. Under totalitarian rule that would have been impossible.

We are glad to welcome you to Seattle, to a city in which there are no strikes, no desolating delays due to jurisdictional disputes, to a city filled and teeming with defense activities, to a city that is dropping many a ship into the waters every month and a city that has become famous because it is the construction place of the fighting fortresses that in the last few months have proved of such aid to Great Britain and her allied democracies throughout the world.

We have been tremendously active in the defense program through the American Federation of Labor, and due to its conciliatory attitude in problems that might arise we have been able to carry on without delay and without interruption. We are happy to be able to state that fact to the nation.

The Chairman has mentioned entertainment. There is a great deal of it here. We know you are going to be pushed for time, because you have many momentous decisions to make and you will have long deliberations. But when the time to play comes there is ample opportunity. There is salmon fishing within four or five blocks of your hotel, down in Elliott Bay, or up the Sound. The big game season in Washington has opened, and as I drove north from Portland yesterday I saw seven or eight deer across the hoods of cars coming in from the first day's kill. The mountain streams in the Cascades and Olympics teem with trout and other big-game fish that will give you great excitement.

There are other forms of entertainment that I will not go into at this time. Here in the city, as to baseball, we have a team that the Pacific Coast is proud of. This is the home of the great crews that have time after time brought honor and victory to Washington at Poughkeepsie. And until Saturday we had a wonderful football team. Next Saturday we are going to get back into winning ways.

Now, the weather is fair this morning, but it is going to be better. If it is better I will take credit for it, but if it gets worse you know very well the Fed-



eral Government has everything to do with the weather.

I am glad to say the city of Seattle has for a long time been linked with organized labor. The schedules of wages and working conditions of organized labor are written into our budget each year. Every department in the city of Seattle is well organized, usually under an A. F. of L. union, no disturbances have occurred, and the city has thus contributed to the growth of the A. F. of L., while the A. F. of L. has helped in the construction and building up of wage schedules in this city.

I do not know whether there is any other city on the Coast that will contest the statement, but I think Seattle is the best, or one of the best, organized cities in the Western part of the United States of America.

You are in a city here today that has done a great deal of pioneering, along with our sister city of Tacoma, in the building of a great hydro-electric empire in the Northwest, the Skagit project, owned by the City of Seattle. It was one of the first to be developed, and today we not only furnish many small cities in the vicinity of Seattle with power, but we also send 700,000 kilowatts to Tacoma daily, and supplied Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams the means to develop the power sent south to the large aluminum plant in Washington.

We can be found in this important field of national defense, furnishing all this power, and the inter-tie that now exists between the Skagit, Bonneville and Grand Coulee, makes this Northwest easily the hydro-electric empire of the world.

Our great industries are coming this way and we face an age of a new industry dominated by electric power, and through the great heat regenerated by electricity we are furnishing the metals which are so greatly needed in the defense program, such as magnesium, aluminum and things of that kind.

Therefore, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the City of Seattle today, all of you as delegates and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I hope you enjoy your stay. I know that your deliberations will be dominated by the sanity of Samuel Gompers and William Green, and what is best for justice and the preservation of democracy throughout the world.

I assure you that you are welcome, and may your deliberations be fruitful.

Chairman O'Reilly: Thank you, Mayor Millikin, for your kind remarks and your warm welcome.

Our next speaker this morning owns this ball team the Mayor referred to, and he has been winning ball games ever since he bought the ball team. He put up a

fine stadium and everybody goes to the ball game. The stadium holds 15,000 and we fill it every night. We like our ball team and the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and it gives me pleasure to present him to you this morning—Mr. Emil Sick.

## MR. EMIL SICK

(President, Seattle Chamber of Commerce)

Thank you, Claude.

President Green, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen who are delegates to the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, fraternal delegates and visitors from Great Britain, Canada and the allied countries—It is my very great honor and my pleasure and delight, on behalf of the Seattle business community, to greet you and welcome you to Seattle today. That is more true because your fine organization, with its sixty years or more of experience, has done tremendous things in welding labor together, and it is evidencing its wholehearted support of the cause of defense in which the allied democracies of the world are engaged.

Claude said those nice things about me as a baseball man, but I am really here as the President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, and I am certainly delighted to be here in that capacity. I think it is worthy of note to recall that the last time you ladies and gentlemen visited us and had your convention in Seattle it was in the year 1913. I think it is well to recall that the year 1913 sort of marked the end of a day. I remember only recently someone said if you were living up to the break of the great World War that you could ordinarily in your lifetime expect to have 50 years before you, and you could expect a continuation of the sort of thing you had been used to. But with the outbreak of the great World War, and the decade that followed and the next decade, and the eight years since, a lot of things have happened. First, the great war, then the 20's culminating in the boom of 1929 and the crash of the early 30's; then the New Deal and social legislation and again now a World War. During the whole of that hectic 28 years your marvelous organization made tremendous progress, and so did our fine City of Seattle. Your membership more than doubled and our population more than doubled, and when we greet you again 28 years after it is a marvelous thing to behold the progress that has been made.

Yesterday's press stated that when you were here in 1913 the Mayor of the city at that time said the going wages were the highest in the United States,

\$2.75 a day. Imagine the tremendous progress you have made since then.

It occurs to many sometimes that your organization is so rich in experience and has shown so great ability to handle problems that to some extent its affairs have been complicated by the legislation and help you have got from Washington in the last decade. To what extent you required it I have my doubts. I think you were well able to handle your own affairs. It is like the case of a man getting sick. If he gets real sick he has to have a doctor, and if the doctor doesn't do the right thing for him it makes a lot of trouble. I recently had that experience in the last year, and that brings to my mind a story.

Ireland is supposed to be neutral in the war, but they are preparing for defense the same as we are. An Irish soldier was scratched by the bramble bushes and a young nurse came along and put salve on his wounds. But unhappily her iron helmet dropped from her head and hit the poor soldier and knocked him unconscious. The ambulance came along, and when they were putting him into the ambulance, the ambulance door hit him on the head, and so when the poor soldier got to the hospital he had concussion of the brain. So sometimes I think too much help is not always good for us.

I think it is marvelous the way the American Federation of Labor has gone out 100% for our national defense effort. We are up against this diabolical plague that has been let loose upon the whole world, and your organization, with delegates here from Canada and the British Empire and its allies, can do a great deal in support of this defense program.

In Seattle we have nearly a billion dollars worth of defense contracts allocated to this city, largely in shipbuilding and airplane construction. Over a billion and a quarter dollars have been allocated to the Puget Sound area and Alaska.

I went through the Boeing Aircraft the other day and saw what they were doing, and I felt great personal pride for Seattle to think of the marvelous contribution we are making in that four-motored bomber. I can't help but think it will be a factor in the war from here on out.

It has been the policy of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce for five years to be on a basis of mutual understanding and cooperation between employer and employee. I think we pioneered in that policy. That is founded on friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding of each other's problems and it has been very successful, as evidenced by the figure of man days lost in the last five years. We have the best record in that respect of any city on the Pacific Coast.

I think the largest single factor in that has been the fine A. F. of L. leader-

ship in Seattle, the fine constructive and strong leadership in giving us that very good record.

In closing may I pay a personal tribute to your fine organization. Over the past 25 years it has been my personal business problem to deal with leaders of the American Federation of Labor in two unions, and in both cases may I say that I have found them always honorable, upright and honest men, and in the last analysis when we had our deals we always got a square deal. I want to pay that tribute both to my friends Dave Beck and Joe Obergfell, although I know they are rivals, but that has been the kind of a deal we have had from both of them.

I can say that for my father before me. I understand I am to have the privilege of having dinner with the Executive Council tonight, and may I bespeak the fervent wish that you will take time from your labors to see the beauties of Seattle and the district of the Puget Sound.

Chairman O'Reilly: Thank you, President Sick.

Now for our state, as far as organized labor is concerned, we have with us this morning one of the old timers in the labor movement who has been a member of the Machinists Union for some 35 or 40 years. It gives me great pleasure to introduce James A. Taylor, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor—Jim Taylor.

## MR. JAMES A. TAYLOR

(President, Washington State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Members of the Executive Council, delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor:

It is with uncommon pleasure that I extend to you the cordial welcome of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

While you work and enjoy success in this great convention, it is our desire that you also experience the charm of the Pacific Northwest, the charm of its rugged mountains, fertile valleys, and enchanting inland waters. May your stay with us imbue your future with happy memories of success and beauty.

The Washington State Federation of Labor takes this opportunity to express its deep appreciation for the wise guidance and the warm inspiration generated in the conventions and programs of the American Federation of Labor in the decades gone by. And we feel that this is the time to remind you that the Washington State Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions have responded vigorously and successfully to that guidance and inspiration.

In support of this statement we offer, from among, a few outstanding accomplishments:

1. The State of Washington in proportion to its population is one of the best organized states of the nation.

2. Our last convention held in July of this year reported the largest paid-up membership for the fiscal year in our forty years of existence. Our American Federation of Labor movement of this state has for many years understood the necessity of cooperation and joint action of all organizations working in the same industry and the signing of joint blanket agreements with our employers, starting and finishing on the same dates. The past few years working along this line has demonstrated the wisdom of this program in unionizing our industries and in answering those who advocate the disruption of the American Federation of Labor movement by dual organizations along the line of the one big union. There has never been the slightest reason for a dual organization or a split in the ranks of our labor movement in this country. All large projects and contracts let in this state have been under agreement with organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Grand Coulee Dam, the largest project ever built in the world, containing ten million five hundred thousand cubic yards of concrete, was built under a blanket agreement with organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor connected with most all of its departments. The dual labor movement and the influence of subversive elements were eliminated and not a day's time was lost because of a strike.

3. In 1938, the State Federation and its affiliated unions were so completely successful in educating the people of the state in the principles of unionism, that one of the most deceptive, vicious, and destructive anti-labor initiatives ever proposed in America was rejected at the polls. And this in spite of the fact that the initiative had the unstinted support of some of the nation's most powerful forces and some of the state's most outstanding legal talent.

4. In 1911, thirty years ago, the State Federation was largely instrumental in securing the first compulsory workman's compensation act in the United States. Before that, in 1910, the employers of the state paid some \$900,000 to casualty companies to insure workers against injury. The workers received from the casualty companies \$100,000 for their injuries. During the first year that the new law was in operation, the employers paid about \$600,000 into the state industrial insurance, two-thirds of what they had formerly paid the casualty companies. On the other hand, the workers received \$450,000 from the state industrial insurance, four and one-half times as much as

they had formerly received from the casualty companies.

Through three decades the State Federation has protected this valuable legislation against the onslaughts of company lawyers and casualty companies. More than that, it has gradually, but nevertheless effectually, secured improvement in the law itself. During the last session of the legislature it obtained in the face of bitter opposition, considerable increases in payments to injured workmen and their dependents.

After this new legislation was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor, the opposition was able to render it temporarily ineffective by securing enough signatures to have it placed before the people in the form of a referendum. It will come to a vote in November, 1942. The State Federation is now preparing its educational program to put this legislation permanently on the statute books.

During the last session of the state legislature we were also successful in amending the unemployment compensation act in covered industries, providing coverage under the act of all employers who have any, (one or more) employees. Previously, only employers of eight or more employees were required to cover their employees. This will bring under the act an estimated 40,000 employers who have been escaping their duty of contributing to the unemployment compensation fund. Thousands of employees in all labor organizations will be affected by this.

We offer these facts to demonstrate that organized labor in our state has responded in the past, as it will in the future, to the wise teachings of the American Federation of Labor.

We wish you success and happiness here in your great convention. I thank you.

Chairman O'Reilly: Thank you, Jim Taylor. We are glad to have you with us here this morning.

Now you want to hear something about our great State. There is a fine gentleman here this morning who is going to tell you all about our State. He is our Governor, and it is indeed a pleasure to introduce to you this morning the Honorable Arthur B. Langlie, Governor of the State of Washington.

### HONORABLE ARTHUR B. LANGLEIE

(Governor of the State of  
Washington)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished leaders of labor and fellow Americans—it gives me a great feeling of pride and pleasure to

be here this morning to welcome the American Federation of Labor to the State of Washington. You are a great organization. You come to a very young State. We are younger than your organization by some ten years. You have heard about our State, how progressive it is and the part that labor has played in its development and growth. It has not been understated. We have been endowed with many God-given assets in this State of ours, and labor has played a most important part in the development of these assets to make this one of the finest places to live in the world. We are proud of that position.

We recognize that while we are nineteenth in square mile area as far as states are concerned and thirtieth in population, in this great defense effort today we rank somewhere between fifth and eighth, and labor is playing a tremendously important part in that development.

We are glad that as we see the days developing this great organization of yours is doing so much not only to promote the welfare of our State, but to promote the welfare of the entire nation. I think without question organized labor today is the greatest single force in this nation. It has earned that position because it has served the people of this country, the rank and file of them, and it has not only rendered to them an increase in the standard of living but it has improved conditions for all Americans.

But that position of great strength and influence carries with it a tremendous responsibility in these days, because after all these are times when America has a real challenge to meet. Everyone who knows anything about the situation today realizes that the things that American labor has fought for through the years are at stake today. They are not material values so much, they are the spiritual values of life, and sometimes we think of them only in terms of high sounding phrases, but they are real and they are vital.

We cannot overlook the fact that labor has struggled for years for liberty, for the right to speak the truth, for equality of opportunity and justice. Those things are paramount and inherent in American life. They are the things that our people for years have struggled to perpetuate and promote. And foremost in that fight always has been the American Federation of Labor. Today those very principles are being challenged and wiped out everywhere in the world except in this land of ours. Liberty on the European Continent has changed to persecution and discipline; truth has been changed to false propaganda; justice has been made a hollow mockery, and equality of opportunity is no more over there. And that very ideology is now seeking to force itself upon America, and as I look around this auditorium I know I see the men and women who have the influence and the

ability to save America in these desperate days ahead, because you cannot underestimate the great responsibility and influence that each and every one of you have. You have control among many people; they look to you for leadership and guidance, they will follow you because they know through the years you have given them the right direction, and therefore in these times when America needs to be unified as never before, when we must put the welfare and interest of our country first, you men and women are carrying a tremendous responsibility because of the great position that you have achieved in American life.

It is a wonderful opportunity that is yours, it is a wonderful opportunity that all of us in American life that have responsibilities these days have, because we can prove to this world that our form of government is the greatest in the world and that it can be made to succeed because we are educated and intelligent enough to really put the interest of our country first, and to so conduct ourselves that we can do the things that are necessary to preserve the American way of life.

In order to do that we have to appreciate that these spiritual values of liberty, truth, justice and equality of opportunity must come first, and we must preserve them at all costs, and that in doing that we elevate the standards of living, and we learn to cooperate.

In Europe it is not a matter of cooperation, it is matter of accepting orders, of disciplining people, and using concentration camps to get results. In America we depend upon cooperation all the way down the line in order to get results, because that is the only way we can retain those spiritual values and still achieve results.

And so you are here with many big problems and with a great responsibility. I doubt if any organization in this entire land holds the responsibility that you men and women do, and I have confidence, as many others do, that you will discharge that responsibility in the interest of America.

You come here also to enjoy yourselves. We think you have found the garden spot of America. You may find a little precipitation here, because after all we want to keep things green and fresh and beautiful. It may rain a time or two, but you will like it just the same, because it is healthy, and it is beautiful here; and we really want you to enjoy yourselves.

I recall some years ago at a convention in New York three men after the first day came back to their hotel that night very tired. They had seen all the sights. In fact, they were so tired they could hardly put one foot ahead of the other. When they went into the lobby, they found, to their great dismay, that the elevators were broken down and if they wanted to get to their room on the 36th floor they

would have to walk up. They debated whether they would sleep in the lobby of the hotel or make it on foot. They didn't like the idea of sleeping on the hard floor, so they decided to walk up. To make things a little easier, they came to the conclusion that on the tenth floor one of them would tell a funny story to make them laugh and pep them up; on the 20th floor one fellow would sing a song that would stimulate them; and on the 30th floor one was to tell a sad story, and that would generate enough energy to carry them up the last six flights.

They started out. On the tenth floor a story was told, and it was funny and it helped. When they got to the 20th floor one of the fellows sang a song, a peppy marching song, and they lifted their chins and threw out their chests and proceeded up. When they got to the 30th floor one of them said, "Bill, have you that sad story ready?" Bill said, "Boy, I'll say I have." The other party said, "What is it?" He said, "I'll tell you fellows, I forgot the key to my room."

I didn't forget the key to the city and the state when we came here this morning. We are telling you you don't need it, our hearts are wide open. We want you to enjoy yourselves here. We are not un-mindful of the great responsibilities you have, but we believe in your leadership and your ability to do the job.

And, President Green, I want to say to you, sir, especially do we welcome you and these distinguished members of the Executive Council, because we believe in you and we want you to know this state is interested in cooperating with you and helping you in every way we possibly can.

Before I sit down I cannot help but welcome a great Governor of a great state to our state. Governor Stassen, we are glad to have you here with us, because you speak for something when you come out here, and while we think we have the greatest state in the Union we do have to take off our hat to you when it comes to football.

We welcome you all here, and we sincerely hope and pray that out of your meetings you may be able to say that this is the most constructive convention the American Federation of Labor has ever had.

Thank you.

Chairman O'Reilly: The hour has come that you all have been waiting for. You are here to hear your own. That is what you have come here for.

I thank Governor Langlie, Mayor Millikin, Monsignor Gallagher, Emil Sick, President of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, and our good friend Jim Taylor. You have helped us, and we thank you.

But now the show must go on. I have here in my hand a gavel that is made out

of rosewood, carved by the Carpenters' Union, with the Carpenters' label on it, polished and painted by the Painters with the Painters' label on it, and carried to your convention by a Teamster. So in presenting this gavel to your great President it is a pleasure indeed, and an honor, and I am thankful after all of these years that we have been waiting for this great convention to open here in Seattle. It surely makes me feel just like I felt when you were here before, but of course I was 28 years younger—I felt pretty good then.

We are happy to have you here with us. In turning over this gavel to your great President I know that the decisions that he will render will be tempered with justice, and I am honored, and it is a pleasure indeed to present to you this morning your President and our President, William Green, the President of the American Federation of Labor.

## PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Chairman O'Reilly, your Honor, Mayor Millikin, your Excellencies, Governor Langlie, and Governor Stassen, representatives of the Seattle Central Labor Union, of the State Federation of Labor, fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada, my colleagues of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention—It is difficult for me to command language that would adequately express my own as well as your deep appreciation of the warm, cordial welcome extended to all of us who will participate in this historic Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have been deeply touched by the words of welcome that we have listened to this morning, and we will, I know, be happy during all of our deliberations in this great city of the Northwest.

Perhaps it is appropriate for me to say that those in attendance at the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held one year ago, decided to come to Seattle because they knew, first of all, it was a friendly city. It bears that reputation throughout

the length and breadth of the land. It is known for its hospitality, its generosity, and the hand of welcome that is extended to visitors in this great city of the Northwest. Those of us who have been here now several days have been permitted to breathe even the air of hospitality. We have found it on every hand from all classes of people—from the business interests represented by the spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce this morning, from the men and women of labor, from all in all walks of life. We know it is a friendly city and we know that we shall be permitted to enjoy the hospitality of this friendly city in full measure.

But in addition to that we are extremely happy because the City of Seattle is an American Federation of Labor city. The flag of the American Federation of Labor flies in this city, supreme in the fact that it represents the men and women of labor here.

We look about us on every hand and we realize the service rendered by these men and women in the City of Seattle and in the State of Washington. The skyscrapers that we behold, the paved streets that we walk upon, the services in all lines of endeavor here are all performed and the work done by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

Then when we go out to these most wonderful dams, constructed in this great section of the Northwest, we understand immediately that it was the men of the American Federation of Labor who gave service in the construction of those great power plants, and they stand as a tribute to their training and the skill and genius of the members of the American Federation of Labor.

I look around about me and I become conscious of all these facts, and I am more proud than ever that I am privileged to speak for and represent a great movement such as the American Federation of Labor.

You are here from all sections of the country—representatives from the Atlantic seaboard and the great Eastern

states, from the Deep Southland and from the busy Middle West, from the Mountain states and from the Pacific Coast—representatives of 5,000,000 sturdy members of the American Federation of Labor.

In addition to that we have with us fraternal delegates from Great Britain representing millions and millions of loyal members of the British Trade Union Congress. Then there comes to us a distinguished fraternal delegate from the Dominion of Canada. We have representatives from Porto Rico. We will have fraternal delegates from Mexico. The working people of Hawaii and the Canal Zone will be represented here. What convention could be more representative than that, representing the working men and women from all these far-flung sections of the world? We are glad to extend to them all a happy and cordial welcome.

We are conscious of our deep responsibility. We understand, as realistic, practical men and women that numerical growth in a great movement such as ours carries with it grave responsibilities. And so while we assemble in this convention under the most auspicious circumstances, in a delightful environment among people who will extend to us a full measure of hospitality, in a friendly city, we are conscious of the fact that we are facing days when we will be subjected to the most severe tests, and for that reason we shall approach our task, the discussion of economic, social and industrial problems in this great congress of labor with a sense of deep responsibility.

It seems quite proper for me to state that while we assemble here as representatives of five million, actually paid-up members in the American Federation of Labor representing a great constituency, nevertheless we come here in another capacity—we are here as American citizens, first, and we place that above and beyond every other consideration.

The welfare of America, the promotion of our social order will stand above and beyond every other consideration that may be dealt with by this con-



vention. We feel that every legislative act taken in this convention must have for its primary purpose the protection of America, our form of government, our freedom and our liberty, and the promotion of the general welfare of all classes of the people.

We could not meet on an occasion such as this without taking into account the chaos, the cruelty, the war, the bitterness that prevails throughout the world. Our feelings have been aroused because of the cruel, brutal treatment accorded to defenseless people on the continent of Europe, and we can scarcely restrain our feelings when we read that innocent hostages, the victims of totalitarian forms of government, living in concentration camps, are taken out, lined up against a stone wall and shot to death because someone in some remote section miles away had a personal conflict with some soldier representing a dictator.

It appears to me that if out of all the wars in the world there is one evidence of cruelty that stands above all others, it is the murder of these hostages on the continent of Europe. What does that mean? That means if those who are responsible for those cruelties win in this great struggle, then the substitution of force in government will be made for freedom and for liberty and for democracy. If such cruelty is taking place at our very doors, because space has now been reduced to a minimum, can we sit idly by, fold our arms and feel secure? Well, the men and women of the American Federation of Labor long ago recognized that such a state here, such a social and civic state in America was impossible. We realize now more than ever the menace to our liberty, to our freedom and to our form of Government.

And so we determined at our last convention that we would stand with our Government, that we would give to the Government every ounce of support we could extend it, that we would serve as skilled, trained men, giving the best we have in the promotion of our defense program.

In addition to that, we ask our great President, the President of the United States, to tell the people in Great Britain that we propose to extend to them every ounce of aid possible in order that they may defeat this cruel dictator ravaging Europe.

We are now encouraged and inspired to go further than ever before in the adoption of an official declaration, I know, in this convention. We have learned so much during the past year. We have read of the tragedies that have been taking place in the democracies of Europe. For that reason now, understanding more clearly the issues at stake and the tragic consequences that must follow in the event the forces of democracy are beaten, we of the American Federation of Labor are going to rise to new heights, and we are going to advise the President of the United States that we will give all we have in support of his program, that we will stand by him and behind him and all around him, and we will tell him further that if it is necessary to take more decisive action in order to maintain freedom of the seas, and to protect democracy throughout the world, we will stand by him and follow to the bitter end.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)

There can be no mistake as to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor and those whom you have the distinct honor of representing in this convention, and I am happy to tell our distinguished visitors here, the Governors of these states and those who are sitting with us this morning, that we come to Seattle united. There is no Left Wing and Right Wing group in the American Federation of Labor. Others may fight, they may have their Left Wing, their Center Wing or their Right Wing, they may have Communism, Fascism, or Nazism, but the American Federation of Labor is a united family. We know nothing about Left Wing and Right Wing groups. We speak as one, we act as one, we walk as one and we fight as one.

Furthermore, I want to emphasize this fact, that there are no isolation-

ists in the American Federation of Labor.

Behold the picture abroad — peace-loving people now governed by force, the right of self-government taken from them, racial hate and religious intolerance substituted for freedom to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience, freedom of assemblage, the right to belong to a labor union of one's own choosing — all these have been taken away.

I think I can hear the cry of the children of Belgium, of Holland, the Netherlands, France, Czechoslovakia, Norway and the Balkan states, and every other country that has been invaded by this cruel, brutal foe.

What did they do? Why should they thus be punished, these peace-loving, quiet, unassuming people seeking to work out their own destinies in accordance with the laws of God and of humanity?

And yet labor in all of these countries has been regimented, involuntary servitude and forced labor substituted for free labor. These countries are now strikeless nations; their men and women have been robbed of the right to mobilize their economic power and use it for the purpose of advancing and promoting their social and industrial welfare.

Shall that come to Great Britain and shall it come to America? Can we sit idly by and wait until it reaches our shores? In heroic Great Britain there is a labor movement that exercises tremendous influence in the affairs of government there. They have been associated with us in a fraternal relationship ever since our movement was formed. While workers are in the mills and the factories producing for their country, their women and children are living in a state of terrorism, subject to fear, when suddenly without a moment's warning out of a clear sky comes the noise of the instruments of destruction, flying over their heads. Then as best they can they instinctively turn to the temporary shelters provided for them. It touches us so deeply as we read about it all. No one could ever dream that in the history

of our civilization such a condition could be created in the world, and such cruelties imposed upon peace-loving, God-fearing people.

In the days of the darkest period of our civilization, no brutal mad man ever inflicted such punishment upon the weak and the helpless as this man has launched and inflicted upon the innocent people of the continent of Europe. And so we are firmly determined that a full measure of support must be extended to our government in the development and completion of its defense program. Men in the shops and the factories where they build airplanes and tanks and guns must give even more now than they have ever given before. The call of the moment is for service — service of the highest order, service of the most valuable kind, and I am proud of the fact that the record shows that our skilled men and women and unskilled as well, are giving to the Government and to the world the kind of service that challenges the admiration of every lover of liberty and freedom.

The Secretary of the Navy will tell you that our shipbuilding and naval program is ahead of schedule. Our cantonments have been built within the required time, as well as the buildings newly erected for the production of munitions. All have been built according to schedule.

It is wonderful what we have accomplished under such trying circumstances and in such a short period of time. I pay to labor this morning the tribute they deserve, and even though in some localities a few impatient men, smarting under a sense of injustice, have resorted to the use of their economic strength for the purpose of redressing grievances and wrongs, it is not right to condemn them to everlasting punishment because they have acted hastily and not in accordance with our organized labor program.

Remember, this is an imperfect world. You do not have perfection anywhere, and you cannot reach perfection with imperfect material. But if we approximate it as we are now, we can congratulate ourselves because the man hours lost through hasty action have



been inconsequential indeed, and above and beyond all, the thing that ought to appeal to the public is the official attitude of a great agency, a great institution such as the American Federation of Labor. And no man listening to my voice, which after all is your voice, speaking your heart and your mind, can misunderstand where the American Federation of Labor stands.

Secondly, all aid possible must be accorded to Great Britain and her allies. There must be no let-up. We must find the ways and means by which and through which we can supply those men who are on the firing line fighting to protect the things we love and cherish — freedom, liberty and democracy. Industrial production and national service must square with our nation's maximum needs and requirements. It must not fall below the maximum needs and requirements of the country.

We are face to face at the moment with difficult problems. We are thinking of new ones that are in the offing. First of all, we are troubled with priorities, because the record shows that through the application of priority orders, unemployment has been increased. It seems contradictory that any policy of government should be followed that would force men, skilled workers into the field of unemployment when they are so badly needed now in order to produce.

We have suggested and urged that those plants affected by priority orders should be converted as quickly as possible into defense production industries, so that not only the facilities of the plants but the skill of the workers can be used in helping to contribute towards our national defense program and of aid to Great Britain. That is a reasonable position to take, for it seems indeed so contradictory to have a factory lying idle, with all of its facilities and equipment standing still, when its services as well as the services of those working in the plants are urgently and specifically needed at the present moment.

Then we are face to face with this problem of labor migration. The con-

centration of defense plants in geographical centers throughout the country has called for a migration of labor from remote sections. The housing facilities are bad; workers are compelled to live in trailers and hastily constructed homes and tents. All of that goes with labor migration. That is a problem we are trying to deal with, a difficult one, and we hope we will find a solution for it.

There has been some discussion, too, and some suggestion that wages should be frozen, they should remain static. Well, that is economic fallacy, and so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned we shall oppose any proposal coming from any source that the earnings, the wages of our workers shall be frozen at any point, because in these days it is impossible to maintain economic equilibrium. We cannot balance the cost of living with the wages paid, and surely any fair man or woman will concede that the earning capacity of a breadwinner should correspond with the economic changes that are taking place in our social and political order.

Then we are thinking about the post-war problems. That disturbs us very greatly. That subject must be considered at this convention. Perhaps I can report to you that we have called upon the President of the United States to appoint a representative committee, representatives of labor and industry and of the public — outstanding men, economists, sociologists, industrialists, those who understand the problem for the purpose of dealing with the post-war problem, to make a survey of the country's facilities that could be used quickly when the economic change is upon us.

Then above and beyond all we want to plan for the launching of the most stupendous, the largest housing program that has ever been conceived in America. That could be launched immediately when the post-war period arrives and the skilled workers, building trades workers who are soon going to be forced into idleness can be absorbed into this housing program. The need for housing is in evidence every-

where. Every city is suffering. We need new homes, new buildings, new construction, new projects, all launched quickly, and this committee can get it all ready.

Then we need more international highways, the development of additional beautiful parks, the development of power plants such as you have accomplished here in Washington, the building of dams, the creation of opportunities for work for unskilled labor. Should that question not be dealt with now before the post-war period is here? We have been thinking about it and we are leading in this fight, leading the way, creating as we hope we will a healthy public opinion and a universal public support in behalf of this post-war plan that we have offered as a solution for the problem that will confront us when the end comes.

I express now what I have always expressed in conventions of the American Federation of Labor—a deep regret because of the division which exists within the ranks of labor. You know that almost three quarters of a century ago there was established in America a great American labor movement, and it was called the American Federation of Labor. As we examine the record and analyze the experiences through which we have passed we believe that the architects who planned it really builded better than they knew. The foundation was laid well, and upon that solid foundation we have erected a superstructure that has stood every economic storm that it has been compelled to face. It has been tried and tested during the periods of violent economic change that have taken place in the United States of America. Its philosophy still fits in with the American way of life. Its principles seem to deserve the classification of eternal. Its policies are sound. That is the American Federation of Labor, and through all these years, for almost three quarters of a century we have refused to listen to the siren voice of those who, offering some strange philosophy, would persuade us to go into the by-paths and by-ways of experimentation. We have refused. We have

stood steadfastly with our faces toward the goal we seek to accomplish. We have refused to modify or compromise, and that is the reason why we know only one ism in America. We do not know and will not have anything to do with Communism, Nazism or Facism, but we will remain loyal and devoted to Americanism. That is the American Federation of Labor.

We have endeavored to prevail upon those who left us to come back home, to take their place within the house of labor, to live with us as a united family. Committees of the American Federation of Labor have appealed to them to sit around the conference table, diagnose the whole situation and endeavor to find a remedy. Our appeals, men and women, have been met with refusal and scorn. We have not appealed because we were weak, we appealed because we were strong. We appealed because we knew we were right and those who left us were wrong, and it is because we want to restore solidarity and unity within the ranks of labor that we have appealed to them.

The continuation of the division that exists within the ranks of labor rests with those who refuse to meet with us and endeavor to bring about an adjustment, a re-affiliation and a rehabilitation on a basis of supreme solidarity. We disclaim responsibility for the division that exists. If we would scorn them and say no, go your way, then we could be blamed. But take the record—I will leave it to any person. Examine the record and then determine for yourselves.

Our position today in Seattle in this 61st Annual Convention is this: We are ready and willing now to meet at any time with a committee from the dual, rebel, rival movement for the purpose of making a complete analysis of the whole situation and for the purpose of bringing about re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor of those who left us. Can we offer more? Should we be expected to offer more? The home, the rooms they left when they marched out of the house of labor are still there, waiting for them to return. They will

be given the hand of welcome and we will honestly and sincerely, free from any feeling or bitterness, endeavor to compose differences and unite labor.

In conclusion may I say that labor must participate in the war settlement and in peace negotiations when the time comes. The representatives of the nations of the world must sit in some conference room for the purpose of negotiating a world peace. We were all thrilled when the press carried the eight points that had been agreed upon by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and by the President of the United States, when they held a dramatic meeting somewhere in the North Atlantic Ocean. Perhaps I could repeat them now in order to refresh your memory.

First, no territorial or other aggrandizement by the United States or Great Britain.

Second, territorial changes only through self-determination.

Third, all peoples have the right to choose their own form of government. Those forcibly deprived of that right to have it restored.

Fourth, free international trade.

Fifth, world wide cooperation to secure improved labor standards, economic adjustments and social security.

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, assurances of a secure peace, of freedom from fear and want.

Seventh, freedom of the seas.

Eighth, abandonment of the use of force, disarming of aggressor nations, and lightening for peace loving peoples the crushing burdens of armament.

Now we propose an amendment to these eight points to which we subscribe without reservation, and that is that when the peace conference is held representatives of labor from every nation in the world must be accorded the privilege to sit in at the peace conference and help negotiate a world peace. We are determined that the regimentation of labor, involuntary servitude and forced labor shall be wiped out and the totalitarian form of government eliminated. The right of working men and

women to belong to free democratic trade unions must now be written into a world peace treaty and guaranteed by those who subscribe their names to the peace treaty. We must see to it that the fine movement that formerly existed in Germany, Czechoslovakia and Norway and the other democracies shall never be wiped out by some cruel dictator, but instead some power and authority must be created by this peace conference that will guarantee the protection of working men and women throughout the world to belong to free democratic trade unions and to administer their own affairs. There must be no regimentation and no involuntary servitude, such as exists in these foreign nations; there must be no forced labor. It seems to me that those are issues that must be determined.

And then inspired by the vision of a new world and a new day for mankind, let those who love liberty and freedom so dedicate themselves as to negotiate a peace based not on political considerations but based upon justice, freedom and liberty.

And I look into the future and visualize that world where freedom of assemblage, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press all shall be guaranteed by commitments that cannot be set aside and supported by a force that will mean the enforcement and enjoyment of all these freedoms.

Then we want to make a world where men and women can live in their homes, free from fear, where the home will be the castle and the haven for the family itself, and where the community will be idealistic. That is the kind of world we crave and that is the kind of a world we look forward to, and if out of these conflicts these forces who would have it otherwise are defeated and destroyed and the God of destiny and righteousness and justice shall triumph, then we will begin a new day and a new life in a new world and we shall all be happy.

Realizing this great objective the American Federation of Labor must play its part. We must speak here in this congress of labor in a clear and

unmistakable way. We must send the message to our heroic friends across the sea who are really fighting our battles—a message of encouragement and assurance. We must let the American public know where we stand, and I know we will do it in such a way that no one can misunderstand the position of the American Federation of Labor.

And in the days that are to come we will face a testing period, as all other organizations will. If we have built upon a foundation, not of sand, our movement will endure because it is secure. But if, during these days of rapid economic changes we build upon a foundation that cannot stand the storm and stress, then we will pass out.

The test will come to Unions when the post-war period arrives. Those who are made up of a fictitious membership, signed cards, a proclaimed membership will fade out because they are not built upon rock, they have been erected on the sand. But those who have built securely upon a secure foundation will stand the stress and storm and will live. There will be no alignments if there is no settlement made between the representatives of divided ranks in labor, because the laws of economics will bring about a change. The true and the tried will remain and the fictitious will pass out. That is what we will face when the end comes.

Now I am through. I have talked to you right from my heart. I repeat again what I said in the beginning, that we thank these splendid representatives of the city and of labor and of business and of the state for the words of welcome they expressed here this morning. My voice is your voice when I say that we are deeply touched by it all. We know that in this city, with this splendid stage setting we will be able to transact our business in an environment where our thoughts can be centered upon the problems that are to be considered by this convention and where the results will meet with the approval of our membership.

I am happy to be here. I am proud of this delegation and these visitors who are with us. We are going to hold one

of the best conventions ever held in the history of the American Federation of Labor, and we are going out to face the common foe more united than ever before in the history of our great movement.

I thank you.

At the conclusion of President Green's address a beautiful bouquet of roses was presented to him by a young boy and girl.

President Green: I want to present to you this beautiful girl and this fine boy who came up and presented to you through me this beautiful bouquet. I know you are happy.

Thank you so much.

Now, I officially declare the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor duly and legally convened for the transaction of business.

Permit me now to present to you a distinguished guest, one who visited with us this morning, one who has manifested by his presence here his deep interest in our opening exercises, and I think, in the American Federation of Labor. He will address us tomorrow at 11 o'clock, and I know he will present to you a message that will touch you and impress you very deeply.

I present to you Governor Stassen of the great State of Minnesota.

Now, don't forget the announcement. Governor Stassen has responded to our invitation to attend and address this convention. He is scheduled to speak here tomorrow at 11 o'clock. All be present.

Perhaps I ought to also announce that conventions of the American Federation of Labor are open to the public. All who are interested in the deliberations of our convention and the discussions that shall take place are cordially invited to be with us and sit with us at each session of the convention.

I will now introduce to you our fraternal delegates so you will know them as you meet them in the hotels and on the streets and in the city. They came all the way from Great Britain to visit with us and to bring to this convention a message from the workers of Great Britain.

First of all, I want to present to you Brother George W. Thomson, from Staf-

fordshire, England; and, second, an old veteran, I can tell that, Brother Edward Hough, of Yorkshire. Then from our neighbor, just across the line, the Dominion of Canada, the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother H. C. Simpson.

I have invited the representatives of free democratic organizations from all the conquered nations of Europe, and from the Latin-American countries, to meet with us here, if they can, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, while this historic convention is in session. We want to take advantage of an opportunity to discuss with them the proposals I have outlined this morning, and others.

The International Labor Organization will meet in New York City on October 27th. Representatives from all these conquered nations whose governments are in exile will be in attendance at that conference. Because of that fact we can arrange, I think, a conference with a great many of the representatives from free, democratic trades unions in these foreign countries. It occurred to me this announcement would be of interest to you, and I am making it this morning.

The Secretary will read the names of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Secretary Meany.

Secretary Meany read the following:

### **RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS**

A. J. Kugler, W. R. Brooks, E. M. Woods, W. Warren Smith, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Marx Lewis, C. N. Atkinson, H. W. Sullivan, N. P.

Alifas, George W. Jones, Chas. Hardy, Harry J. Steeper, Edward J. Winter, H. E. Greenwald, Max Maximilian, Henry Nelson, Wave Toblin, John Locher, Jerry Aldred, George Wright, Pauline Newman.

President Green: Now we have completed the business of this morning's session. Thank you for your attendance and the deep interest which you have manifested in the convention.

The benediction will be pronounced by Rev. E. Raymond Attebery.

### **BENEDICTION**

**(Chaplain (Major) E. Raymond  
Attebery, 146 Field Artillery,  
Fort Lewis, Washington)**

Almighty and Eternal God, our Heavenly Father, for the onward march of our kingdom in Thy day, as evidenced in the new solidarity of labor and in the new sense of His divine dignity in human affairs, we praise and glorify Thy name together; and for the confession of faith given this morning by the speakers in all those necessities so vital to the world and brotherhood of men, again we glorify and praise Thy name together; and may Thy blessing not only fall on the labor movement, but on all elements of society, so we might generally assume our sacrificial living and giving, not only to the point of our money, but, if need be, our blood, that free labor, free thought, free expression, free religion and free ideals shall not perish.

To this end we ask for the gift of Thy spirit and will in our land from one end to the other, and we ask it in the name of the Holy Prophets of Israel, and Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Amen.

At 12:25 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock, p. m.

### **FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION**

The convention was called to order at 2:00 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: Rabbi Koch of the Congregational Temple de Hirsch, Seattle, will pronounce the afternoon invocation.

I am glad to present to you Rabbi Samuel Koch.

### **INVOCATION**

**(Rabbi Samuel Koch, Congrega-  
tional Temple de Hirsch,  
Seattle, Washington)**

Heavenly Father, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled invokes Thy guidance. It does not pre-

sume to tell Thee anything. In humbleness of spirit it recognizes Thy wisdom and Thy power. It craves Thy guidance that it may feel deeply and discern clearly Thy laws of righteousness as they are embodied in the world.

In this hour of national emergency the delegates and officers assembled here crave deeper insight into Thy unity. Help them know how sweet and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. They would have evinced in this assembly through debate and persuasion the way of man. They do not rely upon force or upon the bludgeon to prevail; and as they ask for unity in the expression of differences here in their midst, so would they crave Thy help in an inclusive unity that shall enable all the men in field and in factory and in office, hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, to sink personal grievances and to yield opportunity for self aggrandizement in the establishment of the national will and international peace.

We pray, O Heavenly Father, that Thou wilt invest the men that have the responsibility of determining the direction in which this convention goes the responsibility of prevailing and presiding in justice and goodwill and cooperation.

And as we pray, O Heavenly Father, that this great democracy of ours may continue to endure and evince itself in ever-widening influence, so may we establish the privileges of democracy as we meet together whenever and wherever it be.

We pray, O Heavenly Father, not only for Thy guidance of the men on whom responsibility rests in this convention, but we invoke Thy blessing also upon the President of this great country of ours, upon his officers and advisers, upon the judges, law givers and executives, upon all those who are invested with the guardianship of our rights and liberties.

Oh, may religion ever spread its blessings amongst us and exalt our nation in righteousness. We ask Thee in Thy name, O Heavenly Father, to whom all men are brothers on equal standing, hoping as we do that Thy will shall prevail and peace and harmony and comfort cement us.

Amen.

President Green: Secretary-Treasurer Meany will make announcements. The convention will please be in order.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following messages:

### UNITED STATES SENATE

September 30, 1941.

Mr. William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Care National A. F. of L. Convention Hall, Seattle, Washington.

Dear Mr. Green:

I want to send a word of greeting to you and your brethren of the A. F. of L. and to express the wish that the convention this year will be a most successful one.

I desire also to express my thanks for the action of the A. F. of L. officials in endorsing the legislative proposal sponsored by me and my colleague, Congressman Martin Smith, dealing with federal power development on the Columbia River. The bill I introduced in the Senate is known as S. 1852 and the bill introduced by my friend Congressman Smith is H. R. 5583. These are companion bills.

The T. V. A. has established pleasant labor relations with its employees, and the bills I have mentioned seek to perpetuate such a relationship in the proposed Columbia Power Authority legislation. In view of the interest manifested by organized labor in our Northwest, I hope this legislative proposal will receive the favorable attention of the convention.

You will find the folks in my section of the country most hospitable and I know that the convention will be a happy and pleasant affair.

Yours very truly,

(signed) HOMER T. BONE.

Juneau, Alaska, Oct. 3, 1941

William Green  
President A. F. of L.  
Olympic Hotel  
Seattle, Washington

Greetings to members of convention. May the convention be successful. The Alaska department of labor hopes your body will think kindly towards the issuing of local charters. Present tactics hinders American Federation of Labor organizing progress.

MICHAEL J. HAAS.

Spokane, Washington  
September 27, 1941

William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.

Spokane Central Labor Council would be happy to have any members of the official family attend any Monday night meeting of council on trip to or from Seattle, if can be arranged.

ALBERT LESLIE, Secretary.

London October 3

William Green  
Eagles Auditorium  
Seattle, Washington.

Hope arrive Seattle around ninth October.

SCHEVENELS.

Washington, D. C. October 4

President William Green  
American Federation of Labor  
Olympic Hotel  
Seattle, Washington

I deeply regret important official matters compelling me to stay in Washington prevent my attending your convention. I sincerely hope as I am confident the convention will be a tremendous success. The American Federation of Labor has played a powerful part not only in protecting the rights of the working man but in the progress of our country. In these days when the great world danger exists it is also necessary for us to preserve the great social gains which have been made in recent years and to improve upon them. I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor for the great part it has played in these gains and to assure your great organization of my continued cooperation in the social progress made and in those matters which relate to the best interest of labor.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN W. McCORMACK

Majority Leader of the House.

Chicago Ill Oct 7

John Clinton  
Vance Hotel  
Seattle Wash

This is to advise on arrival Chicago enroute to convention was taken ill and unable to continue journey. Compelled to return home. Please express regrets to President Green my inability to attend. Accept my best wishes for a successful convention.

JOHN F. McNAMARA,

International President Firemen and Oilers.

All delegates and members of Office Employees Unions are requested to meet immediately after adjournment at the rear of this auditorium in the southwest corner.

President Green: The messages thus read will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

I wish to announce to the delegates that Secretary of Labor Perkins will arrive in the City of Seattle tomorrow and prepare to appear and address the convention on tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

The Chair desires to appoint a committee to meet the Secretary and escort her to the hall tomorrow afternoon. The Chair will appoint on that committee Brother John Rooney, President of the Operative Plasterers; Sister Berniece G. Hefner, Secretary of the American Federation of Government Employees, and Brother Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

The committee will please get in touch with the Secretary of Labor and arrange

for her to meet with us and address the convention on tomorrow afternoon about 2:30 o'clock.

The Chair desires to appoint a committee to escort Governor Stassen to the convention hall on tomorrow morning to deliver an address at 11:00 o'clock. The Chair will appoint on that committee Brother David Beck, of the Teamsters' Union; Brother George Lawson, and Brother Herman Seide, Brother Lawson is of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and Brother Seide of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

The committee will please get in touch with Governor Stassen and arrange for him to be in the hall tomorrow morning.

The Chair desires to announce the appointment of a goodwill committee. The members of that committee will be:

Brother Albert Adamski.

Brother William Howlin.

The Goodwill Committee will proceed to discharge its duties immediately.

Now, the Chair recognizes Brother Ross, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, to present the report of the Committee on Credentials to the convention.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Grant H. Ross, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, read the following report:

Seattle, Washington,  
October 6, 1941.

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 531 delegates, representing 88 International and National Unions, 3 Departments, 36 State Branches, 126 Central Bodies and 66 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, 158 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 11 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 40 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union United—Irvan Cary, Jerry Aldred, Peter G. Noll, Lester Washburn, 261 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. My-



rup, Joseph Schmidt, Peter Beisel, William McGuern, Herman Winter, 844 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journey-men—William C. Birthright, Charles T. Crane, Patrick H. Reagan, John B. Robinson, Anthony Merlino, 490 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, Jasper N. Davis, Harry Nacey, 426 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, 219 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, Frank W. Anderson, Tom Cory, 308 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Joseph Hauser, 420 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, William J. Moran, Edward L. Nolan, Thomas H. O'Donnell, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 115 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, J. H. Lyons, E. M. Woods, Leslie L. Myers, C. E. Strickland, 520 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Wm. L. McFetridge, Jess Fletcher, William H. Cooper, David Sullivan, Charles Hardy, 700 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Joseph Tremblay, Irvin Barney, J. J. Fitzgerald, 650 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Charles W. Hanson, M. J. Sexton, Raleigh Rajoppi, James E. Rickets, Albert E. Fischer, 3,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Schoenberg, Arthur J. Strunk, Melvin Ferron, John Forrest, 168 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, 87 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, Harold E. Greenwald, M. Minaden, John Zitello, 164 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, William I. Horner, E. E. Henriksen, Edward P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, 404 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—George M. Harrison, Thomas E. Hinton, Forrest H. Amo, 1,100 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Deseptre, C. C. Coulter, 854 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—C. A. Atkinson, 14 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, Sam Toussaint, 45 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cleinto, 33 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 22 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—Ed. J. Brown, A. E. Martin, G. M. Eugnizet, H. H. Hudson, J. Scott Milne, Walter J. Keneffick, Chas. M. Paulsen, 2,010 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, Harry Milton, F. B. Comfort, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—Wm. E. Maloney, Frank A. Fitzgerald, Joseph S. Fay, Oliver W. Carter, Joseph J. Delaney, Bert Swain, 800 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Wolf, Henry F. Schmal, 105 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Max Maximilian, 371 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John Clinton, James L. Kelley, John England, George Wright, John Casselman, 343 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Joseph E. McCurdy, Albert Adamski, George C. Slater, William R. Brooks, Morris Blumberg, 400 votes.

Garment Workers, Union, International Ladies—Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, 2,250 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, J. Belton Warren, Robert L. Frey, 200 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—Joseph E. Mayeur, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, Harry C. Hatch, Leo A. McCormick, 203 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, Herman E. Schwandt, 240 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, Nicholas Russo, 50 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Marx Lewis, Herman Finkelstein, Nathaniel Spector, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Jos. V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, 1,837 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, Nat Messing, 2,153 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—David Levine, 55 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 81



votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—William J. Donovan, Sam J. Byers, Fred A. Moore, Ray Nickelson, 404 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—Bernard G. Quinn, 29 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—William C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett W. Cox, Raymond Lieberman, 600 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Julius V. Madison, 5 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, William J. Riehl, Robert Bruck, Albert E. Castro, 129 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, T. A. Thronson, 615 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, 2,218 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—E. E. Milliman, J. J. Farnan, T. F. Holleran, C. E. Crook, T. J. Finneran, 657 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers' International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—C. F. May, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Earl Jimerson, Joseph Hofmann, M. S. Maxwell, John J. Walsh, 849 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, James J. Ryan, James W. Close, James T. Moriarty, 200 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, L. A. Hutchinson, John F. Hogan, Frank Jeannette, Alphonse Stein, 421 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—James C. Petrillo, Joseph N. Weber, C. L. Bagley, Harry J. Steeper, A. Rex Riccardi, Vincent Castronovo, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Joseph F. Clarke, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, A. W. Wallace, 1,049 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Arthur Huggins, Ernest B. Lambton, Joseph Addy, 258 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, Grant Ross, 80 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John E. Rooney, M. J. McDonough, John H. Donlin, John Feeley, 212 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—George Masterton, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Harry J. Ames, 454 votes.

Pocketbook and Novelty Workers' Union, International Ladies' Handbag—Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, 100 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—W. W. Britton, Ray Kelsay, 72 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 72 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, Frank Hull, Joshua Chadwick, Ray Dickey, 160 votes.

Printers, Die Stammers' and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Eppa Honey, 10 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, J. B. Boscoe, Joseph D. Shaughnessy, Frank Smith, 457 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, James S. Killen, Samuel Ashton, 442 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Henry Nelson, Andrew Wigstrom, Robert Arnett, Arthur Seward, 807 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Henry W. Strickland, L. C. Macomber, 227 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 44 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Harry Lundeborg, James Waugh, Edward Coester, John Peratrovich, 200 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 9 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Thomas V. Green, E. J. Brock, O. M. Jacobson, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, Clifford B. Noxon, John F. McCann, Gordon W. Chapman, W. W. Miller, 337 votes.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Chas. A. Sumner, 86 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, P. J. Cullen, 41 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. J. Winter, Joseph Lewis, 53 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, 267 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, Robert Lester, 4,083 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—H. G. Brown, D. J. Mahoney, 333 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—W. L. Allen, 40 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. Warren Smith, 178 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal E. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Al Gord, James R. Sims, 160 votes.

Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United—Rudolph Heini, 31 votes.

### Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—John P. Coyne, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

### State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—R. R. Wade, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—C. T. Lehmann, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—George W. Brayfield, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Leo H. Hill, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Dewey L. Johnson, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—August Rosqvist, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben C. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—Clem Blangers, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor—M. F. Heatley, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth I. Taylor, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—George W. Dean, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—Holt Ross, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Wm. J. Bingel, Jr., 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Gene Keefe, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marciano, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Lyons, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—C. A. Fink, 1 vote.

North Dakota State Federation of Labor—W. W. Murrey, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—D. E. Nickerson, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen—Prudencio Rivera Martinez, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Lev. G. Loring, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Acreman, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—O. C. Moore, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Thomas Cairns, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Herman Seide, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Martin Cahill, 1 vote.

### City Central Bodies

Aberdeen, Wash., Grays Harbor County Trades and Labor Council—Walter L. Brackinreed, 1 vote.

Albuquerque, N. M., Central Labor Union—Wayne Dykes, 1 vote.

Allentown, Pa., Central Trades and Labor Council—William J. Lawler, 1 vote.

Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union—W. W. Finch, 1 vote.

Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charles H. Gresty, 1 vote.

Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union—W. A. Rowe, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council—Daniel Harris, 1 vote.

Barberton, O., Central Labor Union—H. C. Cartmel, 1 vote.

Bellingham, Wash., Central Labor Council—Ida M. Peterson, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor—Dloan Summers, 1 vote.

Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—J. K. Morgan, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Kearney, 1 vote.

- Boulder City, Nev., Central Labor Council of Clark County—Ragnald Fyhen, 1 vote.
- Bremerton, Wash., Central Trades and Labor Council—Fred Blair, 1 vote.
- Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council—Jeff O. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Federation of Labor—G. K. Strausser, 1 vote.
- Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Frank W. Snyder, 1 vote.
- Chehalis and Centralia, Wash., Twin City Central Labor Union—Maude M. Meyers, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Thomas L. Slater, 1 vote.
- Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Leslie G. Goudie, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenehan, 1 vote.
- Columbus, Ga., Central Labor Union—Harry M. Garrett, 1 vote.
- Contra Costa County, Calif., Central Labor Council—O. Floyd Rains, 1 vote.
- Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union—Gordon E. Beck, 1 vote.
- Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—Arvil Inge, 1 vote.
- Dayton, O., Central Labor Union—Arthur H. Fix, 1 vote.
- Denver, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—R. L. Voorhees, 1 vote.
- Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. W. Soutter, 1 vote.
- Detroit, Mich., Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.
- Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Fred A. Hatter, 1 vote.
- Elgin, Ill., Trades Council—E. D. Van Fossan, 1 vote.
- Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.
- Eugene, Ore., Central Labor Union—John Ricks, 1 vote.
- Everett, Wash., Trades Council—Archie V. Carmichael, 1 vote.
- Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—Michael J. Burke, 1 vote.
- Grand Coulee, Wash., Central Labor Council—James C. Egan, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John F. Cauley, 1 vote.
- Honolulu, Hawaii, Central Labor Council—Ruben Ortiz, 1 vote.
- Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph J. Fritz, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.
- Juneau, Alaska, Central Labor Council—Frank Chinella, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Geo. J. Harrison, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Hugh S. O'Neill, 1 vote.
- Kelso and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Union—W. H. Hankins, 1 vote.
- Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank Weizenecker, 1 vote.
- Ketchikan, Alaska, Central Labor Council—Jack G. Young, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Ore., Central Labor Union—Earl K. Edsall, 1 vote.
- Kodiak, Alaska, Central Labor Council—Edward Camden, 1 vote.
- La Crosse, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—George W. Hall, 1 vote.
- Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.
- Lewiston, Ida., Central Labor Union of Nez Perce County, Idaho, and Asotin County, Wash.—R. W. Tousley, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.
- Marshfield, Ore., Southwestern Oregon Central Trades Council—Mrs. Ethel Murphy, 1 vote.
- Medford, Ore., Central Labor Union—Charles W. Tower, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—F. H. Ranney, 1 vote.
- Missoula, Mont., Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council—S. H. Rivin, 1 vote.
- Modesto, Calif., Central Labor Union—H. F. Blanchard, 1 vote.
- Mount Vernon, Wash., Central Labor Union—E. Wilfred Janson, 1 vote.
- Muskegon, Mich., Greater Muskegon Trades and Labor Council—Earl Smith, 1 vote.
- Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—H. I. Hansen, 1 vote.
- Napa, Calif., Central Labor Union—George Bobst, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Robert L. Soule, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vic.—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Olympia, Wash., Trades Council—James B. Jackson, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebraska, Central Labor Union—James Sullivan, 1 vote.
- Oregon City, Ore., Central Labor Council, Clackamas County—R. L. Derhammer, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
- Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Pasco-Kennewick, Wash., Central Labor Union—D. M. Hurley, 1 vote.

Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union—John Templeton, 1 vote.

Pendleton, Ore., Central Labor Union—Tom Estabrook, 1 vote.

Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John H. Wald, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.

Pocatello, Ida., Central Labor Union—J. B. Brandt, 1 vote.

Port Angeles, Wash., Central Labor Union—William C. Adams, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vic.—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Fred E. Cushman, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Otto F. Neilson, 1 vote.

Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—Joseph Powers, 1 vote.

Reno, Nev., Central Trades and Labor Council—Paula Day, 1 vote.

Richmond, Ind., Central Trades Council—William J. Kyle, 1 vote.

Rockford, Illinois, Central Labor Union—William Finnan, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—Robert L. Ennis, 1 vote.

St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Guy Tipton, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Mary Toman, 1 vote.

Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council—C. W. Crory, 1 vote.

Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union—Wm. G. Kenyon, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah Federation of Labor—Fullmer H. Latter, 1 vote.

San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council—Lester F. Harris, 1 vote.

San Diego, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—Edward F. Pierce, 1 vote.

San Fernando Valley, Calif., Central Labor Council—E. T. Baldwin, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Wendell J. Phillips, 1 vote.

Santa Clara County, Calif., Central Labor Council—George W. Jenott, 1 vote.

Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Council—Al Mason, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. M. Tanner, 1 vote.

Seattle and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.

Sioux City, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly—Floyd T. Smith, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Union—Paul Mueller, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Robert E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—Claud Hawley, 1 vote.

Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—Geo. McKenna, 1 vote.

Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—H. S. McIlvaigh, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—William P. Covert, 1 vote.

Tri-City Federation of Labor (Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.)—Leo Paulsen, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—Frank C. Chesebro, 1 vote.

Vancouver, B. C., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Percy R. Bengough, 1 vote.

Vancouver, Wash., Clark County Central Labor Council—L. O. Palmer, 1 vote.

Wallace, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—Herbert H. Hult, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Martin J. Parkinson, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—John Locher, 1 vote.

Wenatchee, Wash., Central Labor Union—Gerhart Lehman, 1 vote.

Willapa Harbor, Wash., Central Labor Council—Karl Wonhoff, 1 vote.

Windsor, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Arthur Sterling, 1 vote.

Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Council—C. V. McCoy, 1 vote.

## Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.—S. O. Dann, 1 vote.

Air Line Dispatchers' Association No. 22856, Seattle, Wash.—L. M. Kuhnley, 1 vote.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 18780, E. St. Louis, Ill.—Eddie R. Stahl, 14 votes.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 22442, Vancouver, Wash.—C. L. Smith, 2 votes.

Bag Workers' Union No. 21483, Seattle, Wash.—Urban Boutiette, 1 vote.

Brewery Workers' Union, Honolulu and Vic., No. 22052, Honolulu, Hawaii—Lawrence Clifford Freitas, 1 vote.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20479, Mount Vernon, Wash.—Grace Houser, 2 votes.

Cannery Workers Union No. 20845, Kent and Vicinity, Kent, Wash.—Theodore G. Stredicke, 1 vote.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, Calif.—Robert Melgar, 8 votes.

Chemical and Plastic Product Workers' Union No. 20346, Seattle, Wash.—John Ingebright, 1 vote.

Coal Yard Employees' Union No. 19782, Milwaukee, Wis.—Elbert O. Lea, 4 votes.

Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.—William J. Williams, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 12985, Butte, Mont.—John H. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Claude A. Watkins, 20 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18546 (3 votes); Federal Labor Union No. 19806 (40 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Fabricated, No. 19340 (7 votes); Metal Workers' Union, Corrugated, No. 19339 (4 votes), Milwaukee, Wis.—Felix Reisdorf, 54 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, O.—John D. Tuttle, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—William Ketner, 32 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19119, E. St. Louis, Ill.—Morris Pratt, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19169, Seattle, Wash.—S. H. Paque, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19508, Waukegan, Ill.—J. S. Erickson, 8 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19635, Muskegon, Mich.—Arthur M. Pierce, 9 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20186, Barberton, O.—Walter J. Mason, 27 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21222, Seattle, Wash.—J. H. Kellogg, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 21754, Knoxville, Tenn.—W. O. Headrick, 9 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22543, Springfield, O.—Eugene Sharpe, 1 vote.

Florists' and Gardeners' Union No. 20975, Seattle, Wash.—C. Gust Dahlbeck, 2 votes.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Workers' Union No. 19157, Tacoma, Wash.—Ted M. Hopkins, 3 votes.

Flour, Feed and Grain Elevator Workers' Union No. 21343, Hutchinson, Kans.—L. L. Hefner, 1 vote.

Flour Mill Workers' Union No. 21101, Springfield, Ill.—S. P. Ming, 3 votes.

Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20251, Puyallup, Wash.—Oscar Williams, 3 votes.

Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20228, Olympia, Wash.—Eliza Prine, 3 votes.

Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (1 vote); Fur Workers' Union No. 21481

(1 vote), Toronto, Ont., Can.—Harry Simon, 3 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 22296, Yakima, Wash.—John W. Lyman, 1 vote.

Health Machines and Devices Operators and Assistants' Union (Everett-Tacoma-Spokane and Seattle) No. 22775, Seattle, Wash.—Ray T. Frederick, 1 vote.

Knitting Workers' Union No. 22508, Seattle, Wash.—Reuben Paulson, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Union No. 15334, Seattle, Wash.—Frank Turco, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—W. Robert Probey, 5 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 16304, Seattle, Wash.—Alice Cline, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 16821, Portland, Ore.—J. Howard Hicks, 3 votes.

Office Employees' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.—Mrs. Elma A. Goodwin, 2 votes.

Office Employees' Union, Retail Department Store, No. 22243, Seattle, Wash.—W. L. Lamberton, 5 votes.

Office Employees' Union, Wholesale, Retail and Miscellaneous, No. 22563, Seattle, Wash.—Archie M. McLean, 1 vote.

Office Workers' Union No. 17661, Minneapolis, Minn.—Violet Johnson, 6 votes.

Office Workers' Union No. 20360, Tacoma, Wash.—George P. Firth, 2 votes.

Office Workers' Union No. 22900, Marshfield, Oregon—Rosemarie E. Gatchell, 1 vote.

Oyster and Cannery Workers' Union No. 20116, Willapa Harbor (South Bend), Wash.—Helen Munson, 2 votes.

Packers and Preserve Workers' Union No. 20989, San Francisco, Calif.—Lawrence T. Bregante, 2 votes.

Patrolmen's Union, Railway (Greater New York) No. 22411, New York, N. Y.—David Marock, 2 votes.

Patrolmen's Union, Railway, No. 22596, Portland, Ore.—W. L. Gary, 1 vote.

Saw, File and Steel Products Workers' Union No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Anthony Wahner, 22 votes.

Shrimp Headers' Union, United, No. 21044, Galveston, Tex.—Miguel Suarez, 1 vote.

Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—John Dunaway, 7 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597, Indianapolis, Ind.—James B. Mahan, 1 vote.

Telegraph Employees' Federal Labor Union (Southern Division) No. 22671, Nashville, Tenn.—H. B. Cardwell, 3 votes.

Textile Examiners' and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers' Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Joseph M. Grossman, 4 votes.

### Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—G. W. Thomson, E. Hough, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—H. C. Simpson, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman.  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary.

At the close of the reading of the report, Chairman James M. Duffy moved that the partial report of the committee be concurred in and the delegates seated.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate James M. Duffy, Chairman of the Committee: I wish to announce at this time that Austin Thompson, who holds the credentials of the Cascade Trades and Labor Assembly of Great Falls, Montana, appear at 9 a. m. tomorrow morning at the Spanish Lounge of the Olympic Hotel as the Credentials Committee has a very important matter they wish to take up with this brother.

President Green: The next order of business is the submission of the summary of the report of the Executive Council, and while the summary is being submitted, the messengers will distribute copies of the Executive Council's report to the delegates in attendance at the convention.

The Chair will call upon Secretary Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to please come to the platform and submit the summary report of the Executive Council.

I am pleased to present to you a great leader in our movement, who has faithfully served the American Federation of Labor and his own organization, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for many years. We have maintained an uninterrupted custom of having Brother Frank Duffy submit a summary of the Executive Council's report during all the years I have been privileged to serve as President of the American Federation of Labor, and I am of the opinion that the record will show

that he served in that same capacity for quite a long time prior to the time when I first began to serve as President of the American Federation of Labor.

So I am pleased indeed beyond measure to present my very dear friend, an honored and distinguished member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and of the American Federation of Labor, a former member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, one whom I regard as a very devoted and sincere friend, Secretary Duffy.

Delegate Frank Duffy read the following:

### SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its report to this convention calls attention to the gains which have been made during the past year despite problems arising from defense activity and other obstacles which have had to be met.

The Council reiterates its firm conviction that workers have a right to a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions under which they work. Real unionism does not come by law, by force, or from expediency but as the result of inner conviction and understanding. The problems which will inevitably present themselves for solution during the coming year will demand inescapable sacrifices on the part of all. In anticipation of the demands which will be made upon workers, central labor unions everywhere are called upon to take leadership in establishing the concept and the practice that local unions must be maintained as agencies for human freedom and human welfare. Our greatest aggregate concern must be to exercise our established rights so as to perpetuate them along with other accepted institutions of our country.

### Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Secretary-Treasurer Meany presents a very concise and encouraging report of his stewardship during the past year. His report shows that on August 31, 1941, there was a net balance on hand of \$1,007,149.96. Expenses for the year amounted to \$1,835,973.43, of which \$1,039,758.98 was expended for organizing activities. There is also included in the statement of the Secretary-Treasurer an accounting of the investments of the Federation.

During the 12 months ending August 31, 1941, 496 charters were issued. One

new international union was formed (the Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union); 22 central bodies were chartered, and 472 directly affiliated locals were chartered. At the close of the fiscal year of the Federation there were 1,441 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 198,605. On August 31, 1941, there was \$800,054.15 in the Defense Fund.

In his report Secretary-Treasurer Meany reported 1,911 volunteer organizers as well as 192 paid organizers, together with the officers of the 800 city central bodies who stand ready to render assistance to members of directly affiliated local unions in case of strike or lockout.

The total membership of the Federation reached an all-time high in 1941 with 4,569,056 paid members on August 31, 1941. An illuminating graph is included in the report of the Secretary-Treasurer showing membership trends over the entire period of our existence.

Based on membership paid, the voting strength of unions in this convention is 45,282 votes.

There is included in the accounting of the Secretary-Treasurer a financial statement of the Gompers Memorial Fund and the Infantile Paralysis Campaign Fund.

### Report of Trustees of A. F. of L. Building

The trustees of the A. F. of L. Building submit for your information a statement of the amounts received and expended during the past year.

### Official Changes

During the past year the American Federation of Labor suffered a severe loss in the death of Second Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert. Your Executive Council expresses deep regret and sorrow for his passing.

### Proposed Change in Number of Vice-Presidents

One of the most democratic features of our trade union movement is that we can learn through experience whether or not decisions made are for the best interests of all concerned and when proved undesirable we are free to make amendments to our constitution accordingly. The increase in number of vice-presidents of the Executive Council which was effected at the 1934 convention has proved a deterrent to the work of the Council rather than as was expected. In the light of experience with 15 vice-presidents, in addition to the President and Secretary-Treasurer, and the growing difficulties of securing a quorum for the transaction of

official business due to enlarged duties incident to individual organizations, the Executive Council deems it wise to recommend an amendment to our constitution whereby the number of vice-presidents will be decreased by 2, making the total of 13 rather than 15 as now provided.

### Organizing Activities

The past year has been significant in extension of organizing work of the American Federation of Labor. The achievements of former years have been exceeded and extended over ever-widening territories through our own continental United States and its possessions. Attention is called to the character of the agreements entered into during the year providing wage increases, vacations with pay, the protection of economic rights of those who enter military service, preservation of seniority rights, and very substantial wage increases. These gains have been made during a critical time in the history of our nation. All efforts have been made by our organizing staff to bring about peaceful solution of difficulties without resort to strikes. Our organizers have been active in the whole field of organization rather than in any particular part.

During the period covered by the report on organizing activities (September 1, 1940, through July 16, 1941), 242 groups were organized for internationals, 147 directly affiliated locals were transferred to international unions, and 400 charters were issued to directly affiliated locals, of which 366 are now active as directly affiliated locals, 20 were suspended, 2 disbanded, 9 were transferred to internationals, 1 charter was withdrawn, and 2 amalgamated.

Reports are included covering special organizing fields such as chemical workers, newspaper writers, agricultural, cannery and citrus workers, aluminum workers, distillery workers, grain processors, fabricated metal workers, office workers, rubber workers, textile workers, telegraph employees, railway patrolmen, etc.

### International Typographical Union

As a result of negotiations entered into between representatives of the International Typographical Union and the American Federation of Labor an agreement was formulated as a basis for re-affiliation of the I. T. U. with the American Federation of Labor.

Under the laws of the I. T. U., however, matters of this character must be ratified or disapproved by general referendum of the entire membership. The Executive Council of the Federation accepted the proposal. Despite the personal appeal of President Baker of the I. T. U. to his membership to support the findings of the special committee a difference of



opinion was manifested on the part of certain officials of the I. T. U. who openly worked for the defeat of the recommendation. The returns of the referendum reflected this division of opinion in the official family of the I. T. U. and the result was 25,632 in favor of accepting the agreement, and 33,498 voted against it. This ended the negotiations for the return of the I. T. U. to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council expresses the opinion that this unfortunate division within the I. T. U. will result in a condition detrimental not only to the membership of the I. T. U. but also to the entire membership of the Allied Printing Trades. It is hoped that at some future time this action will be reconsidered and the membership of the I. T. U. will once again become affiliated with the A. F. of L. Meanwhile, the Executive Council decided that conferences will be held with representatives of the printing trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Allied Printing Trades Council for the purpose of evolving a plan for the creation of a printing trades label to be used by the printing trades council exclusively. In addition, the Executive Council has decided to consider a policy designed to protect the interests of the A. F. of L. and affiliated printing trades unions in printing contracts for the American Federation of Labor and affiliated organizations.

### **Peace Negotiations With C.I.O.**

The standing committee of the A. F. of L. empowered to met with representatives of the C. I. O. for the purpose of effecting a peaceful settlement between that organization and ours, has stood by throughout the past year. However, no call came, nor was any notice submitted by the representatives of the C. I. O. that they were ready to resume negotiations which were terminated by the C. I. O. on April 5, 1939.

The division within the ranks of Labor when the C. I. O. was formed has become wider and the breach more pronounced. Your Executive Council reaffirms its position in favor of peace negotiations designed to bring about a settlement of the differences which exist within the ranks of Labor.

### **Printing Trades-Lithographers**

Conferences have been held at intervals throughout the past year looking toward an adjustment of the dispute between these two organizations and their amalgamation. Extensions of time have been agreed on and at the time of the preparation of the report your Executive Council had not been notified of final solution of the matter.

### **Engineers, Firemen and Oilers**

Despite repeated attempts to effect a settlement of the jurisdictional differences between these two organizations the controversy still continues.

In pursuance of instructions regarding controversial issues involved conferences were held during the year without successful adjustment of the differences. The Executive Council has therefore become convinced that the real solution of the differences between the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers can only be found through an amalgamation of these two international unions upon an acceptable and satisfactory basis which will adequately protect the membership of both organizations. This course is recommended by your Executive Council.

### **Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists**

Your Executive Council is pleased to report an agreement between these two organizations providing for a settlement of the existing jurisdictional controversy. It is hoped that this agreement will result in the establishment and maintenance of an amicable relationship between members of the International Association of Machinists and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.

### **Masters, Mates and Pilots-Longshoremen**

Your Executive Council is gratified also to report that an agreement was reached between the representatives of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association looking toward settlement of the long-existing jurisdictional controversy between two organizations at interest.

### **Boilermakers-Plumbers and Steamfitters**

It is likewise pleasing to be able to report the settlement of the jurisdictional disputes which arose between these two organizations. The Executive Council commends those who served in the negotiation of this agreement.

### **Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor**

As a result of the study authorized and made of the needs and requirements of the Federation financially and otherwise,



it is recommended that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to provide for a change in the amount of per capita tax to be paid by affiliated national and international unions, local trade and federal labor unions to the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council concurs in the finding of this special committee and recommends that the constitution be amended to provide that per capita tax shall be paid to the A. F. of L. as follows: from international or national trade unions 1½ cents per member per month; from local trade and federal labor unions, 35½ cents per member per month, 8½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lock-out unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council. The amount received by the A. F. of L. on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25% of the total fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1. Dues from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue also may be derived from special assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of the regular or special convention.

### Compliance With Law and Lawful Procedure

Under this title your Executive Council affirms its appreciation of the value of public opinion with regard to our movement. It is the purpose of the officers and members of the A. F. of L. to establish and maintain the A. F. of L. as a great American institution, a supporter of free institutions and our democratic form of government. Your Council expresses determination to maintain the basic principles of freedom and justice upon which the superstructure of our government rests and yields to none in our respect for law, order and orderly procedure.

The Executive Council disavows and repudiates lawlessness of any character, racketeering in any form, and exploitation wherever practiced as having no part in the administrative policy of the American Federation of Labor.

In the discussion of the subject which forms a part of the report it is explained that the American Federation of Labor is empowered only to demand compliance with its own laws and those of the United States. Each component part of our movement is autonomous so far as concerns matters within their own jurisdictions. The members of the American Federation of Labor, however, call for punishment of any man, whether he be an officer or member of the A. F. of L. for violation of law or for the commission of crime. Responsibility for the

punishment of such violators, however, rests with the officers of the law. We ask only that those so charged shall be given a fair trial as provided in the laws of our land.

The Executive Council calls upon the officers and members of all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to be vigilant and to guard against the employment of those who seek to utilize the labor movement for the purpose of promoting their own material welfare. Trade unionists are admonished to select representatives possessed of honesty and integrity of the highest degree and that the affairs of their unions shall be in accordance with the laws of the organization as well as the law of the land.

### Elimination of Communists and Communist Influences From American Federation of Teachers

The efforts of the American Federation of Teachers to rid their organization of communistic influences is very pleasing to the Executive Council. The action of the executives of the American Federation of Teachers in revoking charters of certain locals who were dominated by communists was approved by the membership and is commended by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

### Wages

Despite the efforts exerted by American Federation of Labor organizations in lifting the American wage level and improving conditions of employment there are thousands of workers whose wages are still below a subsistence level as evidenced by the special drives which have been made to establish the minimum wage standards provided for by the minimum wage law in a large number of industries. Wage earners base their demand for higher wages upon a justified claim to share in increased productivity and resultant increased income. Your Council in considering this vitally important subject points out that American industry has been able to increase wages substantially and at the same time maintain profits which refuted the widespread though erroneous belief of many that price increases must follow wage increases.

The members of the American Federation of Labor are impelled by a desire to enjoy a higher standard of life and living and they realize that this can be done only through the enjoyment of an income fully commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship. It is, therefore, the fixed purpose of the A. F. of L. to continue to press for higher wages and improved conditions of employment for the workers of our country.

## National Legislation

The 77th Congress which was still in session at the time of the preparation of the report of your Executive Council, concentrated most all of its efforts to legislation for national defense and for the purpose of aiding those nations engaged in the struggle to eliminate dictatorships. As a result many highly desirable proposals including those advocated by the American Federation of Labor have generally lain dormant. All bills which have been introduced in the Congress have been carefully scrutinized and where inimical to the interests of those we represent they have been successfully opposed. Particular attention was given to the appropriation bills to make certain that they carried amounts sufficient for the enforcement of labor laws and for other activity of government of a beneficial nature to Labor.

There is included in this section of the report an accounting of those legislative measures which were of most vital concern to us as wage earners including those covering defense, housing, social security, anti-labor legislation which was designed to limit the normal activities of Labor by various means, legislation for the Canal Zone, special legislation for Federal employees, the District of Columbia, immigration and naturalization, maritime legislation, etc.

## Shorter Work Day and Work Week

Since the inception of our movement we have labored consistently for a shortening of the hours of labor. With the advance of production methods and resultant increased productivity the unemployment situation became more and more acute. We have steadfastly maintained that there must be an adjustment of the hours of labor to provide work for all. Despite the needs of the day for increased productivity we must be vigilant to prevent a repetition of the distressing period of economic disorder which prevailed in our nation during the period from 1929 to 1939. We are anticipating the change which must inevitably follow the war preparation economy in adjusting to a peace-time basis and it is the opinion of the Executive Council that the government should immediately prepare to meet the post-war situation in a practical and constructive way. Your Executive Council reviews the possibilities which may confront us and recommends that the convention reaffirm its approval of the principle of the shorter work day and work week as a partial remedy for unemployment and urges the creation of an economic committee immediately upon the arrival of the post-war period to meet this situation.

## Wage-Hour Law Administration

The past year was marked by growth and development in the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Minimum wage and maximum hour laws, and child labor standards of the statute have gained further acceptance among employers required to maintain these standards. The enforcement of these provisions has become an integral part of our national defense policy.

The administration of the wage-hour law is of vital concern to all wage earners and your Executive Council has prepared a comprehensive report on the subject for your consideration. The Council recommends that the officers of the A. F. of L. guard with renewed vigilance any attempt to impair or destroy any of the minimum standards established in American industry through the operation of the Act and further recommends that the continued and accelerated application of the industry committee procedure be actively sought, as well as an extension of coverage of the provisions of the Act and the administration of the law.

## National Labor Relations Board

In accordance with the instructions of previous conventions, the American Federation of Labor has continued its efforts to bring about desired reforms in the National Labor Relations Act and the administration thereof. These changes were sought through appeal to Congress for amendment to the Act and by resort to the Board itself to remedy the biased application of the Act which had been evidenced. Though the national emergency has served to delay congressional action on requested amendments which were introduced at this session of Congress, the efforts of the A. F. of L. to secure more equitable consideration at the hands of the Board itself have met with considerable success. This has been evidenced through changes in personnel, changes in administrative set-up, etc. The changes which have been made, however, only served to strengthen our conviction that our proposed amendments should be enacted and we will continue to press to that end.

## Social Security

Your Executive Council calls attention to the need for extending our national program of social security in its report under this caption. It is recommended that the Federation Committee on Social Security continue its study of coordinating the various parts of the social security program into a system which will furnish reasonable protection for all workers and their families. The Federation committee is urged to watch particularly the development of the defense program to plan

ways of strengthening our social security system, and to study the question of compulsory savings or a contributory dismissal wage program so as to be in a position to make recommendations on proposals as they arise. Your Council takes cognizance of the need for preparing for a post-war depression and the revamping of our social insurance program to meet its task of maintaining purchasing power and meeting the exigencies of the unemployment situation which will have to be encountered.

### **Work Projects Administration**

The vast industrial dislocations which have been caused by transfer from civilian to defense production with resulting unemployment have been carefully considered by your Executive Council. Under this title the problem is outlined for your information and consideration. The activities of the W. P. A. are covered in this section of the report together with the conclusions of the Executive Council that relief needs must be met through Federal and local public assistance channels and the problem must not be obscured by emergency conditions. Relief work should be continued wherever truly needed, but its allocation should not be in conflict with available private employment. Closer integration of relief administration with the placement work of public employment offices should be provided. Planning must be begun to make provision for workers whose employment will terminate at the end of the present emergency.

### **Housing for Workers**

In August 1941 the progress of the defense program was threatened by a widespread and acute housing crisis. Lack of housing often deterred workers from taking defense jobs due to their reluctance to bring their families into congested towns lacking housing and sanitary facilities with subsequent threat of epidemic and disease. The A. F. of L. took a leading part in bringing the problem of defense housing to public notice.

Under this caption your Executive Council has presented a comprehensive survey of Federal housing undertakings under FWA, FHA and USHA, outlining the functions of these several agencies in view of the findings of the Special Housing Committee of the A. F. of L. your Executive Council has made recommendations for your consideration and action.

### **Labor Standards and Public Contracts**

The administration of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act is dealt with by your Council in this section of the report. This Act applies to all govern-

ment contracts for more than \$10,000. Attention is called to the fact that to date prevailing minimum wages have been set for only 38 industries. There are many large and important industries in which the volume of government contracts has become very large but for which no prevailing wage determinations were put into effect between March 1940 and the time of writing this report. Attention is directed to the greatly increased importance to Labor of the prevailing wage and overtime standards with the expansion of the defense program. Your Council recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor formulate a program which would expedite the prevailing minimum wage determinations, strengthen the enforcement of the labor standards established by the Act, and establish a basis for continued representation and cooperation of the A. F. of L. in the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act. The Council further recommends formulation of amendments to the Act for presentation to Congress to extend its application to subcontractors.

### **Representation Before Administrative Agencies**

Vital to labor unions and to their members is the retention of the functions which would be destroyed if too inclusive a field should be reserved to lawyers as the actual practice of law. Your Executive Council takes cognizance of the growing tendency on the part of lawyers to reserve to themselves many activities formerly performed by union representatives such as the drawing up of contracts in collective bargaining, settling of threatened suits, presentation of workers cases and appeals to workmen's compensation commissions as well as sundry hearings before administrative tribunals. While admitting the justification of the legal profession in their insistence that persons who offer their services to the public for a fee to give legal advice should be authorized to practice law, we strongly condemn attempts to rule out those experienced union representatives fully qualified to serve their fellow union members in the new field of administrative law which has developed through the multiplication of administrative boards and commissions serving in quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative capacities. These require a different technique from practice before courts of law and is a field in which the practical experience of union representatives outweighs formal legal training in usefulness.

### **Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive**

The 60th Convention of the American Federation of Labor expressed the determination of the American labor movement

to resist the unwarranted assault upon the rights of Labor which had resulted from the efforts of certain Federal officials to distort the Sherman Act and make it a vicious anti-Labor instrument. Your Council is highly gratified to be able to report the eminent success of this "firm purpose". Attention is called to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States sustained each and every contention advanced by the American Federation of Labor and has during the past year administered a resounding and humiliating set-back to those Federal officials' ill-conceived plan of destruction of the prerogatives of the trade union movement.

There is presented under this caption the history of a number of test cases and the activities of the A. F. of L. through counsel to counteract the vicious activities of those engaged in this pernicious attack on the established rights of the trade union movement.

### Education

The far-reaching effects of changes and dislocations caused by national defense activities are reflected also in the field of education. The Federation believes that the Federal Government should provide subsidies to public school systems of the states in proportion to their average per capita incomes with a view to making available to every potential citizen equal educational opportunities regardless of the economic status of their parents. Emergency funds should provide educational facilities for children of defense workers handicapped by the service they may be rendering in this national emergency. The permanent program of education, however, should be developed separately and safeguarded by proper definition of agencies and standards for procedure. All central bodies are urged to be on the alert against reductions in provisions for public education.

### Report on State Legislation—1941

In this section the Executive Council points out that very little legislation of benefit to Labor was enacted by the states in 1941. Outstanding among those measures which were enacted, however, were an anti-injunction law in New Jersey, a State Labor Relations Act in Rhode Island, together with a wage payment and wage collection law and a number of amendments materially strengthening the administration and extending the benefits of its workmen's compensation laws; Florida amended its child labor law by adopting a basic 16-year minimum age.

It is pointed out that while the gains were small, Labor succeeded in defeating many hostile measures.

Your Council recommends to all national and international executives that they urge upon their locals compliance with organizational policies of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliation of local unions with the state organization in whose jurisdiction the local exists.

### Reports of Departments of the American Federation of Labor

There is included in the report of the Executive Council reports from all departments.

The report of the Railway Employees Department is especially comprehensive.

### American Federationist

Under this title attention is called to the continuing efforts being put forth to improve the "American Federationist" in style, character and appearance as experience seems to warrant.

### Publicity and the Labor Press

In the light of increasing attacks through the columns of unfriendly newspapers and periodicals intended to malign the activities of Labor through distortion and actual misrepresentation of facts, your Council recommends the expansion of the publicity and informational facilities of the American Federation of Labor.

Attention is called to the splendid service rendered by the bona fide Labor Press which embraces the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. Their fine service should be rewarded by increased support. The Council expresses its deep appreciation of the bona fide labor press for its support and pledges continued assistance of the officers and members and constituent organizations.

A warning is sounded against pseudo-labor publications which are in no way bona fide labor papers or labor publications but which attempt to use the name and prestige of the A. F. of L. for selfish and material purposes. Central bodies, state federations of labor and local A. F. of L. organizations should disavow and disown the alleged labor publications which are known to operate under false pretenses.

### Research and Information

With progress in extending and perfecting organization and in advancing standards of work and living Labor finds facts and information increasingly necessary. Arguments for new advances must be convincing whether presented in a government hearing or in industrial collective bargaining. Requests for factual material have greatly increased during the past year and while our Research and Information Service is primarily for directly affiliated local unions, requests from international unions have steadily increased during the past year. This has, in turn been reflected in the steady increase in the number of internationals providing research service for their own affiliated unions.

In the section of their report under this caption your Council reports the activities of the Research and Information Service in disseminating data needed in hearings and priority orders and production, in connection with minimum wage orders under the industry committee procedures of the Wage-Hour Law and the prevailing minimum wage determinations under the Public Contracts Act, etc.

The growth of Labor's central clearing house for union information from the field has greatly increased during the past year. Attention is called to the fact that the information collected from our movement is not available elsewhere and it is practically vital today when union members are faced with lay-offs due to priorities and other difficult adjustments due to the national emergency.

Your Council deems it advisable to develop this service of providing facts for collective bargaining at headquarters and to make it available to locals of internationals as well as directly affiliated locals.

### Trade Union Benefits

On the basis of reports submitted to headquarters your Council has followed established custom of compiling a table showing trade union benefits. The benefit features of our trade unions are important and the cooperation of all affiliated national and international unions in assembling and transmitting requested data to headquarters is earnestly requested.

### Legal Activities

During the past year Federation matters requiring legal attention proved unusually demanding. In the section of

the report under this caption there is presented for your consideration and guidance a very comprehensive report covering court cases, National Labor Relations Board cases and opinions on legislation. This report is commended to your serious attention.

### The European Conflict

The developments of the past year in Europe with regard to the war and those engaged in it is briefly outlined in this section of the report. Your Executive Council expresses apprehension lest the change in the war picture brought about by the alliance of Russia with Great Britain in the struggle against Nazism may give rise to a tendency among some to embrace Soviet Russia as a friend and ally in defense of democracy. The Executive Council points out that Russia is not the willing ally of the forces of democracy but was forced into an alliance with democratic forces by sheer desperation. It should be borne in mind that communism is a form of totalitarianism inimical to democracy. These questions should be weighed carefully by our nation in considering the extent of our aid to Soviet Russia.

Because of the deep consciousness of the working people of our country of the issues involved in the European conflict the Executive Council recommends that the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. renew its pledge of support and cooperation with our government in its completion of our national defense program and in its policy of extending full and complete aid to Great Britain and her allies.

### Japanese War on China

The Executive Council again denounces the aggressor policies of Japan in its war on China. The sympathy of the Executive Council and complete accord with the efforts being made for relief and assistance of the Chinese people is expressed in this report.

### Boycott on German and Japanese Goods

Attention is called to the fact that the American Federation of Labor was the first among organizations in the United States to declare a boycott against the purchase of goods manufactured in Germany and Japan. This action was taken because Germany and Japan were unjustifiable aggressors against free people who seek only to live in peace with their neighbors and to enjoy the privileges of freedom.

## Post-War Reconstruction

Deep concern for the issues of the present and with the war which is being waged must not be allowed to blind us to the vital problems which will press for solution after the war is over. These are stupendous in scope and implication and their solution will condition our own domestic peace after the war is over. Labor has a vital stake in peace. It must help in planning for a democratic post-war world in which peace must be combined with social justice. Your Council calls attention to the fact that the International Labor Organization with tripartite set-up in which Labor, Government and Management are represented suggests a democratic way of dealing with the reconstruction problems at both domestic and international levels which will affect our entire social order.

In connection with the preparation of a program for post-war reconstruction your Council recommends that a tri-partite commission be created and authorized to study and report upon post-war Labor and social problems and to recommend methods of dealing with these problems. Such commission should be empowered to draw upon the government and private agencies for assistance in its work.

## Defense

Beginning with the section under this general caption and continuing through those titled "A. F. of L. Committee on National Defense," "National Defense Mediation Board" and "Defense Training" your Executive Council presents a report of the defense program of particular concern to Labor. This report includes administrative branches such as OPM and its several divisions and a description of their functions is presented for your information and guidance. The functions of the Priorities Division and Division of Contract Distribution are of vital concern to wage earners and the program and position of the A. F. of L. in connection with these agencies are included in the report.

President Green created a Committee on National Defense which is functioning for the benefit of the labor movement in keeping abreast of trends in the defense program and to conserve Labor's interests generally.

Since Labor has declared an "all-out" support of our Government in its defense program, we want to share fully in the responsibility for making defense policies through our chosen representatives. Attention is called to the fact that in England the Government was not able to secure full cooperation

from Labor until that group was accorded representation in the development of policies. Many parts of the defense program of our own nation are of immediate concern to Labor not only as citizens but as wage earners. We are directly concerned with the standards for deferment from selective service for workers with special skills and we seek representation on the boards setting standards for such deferment. We are vitally concerned with priority ratings and ask a voice in determining priority policies, not to obstruct military preparations but to help anticipate the dislocations and to plan to minimize them by retraining workers and converting affected plants to defense uses. In addition we are concerned with training programs, the dilution of skills and up-grading which may make specialists for certain jobs but who may ultimately be handicapped for adjustment to other work. We wish to serve through our own chosen representatives on policy committees determining the amount, kinds, and methods of training.

The report of the Executive Council squarely faces the possibility of our actual participation as a nation in war, and the possibility of our being called upon to sacrifice any part of the rights which the American Federation of Labor has won through sixty years of effort. If such sacrifices prove necessary we must make them voluntarily, acting through our own representatives, and with the full assurance that we shall resume those rights when the emergency is over. Full participation of chosen representatives of Labor and industry in the defense program and in planning for post-defense adjustments is the effective, democratic way of assuring an all-out effort for national defense.

## Railroad Wage Negotiations

Your Council is of the opinion that the railroad workers of the nation are entitled to a very substantial increase in wages. The demands which have been made for increases are thoroughly justifiable and the Council is in full accord with those made by the representatives of the railroad workers. A full measure of support will be given them in the efforts they are putting forth to secure an increase in wages and improvements in working conditions for the railroad workers of the nation.

## Fraternal Delegates

Because of the national and international emergencies which existed the Executive Council decided it would be unwise to send fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress



this year. However, we were represented in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Your Council expresses the hope that it may prove expedient to send fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress next year.

### **International Federation of Trade Unions**

Despite the war and the terrorism which exists in Europe, the IFTU is still carrying on its work from London from which point their Bulletin is again being published. At the conclusion of the war the IFTU should be in a position to exert great influence upon the form which the peace treaties will take and to help in bringing about a democratic world in which the interests of all will be safeguarded.

### **International Labor Organization**

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions have continued their active support of the ILO during the past year. President Green assisted in arranging for the transfer of the Office of this International Organization to America to protect the independence of the Office and to insure freedom of communication with non-European members. The American Federation of Labor is gratified that the ILO is continuing its studies and publications dealing with labor problems throughout the world and that it is preparing to assist in plans for post-war reconstruction.

The American Federation of Labor urges continued participation in the ILO and financial support to make it possible for the organization to successfully carry on its work.

### **Pan-American Federation of Labor**

Present day developments have brought to us a fuller realization of the interdependence between the Americas for our mutual security. It is, therefore, the judgment of the Executive Council that the countries of Central and South America should participate fully in benefits accruing through any loans which our government may make to any of the countries under present emergency conditions. In the light of the situation in the Americas today preparations have been considered and are under way for holding an early congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Together with our neighbors and fellow workers of Central and South America we can build up a family of Labor on the Western Hemisphere of prosperous, free men and women and free nations.

### **Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor**

Under this title there is presented a very comprehensive report of labor conditions on the Island of Puerto Rico.

### **Alaska**

During the past year stimulated organizing activities have been in progress in Alaska. In the Army and Naval Air Bases under construction special problems have presented themselves for solution because many of the workers came from the states. The six central bodies in Alaska have taken on a new strategic importance in the present international crisis.

### **Hawaii**

The Hawaiian Islands have taken on a new aspect of international importance in the present world crisis. Hundreds of workers have been brought to these Islands from the mainland for construction work and navy yard employment. At the time of the preparation of the report of the Executive Council 10,000 men were engaged in construction work on government projects alone. Other thousands were employed in private construction and local industries. There is a widening field for organization work on the Islands to extend the benefits enjoyed by workers on the mainland.

### **Workers Education Bureau**

In this section of the report there is presented a concise report of the activities of the Workers Education Bureau during the past year. Labor institutes were held under the sponsorship of the Workers Education Bureau in many states.

### **Conclusion**

The report of your Executive Council indicates only an outline of the trends in our social, economic and political institutions. In closing the account of their stewardship for the American Federation of Labor for the past year your Council solemnly urges all affiliated unions to renew their dedication to the cause of Labor and human freedom that our sacrifices and hardships may be made to serve the cause of humanity.

President Green: The report of the Executive Council has been submitted to you in this summary form and will be incorporated in the proceedings of today. I want to thank Secretary Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, for the service he rendered in submitting this report.

# REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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SEATTLE, WASHINGTON,

OCTOBER 6, 1941.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-first Annual  
Convention of the American Federation of Labor,*

GREETINGS:

## INTRODUCTION

The past year has brought our nation progressively closer toward total establishment on a defense footing. The Proclamation of an Unlimited National Emergency of May 27, 1941, was substituted for the Proclamation of a Limited National Emergency of September 8, 1939. The Lend-Lease Act of March 11, 1941, served to increase defense production which will no doubt continue to increase as long as the world is involved in the present conflict. All of our problems and our lives in the immediate future will be overshadowed and dominated by the necessity of protecting our liberties and our institutions against the worldwide menace created by the efforts of a few nations to dominate adjacent peoples.

Serious as this situation is, the American Federation of Labor stands ready to do its part in complete confidence that the spirit of a free people can not be crushed, and that victory will bring broader and more stable world institutions assuring freedom in life and work.

The year has also brought us greater confidence in the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor



is founded. We believe that unionism is a way of life resting upon the conviction that workers have a right to a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions under which they work. From this basic right, lines of action and principles follow. These principles direct the outlook and course of living of persons who accept union membership with its rights and responsibilities. Real unionism does not come by law, by force or from expediency, but as a result of inner conviction and understanding.

Our gains in the past year have been steady and substantial. We have made definite progress in all the organization work in which we have engaged and we have succeeded in improving the economic life of the workers of the nation. We have made definite gains in spite of many obstacles which we have encountered. For the coming year, which will present inescapable sacrifices, we urge that local central labor unions everywhere take leadership in establishing the concept and the practice that local unions must be maintained as agencies for human freedom and human welfare. Unions can not make themselves strong by disregarding the rights and interests of other groups of wage earners, nor can unions maintain strength by denying others access to the rights and agencies which they have established.

The Western Hemisphere alone affords to wage earners unrestricted freedom of action through voluntary union organization. Our greatest concern should be to exercise our rights so as to perpetuate them, together with the other institutions of our country.

**SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT**

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.*

**GREETINGS:** I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1940, and ending August 31, 1941.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$1,007,149.96. Of this total \$800,054.15 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$207,095.81, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$2,126,971.57; the total expenses, including the \$25,000 transferred to A. F. of L. Building Fund, \$1,835,973.43. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$290,998.14.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1941:

**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, August 31, 1940.....		\$716,151.82
Per capita tax.....	\$1,075,309.33	
Assessments.....	149,562.01	
Advertisements, American Federationist.....	175.00	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist.....	1,174.84	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist.....	357,490.71	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund.....	302,829.29	
Initiation fees.....	153,641.69	
Reinstatement fees.....	7,550.00	
Supplies.....	24,659.13	
Interest.....	12,068.13	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	22,271.88	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	20,239.56	
Total receipts.....		2,126,971.57
Grand total.....		\$2,843,123.39

**EXPENSES**

Organizing.....	\$609,029.44	
Organizers' salaries.....	430,729.54	
Office employees' salaries.....	210,583.38	
Administrative salaries.....	54,186.77	
Miscellaneous general bills.....	294,930.49	
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....	87,604.98	
Defense Fund.....	105,264.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	18,644.83	
Total expenses.....	\$1,810,973.43	
Transfer from Defense Fund to A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	25,000.00	
Expenses plus transfer from Defense Fund.....		\$1,835,973.43
Balance on hand, August 31, 1941.....		\$1,007,149.96

**RECAPITULATION**

In General Fund.....	\$207,095.81
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	800,054.15
Balance on hand, August 31, 1941.....	\$1,007,149.96

## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1941:

Rent .....	\$27,257.33
Refunds, charter and outfit, per capita tax, supplies, etc.....	272.16
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions .....	18,644.88
Secretary-Treasurer's bond .....	202.50
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation .....	2,182.40
Forgery, robbery .....	62.81
Fire, on office furniture and fixtures .....	172.22
D. C. personal tax .....	204.32
Social Security old age benefit tax .....	6,159.51
State unemployment tax .....	16,086.50
Federal pay-roll tax .....	3,233.11
Expressage, freight and drayage .....	1,512.80
Legislative salaries and expenses .....	13,279.68
Newspapers, magazines and books (library) .....	2,555.66
Research-Statistical Service (supplies and miscellaneous) .....	1,026.87
Postage stamps .....	14,021.42
Supplies for resale .....	19,442.60
Printing:	
General .....	\$23,636.97
Convention roll call .....	176.00
Convention daily proceedings .....	5,181.38
Convention bound proceedings .....	3,492.70
Convention miscellaneous .....	199.10
A. F. of L. Weekly News Service .....	7,256.10
	39,942.25
Office equipment and supplies .....	4,790.97
Miscellaneous expenses .....	10,138.54
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Dept.) .....	4,559.61
Mailing equipment .....	2,658.68
Office furniture and fixtures .....	8,311.44
Telegrams and telephone .....	19,711.93
Fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress .....	206.50
New Orleans Convention:	
Entertaining fraternal delegates .....	456.29
Messengers, sergeant at arms, assistant secretary, roll-call clerk and proofreader .....	643.50
Supplies .....	47.01
Stenographers' expenses .....	6,012.39
Official stenographers .....	2,204.75
Rental of office furniture .....	136.84
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, handling convention mail, porters, etc. .....	753.13
Auditing and Credential Committee .....	893.85
Delegates', guest, committee and officers' badges .....	1,345.91

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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## Salaries:

President .....	\$17,333.44
Secretary-Treasurer .....	15,333.33
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus .....	6,000.00
Office employes.....	210,583.38

Executive Council meetings—telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, stenographers, etc.....	32,513.72
President, traveling.....	7,215.15
Secretary-Treasurer, traveling .....	5,098.86
Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, traveling.....	633.57

## Defense Fund:

Strike and lockout benefits.....	105,264.00
Transfer to A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	25,000.00

## Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:

Metal Trades Department.....	687.00
Union Label Trades Department.....	218.42

Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	185.54
Affiliation fee, International Federation of Trades Unions.....	1,063.20

* Organizers' salaries and expenses.....	1,039,758.98
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## American Federationist:

Cost of printing.....	77,757.36
Postage .....	7,996.30
Story for Junior Federationist.....	240.00
Photographs .....	1,360.20
Miscellaneous .....	251.12

Legal services.....	34,340.57
Publicity salaries and expenses.....	8,967.02
Special committees and conferences.....	3,741.96

## Contributions to:

United Service Organizations.....	5,000.00
Infantile Paralysis Fund.....	300.00

Total .....	<u>\$1,835,973.43</u>
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## ORGANIZING EXPENSES

\* During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1941, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,039,758.98. Of this amount, \$506,880.10 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$532,878.88, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

## DEFENSE FUND

### FOR

### LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 12 months, beginning September 1, 1940, and ending August 31, 1941. During the year, \$25,000 was transferred from the Defense Fund to American Federation of Labor Building Fund.

#### RECEIPTS

Receipts from local trade and federal labor unions for the Defense Fund..	\$298,135.29
Refund of strike benefits and strike assistance.....	4,694.00
Total receipts.....	<u>\$302,829.29</u>

#### EXPENSES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>No. of Weeks</i>	<i>Aver. Mem.</i>	
20935	Federal Labor Union, Fort Atkinson, Wis.....		5	203+	\$7,126.00
20459	Federal Labor Union, St. Paul, Minn.....		5	411+	14,406.00
20160	Flour & Cereal Workers, Portland, Oreg.....		1	133	931.00
21903	Federal Labor Union, Watertown, Mass.....		5	53+	1,876.00
20475	Wholesale Merchandise Workers, Chicago, Ill..		1/2	158	474.00
20617	Rubber & Woolen Wkrs., Wausau, Wis.....		4	182+	5,098.00
18780	Aluminum Workers, East St. Louis, Ill.....		3 1/2	664+	16,270.00
21840	Flour Mill & Grain Elevator Employes, Lawrenceburg, Ind. ....		6	15+	658.00
20947	Federal Labor Union, St. Bernard, Ohio.....		7	27+	1,344.00
20684	Cloth Window Shade Wkrs., Oswego, N. Y.....		2	38	532.00
19772	Composition Floor Tile Makers Union, Chicago, Ill.		2	131	1,837.00
19184	Flour, Feed & Cereal Wkrs., Buffalo, N. Y.....		5	174	6,090.00
21830	Flour, Feed & Cereal Wkrs., Los Angeles & vic., Calif. ....		1	38	266.00
21463	Federal Labor Union, Clearfield, Pa.....		1	24	238.00
21967-68-69-70	Captive Miners, Alabama.....		1	1,302+	18,231.00
22199	Fabricated Metal Wkrs., Cairo, Ill.....		5	26+	924.00

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Amount disbursed for assistance to members of striking unions:

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	
20617	Rubber & Woolen Workers, Wausau, Wis.....		\$2,488.00
21571	A. F. of Industrial & Ordinary Ins. Agents, East St. Louis & vic., Ill.....		100.00
21245	Horticulturists & Floriculturists, San Francisco, Calif.....		250.00
16821	Office Employes, Portland, Oreg.....		1,000.00
22342	Agriculture & Citrus Workers, Oxnard, Calif.....		7,500.00
22343	Rubber Workers, West Haven, Conn.....		2,000.00
21967-68-69-70	Captive Miners, Alabama.....		9,000.00
20732	Office Employes Union, Chicago, Ill.....		1,000.00
	Workers Education Bureau.....		5,625.00
Total expenses .....			<u>\$105,264.00</u>

## RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1940.....	\$627,488.86
Transfer from Defense Fund to American Federation of Labor Building Fund .....	25,000.00
Balance Defense Fund.....	<u>\$602,488.86</u>
Receipts for 12 months ending August 31, 1941.....	302,829.29
Total .....	<u>\$905,318.15</u>
Strike benefits.....	\$76,301.00
Assistance to members of striking unions.....	23,338.00
Affiliation fee (Workers Education Bureau).....	<u>5,625.00</u>
Total .....	<u>105,264.00</u>
Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1941.....	<u><u>\$800,054.15</u></u>

**STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF  
SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW  
BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED**

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1940		Warrants paid:	
		1940	
September 30 .....	\$160,377.80	September 30 .....	\$128,560.28
October 31 .....	154,342.37	October 31 .....	150,463.10
November 30 .....	177,831.81	November 30 .....	137,957.21
December 31 .....	158,257.49	December 31 .....	172,265.58
1941		1941	
January 31 .....	159,142.37	January 31 .....	133,807.07
February 28 .....	146,819.63	February 28 .....	132,476.10
March 31 .....	185,693.77	March 31 .....	135,973.54
April 30 .....	148,277.80	April 30 .....	177,691.94
May 31 .....	194,024.50	May 31 .....	177,650.64
June 30 .....	191,833.57	June 30 .....	140,538.72
July 31 .....	209,478.63	July 31 .....	185,491.10
August 31 .....	240,591.83	August 31 .....	163,098.15
Total income for 12 months	\$2,126,971.57	Total expenses 12 months	\$1,835,973.43
Bal. in hands of Secretary- Treasurer Aug. 31, 1940.	716,151.82		
Grand total .....	\$2,843,123.39		

**RECAPITULATION**

Total balance and income .....	\$2,843,123.39
Total expenses .....	1,835,973.43
Balance on hand, August 31, 1941 .....	\$1,007,149.96
Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) .....	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%) .....	2,070.32
U. S. Treas. Bonds (3¼%) (\$50,000) @ 98 18/32 ..	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%) .....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½%) .....	1,531.25
U. S. Defense Savings Bonds .....	50,000.00
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds .....	\$427,882.82
Riggs National Bank (subject to check) .....	531,871.14
City Bank (subject to check) .....	5,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check) ..	2,000.00
300 shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock) ..	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock .....	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit) ..	25,000.00
Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1941 .....	\$1,007,149.96

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1941.

**CHARTERS ISSUED**

During the 12 months ending August 31, 1941, there have been issued 496 charters to international, central, local trade and federal labor unions; of this number 1 was issued to the following international union:

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.

Central bodies as follows:

Alaska	Michigan
Anchorage	Ironwood
Arkansas	Grand Haven
El Dorado	Adrian
California	Mississippi
Sierra, Plumas,	Pascagoula
Lassen	Nebraska
San Luis Obispo	Beatrice
County	New York
Illinois	Rockland County
Grundy County	Ohio
Belvidere	Lake County
Paris	Troy
Indiana	Ashland County
Porter County	Pennsylvania
Massachusetts	East Stroudsburg
Waltham and	Texas
Newton	Orange
Malden and Vicinity	Wisconsin
	Monroe

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the 12 months of this fiscal year:

	1940-1941
Internationals .....	1
Central Labor Unions .....	22
Local Trade Unions .....	268
Federal Labor Unions .....	205
Total .....	496

**Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions**

On August 31, 1941, we had 1,441 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 198,605, and a defense fund of \$800,054.15.

The Federation has 1,911 volunteer organizers, as well as 192 paid organizers and the officers of the 800 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$302,829.29; initiation fees, \$153,641.69; and reinstatement fees, \$7,550.

**Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated**

**CENTRAL BODIES:** Disbanded, 9; reinstated, 6; suspended, 33.

**LOCAL TRADE UNIONS:** Disbanded, 28; suspended, 116; joined national and international organizations, 156; revoked, 25; cancelled, 3; reinstated, 20.

**FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS:** Disbanded, 18; suspended, 41; joined national and international organizations, 18; cancelled, 3; reinstated, 5.

**INTERNATIONAL UNION CHARTERED:** Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.



## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## TOTAL MEMBERSHIP

## OF

## AFFILIATED UNIONS

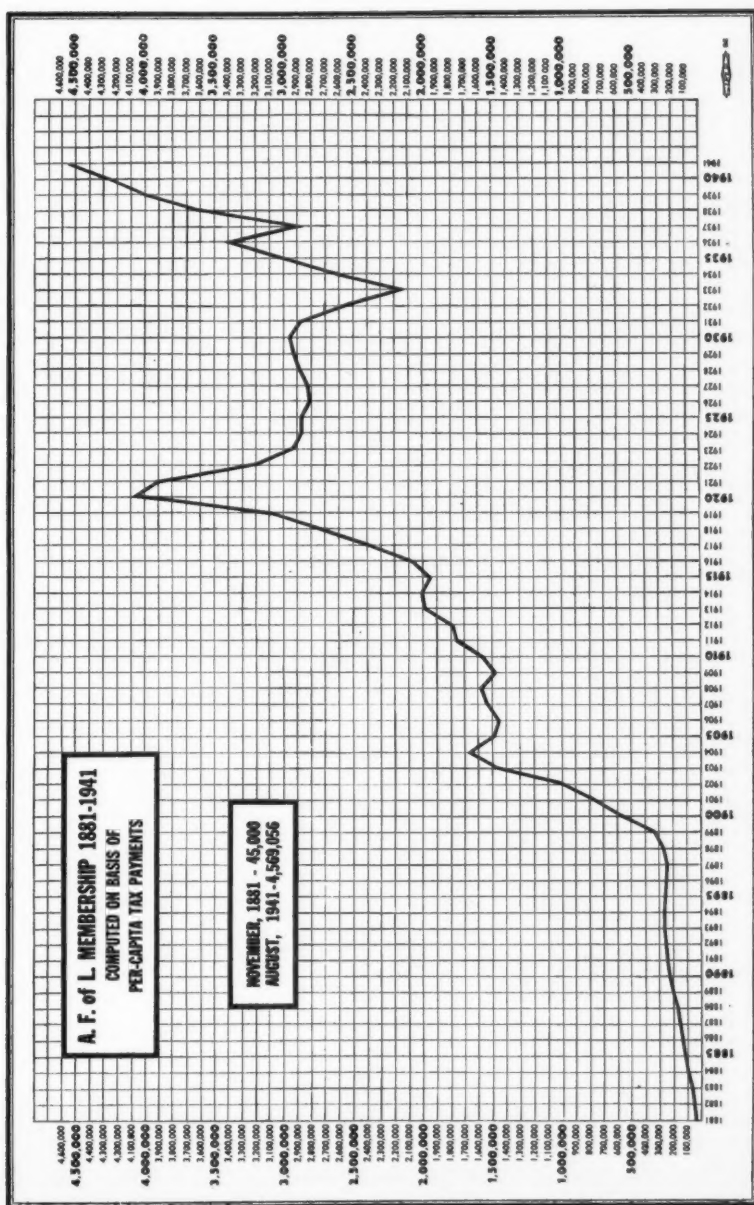
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of August 31, 1941, is 4,569,056.

This is based on the actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 45 years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897 .....	264,825	1920 .....	4,078,740
1898 .....	278,016	1921 .....	3,906,528
1899 .....	349,422	1922 .....	3,195,635
1900 .....	548,321	1923 .....	2,926,468
1901 .....	787,537	1924 .....	2,865,799
1902 .....	1,024,399	1925 .....	2,877,297
1903 .....	1,465,800	1926 .....	2,803,966
1904 .....	1,676,200	1927 .....	2,812,526
1905 .....	1,494,300	1928 .....	2,896,063
1906 .....	1,454,200	1929 .....	2,933,545
1907 .....	1,538,970	1930 .....	2,961,096
1908 .....	1,586,885	1931 .....	2,889,550
1909 .....	1,482,872	1932 .....	2,532,261
1910 .....	1,562,112	1933 .....	2,126,796
1911 .....	1,761,835	1934 .....	2,608,011
1912 .....	1,770,145	1935 .....	3,045,347
1913 .....	1,996,004	1936 .....	3,422,398
1914 .....	2,020,671	1937 .....	2,860,933
1915 .....	1,946,347	1938 .....	3,623,087
1916 .....	2,072,702	1939 .....	4,006,354
1917 .....	2,371,434	1940 .....	4,247,443
1918 .....	2,726,478	1941 .....	4,569,056
1919 .....	3,260,068		

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received, for each year since 1881 up to and including 1941—a total of 61 years.



## VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1933 up to and including 1941. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A. . . . .	33	31	43	44	55	176	201	146	148
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators. . . . .	20	25	25	25	25	35	40	40	40
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl Union United Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A. . . . .	159	181	218	261	325	621	730	811	844
Barbers' International Union, Jour. . . . .	320	393	323	323	408	465	475	490	490
Bill Posters. . . . .	16	14	14	14	14	16	18	29	30
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of. . . . .	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders. . . . .	142	143	153	155	180	280	290	332	426
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. . . . .	134	192	259	270	293	308	308	308	308
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of. . . . .	107	119	117	161	131	174	177	187	219
Brewery Workers, International Union. . . . .	160	255	417	420	420	420	420	420	420
Brick and Clay Workers, etc. . . . .	1	14	16	10	55	50	100	100	115
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A. . . . .	458	458	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn. . . . .	100	160	160	160	227	413	395	413	520
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl. . . . .	2	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union. . . . .	180	192	275	350	420	658	700	700	700
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of. . . . .	2,058	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway. . . . .	592	550	550	583	650	650	650	650	650
Carvers' Union, International Wood. . . . .	8	8	6	4	4	4	4	3	8
Cigarmakers' International Union. . . . .	98	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	87
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs. . . . .	50	58	72	103	185	159	164	164	164
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail. . . . .	600	600	725	875	892	910	910	970	1,100
Clerks, Bro. of Railway. . . . .	360	333	320	320	360	380	400	400	400
Clerks Post Office, Natl. Federation of. . . . .								132	168
Cement, Lime & Gypsum Wkrs. . . . .								3	11
Circus, Carnival, Fairs & Rodeo Intl. Union. . . . .	833	1,000	1,200						
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated. . . . .									
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union. . . . .	61	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car. . . . .	20	20	20	20	19	14	14	14	14
Coopers' International Union. . . . .	7	25	29	25	26	36	41	42	45
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A. . . . .	3	2	2	4	3	3	3	3	4
Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union. . . . .									33
Draftsmen's Union, Intl. . . . .	7	10	12	12	14	18	19	19	22
Electrical Workers, International Bro. . . . .	941	1,135	1,300	1,700	1,712	1,750	2,003	2,097	2,010
Elevator Constructors. . . . .	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating. . . . .	350	350	350	350	420	420	708	800	800
Engravers, Friendly Society of. . . . .	1	4	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal. . . . .	5	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	3
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo. . . . .	87	86	87	88	91	102	104	105	105
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of. . . . .	180	197	235	255	291	300	307	389	371
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of. . . . .	92	101	149	207	236	254	268	312	343
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of. . . . .	5	20	32	37	35	35	35	e	e
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl. . . . .	40	20	30	150	e	e	e	e	e
Garment Workers of America, United. . . . .	395	370	371	406	395	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers, Intl. Ladies. . . . .	250	1,500	1,600	1,967				375	2,250
Glass Cutters League of A., Window. . . . .	6	10	12	12	13	12	12	8	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C. . . . .	60	60	60	62	108	200	200	200	200
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat. . . . .		8	100	116				e	e
Glass Workers, American Flint. . . . .	36	61	61	48	53	179	178	186	203
Glove Workers. . . . .	5	34	35	22	17	7	9	16	19
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of. . . . .	40	83	139	222	214	212	226	223	240
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., The. . . . .	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Hatters of North America, United. . . . .	85	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union, United. . . . .		198	214	221	239	225	300	320	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers. . . . .	521	442	523	654	996	1,477	1,544	1,619	1,837
Horsehoers of United States and Canada. . . . .	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc. . . . .	227	378	570	738	1,071	1,759	1,848	2,025	2,141
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn. . . . .	46	55	86	92				e	e
Jewelry Workers' International. . . . .	8	49	55	53	60	45	40	45	55
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal. . . . .	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union. . . . .	50	53	60	60	70	194	292	400	404
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United. . . . .	8	30	27	25	25	25	25	25	29
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of. . . . .	550	517	500	500	525	600	600	600	600
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural. . . . .	12	12	12	6	5	6	6	6	5

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	52	58	67	69	72	112	123	124	129
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	234	343	400	406	614	624	663	621	615
Machinists, International Association of	650	820	925	1,137	1,380	1,901	1,900	1,901	2,218
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of	278	312	335	357	418	523	676	633	657
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of	62	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots	25	20	22	25	29	30	30	30	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Nat'l. Asso. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Messengers, Special Delivery Nat'l Asso.						11	9	9	9
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	111	195	198	194	300	521	629	709	849
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet	175	160	160	160	162	198	200	200	200
Mine Workers of America, United	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	†	†	†	†	†
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of	13	116	146	159	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive						350	350	350	350
Molders Union of North America, Intl.	60	88	118	159	222	277	233	304	421
Musicians, American Federation of	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Newspaper Guild, American	3	125	428	405	†	†	†	†	†
Oil Field, etc., Workers					†	†	†	†	†
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	593	578	656	665	801	994	1,002	1,002	1,049
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	23	115	90	66	116	163	206	243	258
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	70	70	25	26	42	68	70	74	80
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of	20	20	20	31	†	†	†	†	†
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.	22	22	21	20	20	†	†	†	†
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.	3	2	2	†	†	†	†	†	†
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.)	6	7	7	8	†	†	†	†	†
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C. Oper.	226	180	180	180	184	191	194	191	212
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	450	450	340	330	330	377	400	400	454
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal	14	35	40	46	56	70	70	70	70
Porters, Bro. Sleeping Car				12	55	60	60	66	72
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.					5	100	100	100	100
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Nat'l Asso.						12	15	15	15
Potters, National Bro. of Operative	45	79	100	104	110	120	130	140	160
Powder and High Explosive Workers	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1
Printing Pressmen, International	353	320	320	320	337	372	396	437	457
Printers', Die Stampers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate	10	12	14	13	10	9	9	7	10
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.	50	69	85	91	167	300	322	400	442
Quarry Workers, International	21	20	20	20	20	†	†	†	†
Railway Employees' Amal., S. & E.	712	700	734	757	767	790	797	800	807
Railway Mail Association	200	192	191	193	210	217	217	221	227
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.									
United Slate, Tile and Composition	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	44
Rubber Workers of Amer., United				85	†	†	†	†	†
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.	60	50	125	200	142	22	110	187	200
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.	6	8	11	9	8	8	7	6	6
Siderographers, Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State County & Municipal Emp.					114	200	257	297	337
Spinners Union Intl.									
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical	240	240	240	240	242	278	420	420	420
Stereotypers & Electrotypers of U. of A.	82	80	79	81	83	87	83	83	86
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen	56	56	57	52	50	42	41	41	41
Stove Mounters' International Union	6	15	20	23	30	36	42	49	53
Switchmen's Union of North America	63	73	80	85	89	83	78	81	80
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	17	26	45	59	†	†	†	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of	70	85	120	127	154	221	256	300	267
Teamsters, Chauffeurs etc., Intl. Bro. of	713	955	1,370	1,610	2,109	3,092	3,500	3,937	4,083
Telegraphers, Commercial	22	20	20	20	20	29	35	35	40
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	333
*Textile Workers of America, United	150	387	792	1,000	†	†	*	36	152
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America	26	83	104	85	110	143	147	180	178
Typographical Union, International	738	731	734	733	755	794	792	†	†
Upholsterers, International Union of	65	65	65	85	102	110	110	148	160
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	5	6	6	5	9	30	31	31	31
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Centrals	618	666	730	734	735	792	806	816	800
State Branches	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions	711	2,184	1,750	1,246	1,925	2,314	2,465	2,471	2,587
Total vote of Unions	22,554	28,105	31,866	35,420	29,943	36,656	39,267	41,146	45,282

† Suspended. α Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation. d Amalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

\* Reinstated. B-Title Changed from Intl Seamen's Union of America.

e Charter revoked.

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1941.....	\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....	15,548.87
Total receipts.....	<u>\$133,622.10</u>
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1941.....	122,728.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1941.....	<u>\$10,893.23</u>
Funds deposited as follows:	
1,266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock.....	\$1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	2,127.23
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000).....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1941.....	<u>\$10,893.23</u>

## INFANTILE PARALYSIS CAMPAIGN FUND

Under date of January 16, 1941, an appeal was issued for contributions to the Infantile Paralysis Campaign Fund. The response to this appeal handled by our office in Washington is as follows:

Total receipts from January 16, 1941 to August 31, 1941.....	\$20,711.69
Amount forwarded to Keith Morgan, National Chairman.....	20,711.69
Account balanced.....	<u>0.00</u>

NOTE: This above represents funds sent to our office only and does not include thousands of dollars additional sent to the national and local Infantile Paralysis Fund offices by our affiliates.

## CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

*George Meany*

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

**REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING**

*To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:*

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending August 31, 1941:

**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand August 31, 1940.....		\$20,821.34
Rents .....	\$11,476.41	
Dividends .....	36.54	
Fire replacement.....	9.40	
Redeposit outstanding checks.....	22	
Sale of waste paper.....	21.25	
Transfer from A. F. of L. General Fund.....	25,000.00	
Total receipts.....		66,543.82
Receipts and balance.....		\$87,365.16

**EXPENSES**

Maintenance:		
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$19,933.18	
Taxes .....	3,219.36	
Electricity .....	1,908.16	
Fuel (coal).....	917.20	
Supplies .....	2,702.64	
Upkeep and repairs.....	6,434.37	
Plastering and painting.....	3,423.36	
Cleaning windows.....	420.00	
Insurance (liability).....	725.07	
Water rent.....	51.17	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	176.00	
Safe deposit (rent).....	3.33	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	1,611.23	
New elevator (labor and material).....	30,150.00	
Social Security Tax:		
Unemployment insurance.....	517.56	
Old age benefits.....	191.47	
Total expenses.....		\$72,384.10
Balance on hand August 31, 1941.....		\$14,981.06

**RECAPITULATION**

Receipts and balance.....	\$87,365.16
Expenses .....	72,384.10
Balance on hand August 31, 1941.....	\$14,981.06
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1,218 shares).....	\$1,218.00
Riggs National Bank.....	6,263.06
U. S. Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000).....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1941.....	\$14,981.06

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
GEORGE MEANY,  
JOHN P. FREY,  
*Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.*

## OFFICIAL CHANGES

### Death of Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert

On July 28, 1941, Second Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert died very suddenly. His tragic passing shocked the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor who knew him intimately, and created a widespread feeling of profound sorrow and deep regret among our entire membership.

Thomas A. Rickert had served as a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor since 1918, a period of twenty-three years. He was regarded as a most capable representative of his own organization, the United Garment Workers of America, and a most valuable member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. His opinions and advice upon administrative policies were eagerly sought and his judgment was highly respected by all his official associates and members of the Executive Council.

We mourn his passing and are deeply conscious of the great loss which the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor sustained through his death.

### PROPOSED CHANGE IN NUMBER OF VICE-PRESIDENTS

At our Fifty-fourth Annual Convention which was held at San Francisco, California, beginning October 1, 1934, the constitution of the American Federation of Labor was amended so as to provide for fifteen Vice-Presidents instead of eight, which had been the number provided for in the laws of the American Federation of Labor for many years.

Since the change in the constitution was made at San Francisco, which increased the number of Vice-Presidents from eight to fifteen, we have learned through experience that it has been more difficult to secure a quorum at sessions of the Executive Council called periodically for the purpose of transacting business. Members of the Executive Council, as is generally known, are representatives of national and international unions. Their duties and obligations have increased during the changing economic and industrial period through which our nation has been passing. The demands made upon them for time and service to the members of their particular national and international unions are very exacting. Many of them find it very difficult to spare the time necessary to attend meetings of the Executive Council.

Because of this experience, and because the Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that the business of the Executive Council can be expedited by a change in the number of Vice-Presidents, the Executive Council recommends that the number of Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor be reduced from fifteen, as now provided for in the constitution, to thirteen. This recommendation is based upon experience and sound judgment. It is made not for the purpose of decreasing representation of American Federation of Labor organizations upon the Executive Council, but instead for the purpose of facilitating and expediting the work of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council is firmly of the opinion that the best interests of the membership of the American Federation of Labor will be served through the substitution of thirteen instead of fifteen Vice Presidents, as now provided for in the laws of the American Federation of Labor.



### ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

The past year has been one of significant progress in organizing work of the American Federation of Labor. Again we have exceeded the achievements of former years in numerical strength, growth and influence, which extends to every town and community in our American life. There is also an indication of growth of unionism in our possessions, Panama, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska, as well as the Dominion of Canada. The affiliated strength of the Federation has increased by the hundreds of thousands through the activity of our national and international unions. This represents a bona fide dues-paying membership and means that our membership is loyal and devoted to the principles and policies that guide our trade union movement.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions have been carrying on an intensive campaign throughout our nation to organize the unorganized workers.

The character of the agreements entered into is indicative of the strength of our trade union movement. We have entered into more agreements this year, that provide wage increases, vacations with pay, the protection of men who have entered military service, the preservation of seniority rights, and for substantial pay increases, than at any time in our history. These achievements have been made during the critical times that our nation has been going through without resort to strikes. We have used all the agencies of our Government to bring about a peaceful solution without hindrance to our national defense program.

Industries that have never been organized before have been organized, and through the process of collective bargaining have increased wages and the standard of living for these workers. There seems to be a greater demand for organization among office workers and professional men and women than ever before in our history.

The American Federation of Labor has been called upon to assist many of our international unions by assigning Federation organizers to assist them where their own staff was inadequate. We have aided, as the record will show, in turning over to these international unions workers who were organized in the first instance in trade and federal labor unions. We have assisted our national and international unions in cases before the National Labor Relations Board, United States Department of Labor, Office of Production Management, and in negotiating agreements. In this organizing work we have carefully and diligently endeavored to protect the jurisdictional rights of national and international unions. Organizers on our staff have been advised and are requested to cooperate with representatives of national and international unions in carrying out joint enterprises to organize the whole industry rather than any particular part. Our organizers attempt to encourage joint action and joint agreements. During the past year we have entered into joint agreements and joint relationships to protect the interests of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Pursuant to our policy we first organize workers who do not come under the jurisdiction of national and international unions into trade and federal



labor unions in any given industry. When we are able to organize a number of trade or federal labor unions, we endeavor to contact all of them so that they can act in unison in their dealings with the employer. When such unions grow in numbers in any given industry, representatives of the unions are called together for the purpose of establishing a national council. This year we organized in this manner the American Editorial Association, International Council of Chemical and Allied Industries Unions, and Railway Patrolmen. Such councils have for their ultimate purpose the establishment of new national and international unions, wherever in the judgment of the Executive Council it seems desirable to do so.

Over four hundred (400) federal labor unions were chartered during the past year in industries not covered by affiliated national and international unions and among the unorganized. Most of these organizations are made up of workers employed in chemical, agricultural, cannery and citrus, aluminum, grain processing, fabricated metal, rubber, beet sugar, railway patrolmen, editorial writers, and miscellaneous industries, as well as in the office and professional field.

During the past year we have carried on organizational campaigns through the organization committees of the various central labor unions. We are in the process of intensifying this work. Meetings of international representatives and business agents, in cooperation with the central labor unions, have been called to bring about united action in furthering the use of all available assistance that we have in the locality where we are conducting an organization drive. In this respect we have received the wholehearted support of most of the international unions. These conferences have a stimulating effect, not only in the field of organization but to bring about a more fraternal relationship and better understanding of the policies and principles of the American Federation of Labor. We hope that such meetings will be extended to every central labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The following statistics further amplify, in a more definite way, the splendid work that has been done in the past year, not only in organizing the unorganized but in the service rendered to our national and international unions. Our report last year was from July 27, 1939, through August 31, 1940. This year you will note the report is for a shorter time—September 1, 1940, through July 16, 1941.

1. Groups organized directly for internationals.....	242
2. Directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions transferred to international unions.....	147
3. Charters issued to directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions....	400
(a) of the 400	
366 active	
20 suspended	
2 disbanded	
9 transferred to internationals	
1 charter withdrawn	
2 amalgamated	
400 total	

**Chemical Workers.** Last year we reported one hundred fifty-one (151) local unions in this field representing approximately twenty thousand (20,000) dues-paying members. This year we have increased that amount by thirty-two (32) new local unions. This is one of the most active industrial fields for organization work throughout the country. Chemical industries are key industries to which we must pay special attention. Substantial progress and continued growth are confidently expected during the coming year.

**American Editorial Association.** There is now a National Council of these workers. There has been unusual opposition in this field, but progress is now being made. Organizers are now assigned to work among the editorial workers of different cities throughout the country. We call upon our national and international unions, state federations of labor and central labor unions to render all the aid possible to assist these editorial workers in forming bona fide unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

**Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers.** Progress has been continuing in this industry. However, it is confined to the West and Northwestern States. The Council which includes the Beet Sugar Workers has been doing splendid work in the Middle West, where some fine collective bargaining agreements have been negotiated.

**Aluminum Workers Unions.** The Aluminum Workers National Council is doing splendid work this year. They have engaged in very difficult negotiations with their employers. The substantial progress of these unions is demonstrated by the fact that they are successful in negotiating such splendid collective bargaining agreements in this industry. A very active organization campaign is in progress nationally with good results.

**Distillery Workers Unions.** The distillery workers were given their international charter by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. This newly created international union has been making great progress, not only in negotiating agreements with their companies but by steadily improving the character of their agreements, so that they have made great improvement in wages, hours, and conditions of the plant. We look forward to greater progress during the coming year in this industry, as an intensive organization campaign is being carried on.

**Grain Processors Council.** This National Council is doing splendid work. Fifteen (15) new unions have been added to this group during the past year. All of these unions are under contract to their employer and during the past year they have increased the benefits contained in practically all of their contracts throughout the country.

**Fabricated Metal Council.** These workers have made unusual progress. Twenty-one (21) new local unions have been organized during the past year. The officers of this Council are to be commended for the active and energetic manner in which they have organized the unorganized workers in this industry. They have entered into some splendid agreements with their employers which are bound to influence the unorganized in this field to affiliate themselves with this Council.

**Office Workers.** Again substantial progress in the organization of office and professional workers can be reported under the direction of the American Federation of Office Employees International Council. This group includes the Insurance Agents, where efforts have been more successful than any time heretofore. We have made some splendid contracts covering insurance agents, as well as in the general field of professional and office workers. We have added thirty (30) new local unions in this joint field. These small-salaried workers require a great deal more work to organize than some others, and a different approach. Such organizing work is done by an educational process. Most of these workers, by their training and environment, are reluctant to accept trade unionism as the way to protection and progress. However, by the use of literature, radio addresses and press statements, etc., they are beginning to feel that they must have their interests protected the same as any others who work for wages.

**Rubber Workers Union.** In this industry progress has been made in organizing workers employed by some of the controlling rubber companies, such as Hood, U. S. Rubber, Firestone, etc. This year fourteen (14) new local unions have been added to this group. Every indication is that we will continue to expand our membership in this industry.

**Textile Workers.** When this union opened their international office, less than two years ago, they had nine local unions directly affiliated with them. At the present time they have increased their number to one hundred sixty-nine (169) local unions in good standing, located in different states with a membership of approximately thirty thousand (30,000). Recently they have organized fourteen large mills in various parts of the country and have negotiated very good contracts with these mills for their workers.

**Telegraph.** The Organization Department of the American Federation of Labor has worked jointly with the Commercial Telegraphers Union in organizing the workers employed in this field. Very definite progress has been made in organizing the workers employed by the Western Union Telegraph. We have organized in this Western Union group twenty-four (24) new local unions this year. The Commercial Telegraphers Union has organized twenty-six (26) new locals since September, 1940, and increased their membership by approximately twelve thousand (12,000) members. They have negotiated some very constructive contracts, including wage increases for Western Union employees amounting to about two hundred and ten thousand dollars (\$210,000).

**Railway Patrolmen.** Delegates attended the conference of railway patrolmen called in Chicago on July 21, 1941, from every part of the country, northwest California, Utah, New Orleans, and the Northern and Middle West, to form a new Council. Twenty-three (23) new unions have been added to this group in the past year.

**Miscellaneous Unions.** In this field great progress is being made. During the past year we organized one hundred ninety-four (194) new unions that

do not come under the jurisdiction of any national or international union.

We express a fitting tribute to the special organizing staff and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the state federations of labor, city central labor unions, and the officers and members of national and international unions for valuable contributions and assistance rendered in this work of organizing.

The Research Department has also rendered yeoman service. The staff of this department is in constant contact with our local unions, assisting them with financial and statistical reports, drawing maps of industries, advising, pointing out what wage scales are paid, the differentials that exist in different parts of the country, and other vitally important data.

### INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

In the Report of the Executive Council to the New Orleans, 1940, Convention of the American Federation of Labor it was pointed out that, because of failure to pay per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, the International Typographical Union had surrendered its legal right to representation in the convention of the American Federation of Labor and was no longer in good standing with the American Federation of Labor.

There did not seem to be any justifiable basis for the refusal of the International Typographical Union to maintain itself in good standing with the American Federation of Labor. It was only required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor to do just what its more than one hundred sister international unions had done and nothing more. It asked for special privileges which, of course, could not be granted.

Because of this development, the International Typographical Union was in no way represented in the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. As a result of negotiations, however, between the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union, following the action taken at the New Orleans Convention, committees representing the International Typographical Union and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor met in the City of Miami during the Executive Council meeting which was held February 10-20, 1941, for the purpose of reaching a settlement of differences which would provide for the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union with the American Federation of Labor. As a result of extended negotiations, an agreement was reached and a plan of procedure accepted by both the representatives of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union. This agreement was unanimously approved. There was no dissent on the part of any representative of the Executive Council or the International Typographical Union. The committees representing both the Executive Council and the International Typographical Union unanimously agreed upon a settlement of differences and a plan of procedure. The agreement unanimously reached read as follows:

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## MEMORANDUM OF STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES

BY  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

To remove any misunderstanding or apprehension and to make clear and definite agreed upon interpretations and constructions of the constitutional provisions and laws of the A. F. of L. relating to the "autonomy" of national and international unions, to determine their jurisdiction, to be secure in their right to enact laws for the government of their members and to the control of their funds and properties, the Special Committee of the A. F. of L. is prepared to recommend that the Executive Council, through its President, advise the I. T. U., its officers and members as follows:

(1) That Section 2 of Article 2 of the American Federation of Labor guarantees complete autonomy to all national and international unions, including the I. T. U.; that the A. F. of L. is a "Federation" of national and international unions, each and all of them self-governing; that the A. F. of L. is without authority to interfere with the internal affairs of such national and international unions or the government of their members and local unions; that the A. F. of L. has in no way any power, authority, control, equity or property right, direct or indirect, in the funds or properties of such national and international unions.

(2) That the Federation has never attempted arbitrarily to define the jurisdiction of national and international unions. Such is not the policy of the Federation. Its laws fully recognize the complete autonomy of national and international unions in this regard. On the other hand, the Federation does attempt to safeguard the jurisdictional rights of affiliated national and international unions and endeavors to bring about adjustments wherever conflict develops between national and international unions; that where the laws of the Federation do deal with the jurisdiction and government of unions and authorizes the Federation specifically to deal with such matters, they relate to directly chartered bodies; that is, federal trade and labor unions, city and state federations of labor.

National and international unions are affiliated with the Federation by "Certificate of Affiliation." All other affiliated unions are "chartered" by the Federation and are subordinate to the regulation and control of the Federation. While, in the past, the terms "Certificate of Affiliation" and "chartered" have at times been used indiscriminately and synonymously, such use has been inadvertent and without authority and therefore without binding influence. It is intended that hereafter these terms shall be correctly used and properly applied.

Under our laws, affiliated national and international unions have complete authority to regulate the conduct of their officers and members and to the control and use of their funds and properties. The Federation has only authority to supervise, regulate and control the affairs, funds and properties of directly chartered local trade and federal labor unions, city and state federations of labor.

(3) That the only power of discipline possessed by the Federation is that of "revocation" or "suspension" of the certificate of affiliation of national and international unions; that this power can be exercised only at conventions of the Federation, with exception in the case of where two (2) or more unions conspire and combine and have actually entered upon a joint attempt to create, maintain and further an organization dual to the Federation. In such, and only in such, instances is the Executive Council of the Federation authorized to act in between

conventions, subject to appeal to or review by the next succeeding convention of the Federation. A labor movement "dual" to the Federation is interpreted to mean a general labor or trade union movement designed to take the place of, destroy or supplant the Federation as the established and recognized Federation of Trade and Local Unions of America. This provision is not intended to apply to organizations or combinations of national and international unions who may organize into distinctive trade union bodies to protect and/or promote or further to deal with their peculiar trade interests or problems.

(4) That the funds of the Federation are at no time to be used to destroy a trade or labor union; to the contrary, that the funds of the Federation are to be used at all times only and solely for the purpose of protecting and promoting the clearly defined objectives of the Federation and to preserve it from outward attack from hostile employers, legislators or from any other hostile source.

With regard to the income of the Federation, the laws of the Federation do not in any way permit of any discrimination between affiliated unions since any assessment levied by a convention must apply equally to all affiliated unions the same as per capita tax requirements. It is clearly evident that no assessment can, or will, be levied which may prove onerous to the majority of the affiliated national and international unions, that thus the interests of all are fully conserved.

(5) It is the judgment of the Special Committee of the Federation that the foregoing not only sets forth clearly and definitely a clarification of all subjects considered and discussed and that have made for an unfortunate misunderstanding and temporary disaffiliation, but that the principles and practices set forth are in full agreement with the fundamental laws of the Federation and in full accord with the provisions of the resolutions adopted by the International Typographical Union at its New Orleans Convention, August last.

If these clarifying declarations and statements and assurances are approved by the officers and representatives of the International Typographical Union, this committee is prepared to recommend the endorsement of the foregoing by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We are further prepared to recommend the reaffiliation of the International Typographical Union de novo insofar as financial requirements are involved and with all other rights heretofore possessed by the International Typographical Union reaffirmed and reestablished as though no breach had taken place in the affiliation.

The laws of the International Typographical Union provided that agreements such as this reached between representatives of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union must be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the International Typographical Union for approval. In the meantime, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor approved the report. All were encouraged to believe that the membership of the International Typographical Union would do likewise. To our surprise, however, when the agreement reached by the committees representing the Executive Council and the International Typographical Union was submitted to the membership of the International Typographical Union, Secretary Randolph and Vice-President Gill of the International Typographical Union repudiated the agreement and called upon the membership of the International Typographical Union to reject it.

This action was taken by Secretary-Treasurer Randolph and Vice-President



Gill notwithstanding the fact that they each and both of them had participated in the negotiation of the agreement and had accepted it. President Baker and his associates appealed to the membership of the International Typographical Union to accept the agreement and to approve it. The issue was submitted to the International Typographical Union for decision through a referendum election which was held on May 21, 1941, with President Baker and his associates recommending its adoption, and Secretary-Treasurer Randolph and Vice-President Gill, who had originally approved the agreement, recommending its defeat. The returns of the referendum election upon the acceptance or rejection of the agreement show that 25,632 had voted in favor of accepting the agreement and 33,498 against it. It was defeated by a vote of 7,866. Thus ended the negotiations for a return of the International Typographical Union to affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. We were keenly disappointed when the membership of the International Typographical Union voted against the agreement which had been unanimously approved by the committees representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the International Typographical Union respectively. However, the decision was made; the membership of the International Typographical Union decided to remain aloof from and out of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

We are of the opinion that this unfortunate division was brought about, not because of anything done or left undone by the committee or any of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, but by reason of a regrettable disagreement within the leadership of the International Typographical Union. It is indeed a sad commentary that this unfortunate internal conflict should have resulted in a condition which is detrimental not only to the membership of the International Typographical Union but also to the entire membership of the Allied Printing Trades Unions.

We are firmly of the opinion that the International Typographical Union will lose much because it has decided to remain outside the American Federation of Labor. Time will show and experience will prove that the best interests of the membership of the International Typographical Union are served through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, and that in many ways both the organization and its members will suffer because of non-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council expresses keen regret because of the refusal of the membership of the International Typographical Union to vote to return to the American Federation of Labor. We hope that in due course of time they will reconsider their action. We will welcome them into the American Federation of Labor when they decide to return.

In view of the fact that the International Typographical Union has decided to remain out of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council decided that conferences be held with representatives of the printing trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and with the Allied Printing Trades Council for the purpose of considering a plan which would provide for the creation of a printing trades label recon-

structed, improved and changed to be used by said Printing Trades Council exclusively.

The Council also decided to consider a policy designed to protect the interests of the American Federation of Labor and the printing trades unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in the printing of publications, pamphlets, circulars and in fact all printed matter of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations.

#### PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH C. I. O.

The concluding paragraph in the Report of the Executive Council to the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at New Orleans, Louisiana, beginning November 18, 1940, reads as follows:

The committee representing the American Federation of Labor stands ready and willing to meet with a committee representing the C. I. O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement, anywhere, any time, any place.

The committee referred to has been standing by all during the past year waiting for an opportunity to resume the discussion of peace negotiations with a committee from the C. I. O. No call came, nor was any notice submitted by the representatives of the C. I. O. that they were ready to resume negotiations which were terminated by the C. I. O. on April 5, 1939. On the date named, the leader of the C. I. O. notified the committee representing the American Federation of Labor that when he and his associates were ready and could or would resume negotiations, he would advise the American Federation of Labor committee and arrange for another conference. No word has been received from the representatives of the C. I. O. during the more than two years and four months' period which has intervened.

In reporting upon these facts, it would seem most proper and appropriate to quote from an address delivered at a meeting of the American Youth Congress on February 10, 1940, by the then leader of the C. I. O., which was as follows:

In the newspapers of yesterday and today it seems that President Roosevelt and President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, have agreed that I am solely responsible for the non-convening of the peace conferences between these two organizations, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Well, that is a remarkable discovery, because I have been willing to admit it all the time.

In the light of these facts, there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone as to where the responsibility lies for failure to resume peace negotiations, for the purpose of restoring unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor, between the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O.

Unfortunately the division which was created within the ranks of Labor when the dual, rebel, rival C. I. O. was formed has become wider and the breach more pronounced. It will be more difficult now to close the breach and to reunite Labor than it would have been in the beginning. Complications



will arise, difficulties will increase, and the possibility of restoring solidarity and unity within the ranks of Labor will become more difficult as time passes on. No one can adequately appraise the great injury which has been inflicted upon Labor as a result of the creation of the dual, rebel, rival movement. The responsibility for this situation, for the division, bitterness and conflict which exist within the ranks of organized labor must rest with those who formulated, organized, and launched the dual, rebel, C. I. O. movement.

When the first step was taken to form the C. I. O., its leaders and sponsors proclaimed that the C. I. O. was launched for the purpose of organizing the workers in the mass-production and unorganized industries of the nation. Many of its leaders protested vehemently when they were charged with launching a dual movement for the purpose of raiding already established American Federation of Labor unions. Neither the facts nor the record made bear out the original declaration of the C. I. O. or the protests herein referred to as being made by its leaders. Instead, the C. I. O. has raided local unions established by national and international unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor in the building and construction trades, metal trades, and other fields. It has raided organizations directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor in miscellaneous industries. In its efforts to raid bona fide American Federation of Labor unions it has, through its representatives, pleaded with employers to recognize and employ members of the C. I. O. instead of the American Federation of Labor, and at a much lower rate of pay than was provided for in agreements negotiated between employers and American Federation of Labor unions. Such action is reprehensible, infamous, and violative of all the principles of the organized labor movement. It is bad enough when C. I. O. representatives raid bona fide American Federation of Labor unions, but it is infinitely worse when said representatives offer to supply C. I. O. workers to employers at a lower rate of pay than American Federation of Labor members are receiving, in order to wipe out and destroy American Federation of Labor unions which have been firmly established as functioning, collective bargaining units for many years.

The American Federation of Labor is certain that the workers of the nation will refuse to approve, countenance or support the raiding policy of the dual movement and its offer to employers to supply men at a lower rate of pay than American Federation of Labor members are receiving if the employer will only discharge American Federation of Labor workers and employ C. I. O. members. The American Federation of Labor is sure that the membership possesses a deep and keen appreciation of the value of, as well as the necessity for solidarity and unity within the ranks of Labor. We still appreciate the meaning of "United We Stand." The blending of the economic strength of the workers of the nation into a united and solidified organization constitutes the basis for the realization of a higher standard of life and living for working men and women. If every ounce of our economic power is mobilized in support of every economic and social movement which the workers may launch, our chances for success are immeasurably increased. Solidarity and unity are our source of strength, while division and discord are our greatest

weakness. The working people of the nation united into one solidified union are powerful. The same workers, divided into separate camps, are less powerful. The sincere leaders of Labor will support and favor that policy which promotes the realization of unity and solidarity within the ranks of Labor. Through the pursuit of such a policy the cause of Labor is placed first, above and beyond every other consideration.

The record made by the American Federation of Labor ever since the C. I. O. was formed clearly shows that all efforts possible have been put forth on the part of the American Federation of Labor to create unity, establish solidarity, and promote harmony within the ranks of Labor. We have responded to every appeal made by the President of the United States to meet in conference with representatives of the C. I. O. for the purpose of negotiating a settlement. Our peace committee representing the American Federation of Labor is a standing committee, awaiting an opportunity to meet and negotiate a settlement.

We have repeatedly warned the workers of the destructive results which will inevitably follow from a continuation of the division that exists within the ranks of Labor. The Executive Council reaffirms its position in favor of peace negotiations designed to bring about a settlement of the differences which exist within the ranks of Labor. The responsibility for failure to meet and renew negotiations for the purpose of reaching a settlement rests squarely and definitely with the leaders of the rebel, rival, dual, C. I. O. movement.

#### PRINTING TRADES—LITHOGRAPHERS

In the dispute as set forth in the above title, the New Orleans (1940) Convention of the American Federation of Labor submitted the following recommendation:

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to carry out its original agreement, abide by previous decisions reached by the A. F. of L. and observe the jurisdictional rights, as determined by the method to which it had agreed. That failing to give substantial evidence of its intention to do so and failing to take active steps to that end within a period of ninety (90) days after adjournment of this convention, that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to withdraw or suspend its affiliation to the American Federation of Labor and hold it in suspension until it evidences observance of agreements entered into and the decisions reached. It is further recommended that in the interim the International Photo-Engravers Union and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association be directed to appoint a committee of three (3) of each of the respective international unions to meet in conference between themselves and with the view of composing existing differences and consummating some plan designed to observe the respective jurisdictional rights and adjust their relationship upon a friendly and cooperative basis; that these conferences proceed at the earliest possible moment and continue throughout the 90-day period previously indicated, or so long as there may exist a reasonable opportunity for an amicable adjustment. It is further recommended that these organizations be directed to present a joint, or individual, report of the results of their conferences to the President of the American

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Federation of Labor at the expiration, or previous to the 90-day period. If, upon the rendering of such report or reports, the Executive Council shall find that further efforts to compose the differences will prove futile, then the Executive Council shall give enforcement to the suspension order as hereinbefore recommended.

Pursuant to these instructions, a conference was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on January 9, 1941, in which the representatives of the organizations involved participated. No definite understanding was reached at this conference. The whole range of the controversy, however, was covered by discussion participated in by all present in a friendly, constructive and sympathetic way. It was suggested at this meeting that committees representing the three organizations interested and affected hold a further conference, and when such conference was held that each of the three committees should propose a basis of settlement in writing. This was agreed upon.

On January 28th another conference was held between the representatives of the three organizations involved, in New York City. At this meeting definite proposals were submitted by each of the three organizations, providing for a settlement of differences. Representatives of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association submitted a definite plan which it was reported was based upon a statistical survey of the industry. All the proposals herein referred to were considered carefully and the provisions of the proposals were discussed quite fully. It was agreed that the conference would adjourn and that the representatives of the three organizations would study the respective plans proposed and be prepared to convene again at some convenient date for the purpose of giving further consideration to each of the plans proposed. A further conference was held in Washington, D. C., February 28th.

At this, as at previous meetings, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union and the International Photo-Engravers Union jointly proposed that the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association merge with either the Pressmen or the Photo-Engravers Union under a plan designed to overcome previous objections of the Lithographers and which, in the judgment of the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers, will amply protect the interests of the Lithographers and permit of the cooperation of all organizations concerned. In response to this proposal by the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers, the Lithographers representative submitted the following:

In consideration of the matter as discussed by the committees at this morning's meeting we submit the following:

The Amalgamated desires to show its complete good faith, and if the printing unions insist, it will confer further with the Photo-Engravers Union to determine whether details for a referendum vote under the general plan proposed by the printing unions, with modifications and amendments, can be prepared. The complete details of such a plan offer a difficult but perhaps not insurmountable problem within the following framework:

1. Referendum shall be prepared and submitted to the Photo-Engravers and Amalgamated Lithographers, respectively, for an amalgamation

under the name "International Union of Photo-Engravers and Lithographers."

2. The Photo-Engravers Union and the Amalgamated Lithographers shall each nominate a complete slate of international officers.

3. The Photo-Engravers Union and the Amalgamated Lithographers shall each surrender its charter to the American Federation of Labor in return for the new one. The Printing Pressmens Union shall give up and deny all rights of any kind to offset workers in any branch. The American Federation of Labor in convention shall approve the new charter and the establishment of complete jurisdiction over all offset workers.

Manifestly, there are a myriad of details, refinances, dues, contracts, locals, working conditions, etc. Therefore the above proposal can, at best, be deemed suggestions for further development. The membership of the Amalgamated is at all times the controlling factor in respect to the surrender of any of its presently vested rights.

Our laws provide that all matters are to be decided by referendum vote of the membership. Our committee would agree to place this proposal as outlined above for consideration of our International Council, asking their approval to place it before our entire membership for a referendum vote, if the Photo-Engravers Union likewise will agree to place it before their officers and membership for a decision.

President Berry, on behalf of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, advised that his organization would accept and abide by whatever agreement may be reached or understanding entered into between the Lithographers and Photo-Engravers; however, he reserved the right to review whatever plan of amalgamation or merger which might ultimately be agreed to. He also reserved the right to object to any plan of amalgamation containing any provision or provisions in conflict with the joint proposal submitted at a previous meeting and submitted in an amended form by the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers Unions at an earlier session. The Photo-Engravers, on the other hand, approved the proposal of the Lithographers in principle and further meetings were agreed to for the purpose of working out a satisfactory plan of amalgamation and one that might meet with the requirements of the Pressmens Union and prove acceptable to all parties at interest.

In the meantime, on March 5th Secretary Schmal, of the International Photo-Engravers Union of North America, stated in an official communication addressed to the President of the American Federation of Labor that:

In view of the progress made at these meetings I have been directed by the unanimous action of the conference to request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to grant the conferees an additional ninety days for further desired meetings in which further efforts will be made to compose the differences between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, International Photo-Engravers Union, and Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association on the question of jurisdiction over offset printing and plate making.

This request was submitted because it was the opinion of all those who participated in the conferences that definite progress had been made at each of the meetings held. The request for an extension of time was granted.

We are not advised as to the progress made at subsequent meetings held. It is our understanding that conferences are still in progress. However, we are encouraged in the hope that this long dispute may ultimately reach an amicable adjustment in view of the proposal made by the Lithographers which presents a change of attitude on the part of this organization and is indicative of a step in the right direction.

#### ENGINEERS—FIREMEN AND OILERS

Despite repeated attempts to bring about a settlement of the jurisdictional differences which have existed for a number of years between the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, the controversy still continues. It arises in different cities and in many instances becomes serious and impossible of solution.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held at Washington, D. C., beginning May 19, 1941, representatives of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers presented to the Council information regarding certain phases of differences which still continue to cause discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of the officers of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. As a result of this hearing the Executive Council directed,

That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to request both organizations to appoint committees of three from each side to meet with him in an effort to effect an agreement or an understanding that might clear up any existing differences as far as both organizations are concerned.

Pursuant to these instructions, a conference as directed by the Executive Council was held at Chicago, Illinois, on August 7, 1941. At this conference the representatives of the International Union of Operating Engineers proposed an amalgamation of the two organizations on a basis which would guarantee and protect the rights of the membership both of the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. The proposal for amalgamation made by the representatives of the International Union of Operating Engineers was discussed in a broad and tolerant way. While no definite understanding was reached, representatives of both sides expressed a willingness to consider the proposal and all expressed the hope that some definite and constructive action might be taken.

A report of this conference was made to the Executive Council at its meeting in Chicago, Illinois, beginning August 4, 1941, and the Council after hearing the report expressed the hope that an amalgamation of the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers would be brought about.

The Executive Council reaffirmed a recommendation made by the Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Tampa, Florida, November 1936, which read as follows:

We have endeavored to compose the differences of jurisdictional problems which arose between the International Union of Operating

Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Numerous conferences have been held. Former Vice-President James Wilson was appointed to serve as the Federation's representative in holding additional conferences with the representatives of the two organizations and in making an investigation of the nature and character of the jurisdictional disputes which have arisen. He visited a number of places where engineers and firemen are employed for the purpose of acquainting himself with the practical difficulties connected with the jurisdictional disputes.

Former Vice-President Wilson offered a number of recommendations to the representatives of the two organizations as a basis for settlement. None of the recommendations submitted was accepted. He then reported to the Executive Council that in his judgment the best interests of the members of the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers would be promoted and protected by amalgamation.

Amalgamation of the two organizations as recommended by Former Vice-President Wilson would be acceptable to the Executive Council, provided the officers and members of both organizations agree. It is not the purpose of the Executive Council, however, to force amalgamation of these two organizations. The Council is willing to continue its efforts to compose the differences and to promote a settlement which will provide for the recognition and protection of the jurisdictional rights of the two organizations involved.

The Executive Council is convinced that the real solution of the differences which exist between the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers can only be found through an amalgamation of these two international unions upon a basis acceptable and satisfactory to the officers and members of each of the two organizations, and in which the rights of the membership of both organizations will be fully and adequately protected. The Executive Council recommends that the representatives of the two international unions named work out a plan of amalgamation as herein outlined, at the earliest possible date.

#### PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS—MACHINISTS

The Executive Council is pleased to report that an agreement was reached between the representatives of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the International Association of Machinists, which provides for a settlement of the long-standing jurisdictional controversy which existed between these two international unions. This agreement was approved by the officers and representatives of the two international unions named at Washington, D. C., on January 21, 1941. The agreement covers the installation of pipes, the testing of pipe work and the installation of machinery where the character of work performed calls for the employment of both the plumbers and steamfitters and the machinists.

The Executive Council expresses the hope that the agreement reached will result in the establishment and maintenance of perfect understanding and of full cooperation between the representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada.



**MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS—LONGSHOREMEN**

We are pleased to report that an agreement was reached between representatives of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association, at a conference which was held at Washington, D. C., January 30, 1941, which in the opinion of the Executive Council will go a long way toward a settlement of the long-standing jurisdictional controversy which existed between these two organizations. The agreement reached reads as follows:

**Agreement**

January 30, 1941.

In the interest of a better understanding of the existing differences between the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, and the International Longshoremen's Association, in connection with the jurisdictional dispute for the past five years, this Agreement is entered into and signed by the National and International Representatives of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association.

1. The jurisdictional rights of both organizations as granted by the American Federation of Labor will be respected and in the event of a dispute arising which is not covered by this agreement, the President of the American Federation of Labor or its Executive Council will decide same at the earliest possible moment and when such decision is made, both organizations bind themselves to abide by such decision.

2. The representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association agree to remove from membership all the deck personnel, both licensed and unlicensed employed on self-propelled floating equipment which is railroad owned and operated in all harbors, except Baltimore, of the United States from membership in the International Longshoremen's Association and advise said members to affiliate themselves with the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

3. It is agreed by the representatives of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots that in the waters between Providence, R. I., and New York and its tributary waters, including the New York State Barge Canal, the existing marine local known as I. L. A. Local No. 333 shall not be disturbed in the efforts to organize all marine employees other than those employed on vessels under contract with the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots or on railroad owned and operated self-propelled floating equipment.

4. It is agreed by the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association that the representatives of the I. L. A. will in no manner interfere with the efforts of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots in organizing all deck personnel in the Port of Philadelphia, Pa., excepting the Sunrise Ferry Company, known as the Kaighn Avenue South Street Ferry Company, the Chester and Bridgeport Ferry Company and the New Jersey and Delaware Ferry Company on the Delaware River for a period of one (1) year, when a further conference will be held relative to Philadelphia.

5. It is agreed by the representatives of the I. L. A. that in the Port of Boston the existing local of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots of America shall in no manner be interfered with in their efforts to organize the deck personnel in that port.

6. In the port of Norfolk, Va., it is agreed by the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association that in addition to dis-

associating the deck personnel from membership in the I. L. A. who are employed on self-propelled railroad craft, that the I. L. A. will in no manner interfere with the efforts of the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots in organizing all deck personnel in that port.

7. It is agreed that the representatives of both organizations will cooperate as far as possible in the upbuilding of the membership of their respective craft.

8. This Agreement to be binding on both organizations and on request of either party, at least once a year, this Agreement shall be open for consideration. It is provided, however, that this Agreement shall not be abrogated without the mutual consent of both parties.

For the: INTERNATIONAL  
LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION  
JOHN R. OWENS,  
*Secretary-Treasurer.*  
LOUIS ZIEGLER,  
*Sec. & Asst. Manager*  
*for Local No. 333*  
WILLIAM FOLEY,  
*Treasurer.*

For the: NATIONAL ORGANIZATION,  
MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS  
OF AMERICA  
JOHN J. SCULLY,  
*Secretary-Treasurer.*  
JOHN M. GAGNER,  
*National Vice-President.*  
B. T. HUNT,  
*National Vice-President.*

#### BOILERMAKERS, PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS

The Executive Council reports with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction that an agreement was reached between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, which provides for a settlement of the jurisdictional disputes which arose over refinery installation, and work performed upon pipe lines, tanks and boilers. The controversies which were adjusted through the consummation of this agreement herein referred to were of long standing. The Executive Council commends the representatives of the two international unions involved upon the settlement of the controversies dealt with in the agreement.

#### PER CAPITA TAX TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a recommendation relating to the payment of per capita tax by affiliated unions to the American Federation of Labor, which read as follows:

1. That a committee of three, one of whom shall be the Secretary-Treasurer, be appointed by the Executive Council for the purpose of making a thorough and comprehensive study and survey of the needs and requirements of the Federation to meet all obligations—financial and otherwise—in such manner as to assure continued stability, progress and advancement, said committee to report its findings to the Executive



## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Council prior to the next convention of the Federation along with recommendations relative to amount of per capita tax necessary to meet all likely demands without the necessity of an assessment.

2. That the Executive Council upon receipt of the foregoing report and survey based on definite and accurate information, determine and make recommendations to the next convention relative to the needs and per capita tax requirements indicated as necessary for the Federation to function in a satisfactory and aggressive manner without supplementing assessments.

3. That pending report of the proposed fact-finding Committee above outlined and recommendations by the Executive Council, the per capita tax for national and international unions for the coming year shall be two cents per member per month, and for local trade and federal labor unions, thirty-six cents per member, with the distinct and definite understanding that this is but a temporary arrangement and that a more permanent basis of taxation—based upon the findings of the committee previously referred to and recommendations of the Executive Council—will be decided at the next convention.

Pursuant to the instructions contained in this official recommendation unanimously adopted by the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a committee composed of Secretary-Treasurer Meany, Vice-President Bugnizet and Vice-President Harrison was appointed. The committee proceeded to carry out the instructions of the convention, and after making the investigation ordered and following the completion of its work, reported to the Executive Council at a meeting held August 4-13, 1941. Based upon its investigation and survey the committee made a recommendation relating to the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations, and recommended that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to provide for a change in the amount of per capita tax which would be paid by affiliated national and international unions, local trade and federal labor unions, to the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council approved the recommendation made by this committee. It recommends to the convention that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per member per month; from local trade unions and federal labor unions,  $35\frac{1}{2}$  cents per member per month,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

**COMPLIANCE WITH LAW AND LAWFUL PROCEDURE**

The Executive Council possesses a keen consciousness of the responsibilities of the American Federation of Labor to the public, and the value of a sound, favorable public opinion. We assert with all the power at our command that it is the purpose of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to establish and maintain the American Federation of Labor as a great American organization, a supporter of our free institutions and our democratic form of government. We are determined to maintain the basic principles of freedom and justice upon which the superstructure of our government rests. We yield to none in our respect for law, order and orderly procedure.

Our great movement has grown and expanded until it now forms an important part of our nation's institutional life. The five million members of the American Federation of Labor, living and working in the different cities and communities throughout the nation, participate in the civic and political activities of the nation. The wholesome influence in support of law and order of these five million working men and women can not be adequately appraised. It would be disastrous, indeed, if these five million working men and women were lawless characters, flouting law and order.

The Executive Council disavows and repudiates with all the power at its command, lawlessness of any character, racketeering in any form, and exploitation wherever practiced. Such procedure is no part of the administrative policy of the American Federation of Labor. We will cooperate fully with the officers of the law in the efforts they put forth to impose proper punishment upon those found guilty of the commission of crimes and the violation of law.

We resent the charges made by sensational columnists, editors and writers or American Federation of Labor-hating owners of newspapers, who charge either directly or by implication that the American Federation of Labor is responsible for the unlawful or criminal acts of individual members of organized labor whoever they may be. We have never observed that these columnists or labor-hating newspaper editors denounce the judiciary because some judge has been convicted of a crime; or a political party because some leader or influential member of the party had been found guilty of extortion; or financial organizations or bankers associations because some individual member had been convicted of embezzlement or misappropriation of funds or common stealing; or the church or fraternal organizations because some member had been charged with the commission of a crime, accorded a trial and found guilty and sent to prison.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor exercise all power conferred upon them by the membership of the American Federation of Labor to deal with individuals who violate either the laws of organized labor or the laws of the land. That power always has been and will be exercised by the officers of the American Federation of Labor. But, in considering this phase of the administrative authority of officers of the American Federation of Labor it must be borne in mind that the American Federation of Labor is a great

democratic institution. Neither its president nor members of the Executive Council have ever been clothed with dictatorial power. They never will be. The workers who make up the American Federation of Labor control it, formulate its policies, shape its laws, and clearly define in an orderly and supreme way the authority of those whom they select to serve them in official positions. International unions occupy the same relationship to the American Federation of Labor as do the states and state governments to the Federal Government. The President of the United States has never been clothed with authority to arbitrarily remove state officers elected by the sovereign citizens of a state, even though said officers may be publicly charged with the commission of a crime. The power to remove state officials is vested in the citizens of the commonwealth and they can only act in a lawful way and in accordance with lawful procedure. In like manner, the officers of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are subject to the laws and rules of said international unions. These laws and rules were formulated and adopted by the membership who make up said international unions. Neither the American Federation of Labor nor any international union affiliated with it can interfere in the administrative affairs of an autonomous international organization. The laws, both fundamental and administrative, which govern the relationship between international unions and the American Federation of Labor are strictly respected and observed. The American Federation of Labor itself can only demand compliance with its own laws and with the laws of the United States when it respects lawful procedure and the laws governing the officers and members of national and international unions.

Some columnists and labor-hating newspaper publishers demand that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be dictators, punish men, regardless of law and lawful procedure, who they believe are guilty of the commission of crimes. They demand that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be dictators when they feel said officers should be dictators, but denounce them if they assume dictatorial power.

Respect for law, the law which governs the conduct of an officer and the law which governs their associate officers and members, is fundamental to the success of any great movement such as the American Federation of Labor. These laws cannot be transgressed at will when some who hate our movement feel they should be transgressed; they must be religiously observed even under the most trying and difficult circumstances and conditions.

The members of the American Federation of Labor, who are also American citizens, call for the punishment of any man, whether he be an officer or member of the American Federation of Labor, for violation of law or for the commission of a crime. Responsibility for the punishment of law violators rests with the officers of the law and with those charged with the duty of enforcing the law. All we ask is that those charged with the commission of crimes be given a fair trial as provided for in the laws of the land. It is inconceivable that when a representative of Labor is charged with the crime of extortion that the membership of the organization who are the victims of said extortion would

tolerate or condone such action. Those who are exploited can not willingly become the victims of the exploiter.

The Executive Council calls upon the officers and members of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to be vigilant and to guard against the employment of those who for selfish purposes seek to utilize the labor movement for the sole purpose of promoting their material welfare. Insist and demand that the representatives of organized labor shall possess honesty and integrity of the highest degree and shall administer the affairs of the organization in accordance with the laws of the organization and in accordance with the laws of the land.

#### **ELIMINATION OF COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNISTIC INFLUENCES FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS**

The Executive Council is pleased to report to the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the American Federation of Teachers has dealt vigorously and definitely with Communists who had established themselves in local American Federation of Teacher unions in New York City and in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The charters of the American Federation of Teachers local unions in the two cities named were revoked by a referendum vote of the membership upon recommendations made by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers. The recommendations made by that Executive Council were submitted to the membership after a full and complete hearing had been held upon the charges filed against the unions named and certain members of said unions.

The membership of the American Federation of Teachers approved the revocation of the charters of the local unions named by a very decisive vote and by a very substantial majority.

Our Executive Council commends the officers and members of the American Federation of Teachers for the courageous way in which they dealt with the Communist situation in New York and Philadelphia. We are of the opinion that the action taken will serve to promote the highest and best interests of the American Federation of Teachers and that now, since Communists and Communistic influences have been eliminated from the American Federation of Teachers organization, that the unorganized teachers of the nation will respond as never before to an appeal to become organized and to unite with an organization which is American in both name and purpose, the American Federation of Teachers.

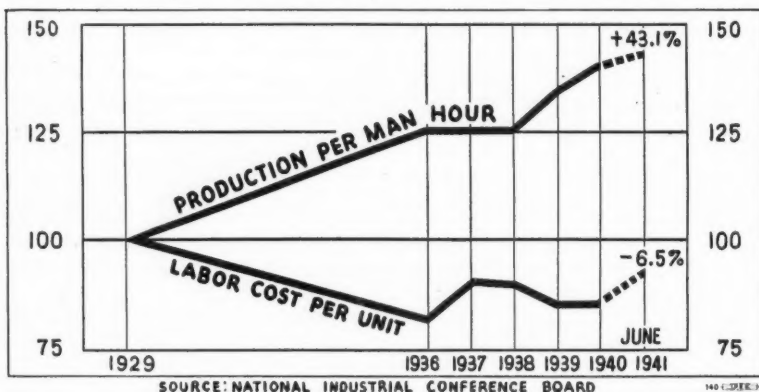
#### **WAGES**

Through united, concentrated effort all American Federation of Labor organizations have succeeded in lifting the American wage level and in securing decided improvement in conditions of employment. Notwithstanding this fact there are thousands of workers whose wages are still below a subsistence level. This is evidenced by the fact that special drives have been made to establish the minimum wage standards provided for by the Minimum Wage Law in a very large number of industries.

It is a part of the fixed policy of the American Federation of Labor to continue its driving efforts to increase wages for those whose rates of pay may be classified as being in the higher brackets, and to increase the wages of those whose rates of pay are indefensible and whose incomes are in no way commensurate with the requirements of our American standard of living.

Wage earners base their demand for increased wages upon a justified claim to share in increased productivity and increased income which has been created by the production expansion developments arising out of the application of the defense program. Increasing productivity, savings in production costs, reduced unit selling costs, economies which accompany expanding production all along the line have made it possible in general to pay higher wages without reducing industrial profits. It is a striking fact that although

### Rising Productivity Cuts Labor Costs



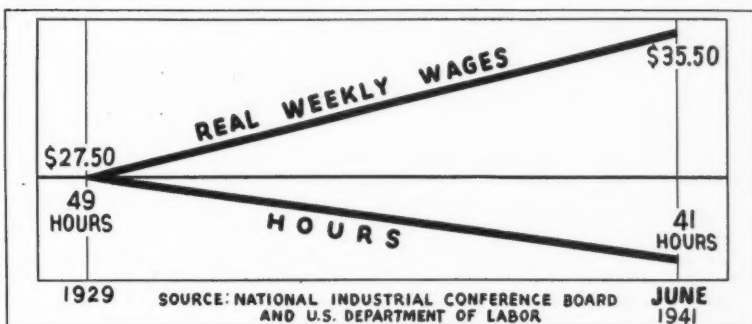
leading industrial corporations have laid aside very much higher tax reserves this year, in addition to paying higher wages, profits of these corporations for the first half year exceeded the first half of 1940. This is ample proof that wage increases are fully justified and necessary to give workers their share in the wealth their work creates. National City Bank figures show that 1940 ranked with 1936 and 1937 as a high profit year. In each of these three years leading manufacturing and trading corporations have earned profits averaging between 10% and 11% of their net worth. This is well above the 6% usually considered a normal profit.

This fact, that American industry has been able to increase wages substantially and at the same time maintain profits, is vitally important in view of the problems which confront us today. There is widespread though mistaken belief among business men and the public in general that price increases must follow wage increases. Germany, carrying such a belief into

action, followed price freezing with wage freezing. If we want to prevent this from happening here, the public must understand the facts.

In the majority of America's leading corporations, the wage increases of this spring have been more than offset by increased productivity, higher efficiency and larger volumes of production. This is born out by the fact that while average factory wages in June 1941 were 10.6% above June 1940, profits of 304 leading manufacturing corporations in the second quarter of 1941 were 20% above the second quarter of 1940, even after huge tax reserves had been laid aside to cover increased taxes.

## Twelve Year Gains in Wages and Hours



The industrial record which has been made since 1929 shows that production per man hour has steadily increased through mechanical improvements and through the application of improved scientific methods. Individual productivity has mounted to a much higher level. This is illustrated by Chart No. 1 included in this report which shows exceedingly rapid increase in production per man hour since 1929. This increase amounted to 43.1% up to June 1941. This chart also shows that due to the rapid increase in productivity, labor cost per unit of product has remained substantially below the 1929 level even though wages have been increased, as shown in Chart 2. In June 1941, labor costs per unit were 6.5% below 1929, while wages were 33.8% above 1929.

This fact also must be kept clearly in mind: Wages form only a relatively small part of total manufacturing costs. The Census of Manufactures (1939) shows that in manufacturing generally, wages are only 16% of the total value of manufactured goods in the United States. In many highly mechanized industries, wages are only 10% or even less of total manufacturing costs. Wages in the soap and glycerine industry are only 6% of manufacturing costs; in the manufacture of paints only 7%, in tin cans 10%, and in the fruit and vegetable canning industry 11%. In manufacturing generally, a 10% increase in wages would add only 1.6% to the cost of manufacture,

and this small increase is usually more than offset, in a period of expanding production, by savings in overhead, by higher productivity or other economies.

These facts, together with the profit record of American industry in the first half of 1941, show that wage freezing is not necessary as a price control measure. The above figures on profits, labor costs, and wages, however, cover industry generally and represent averages made up of records from a great many different plants and business firms. What is true in general may not apply to every individual firm. There are cases where, because of inefficient management or financial difficulties, a company may try to offset a wage increase by raising prices instead of making economies. An increase in commodity prices should take place only after every possible reduction in cost has been made, through application of all known scientific improvements. After such cost reductions have taken place, and the company still finds itself faced with cost increases beyond its control, the law of economics requires that when necessary a normal, reasonable increase in commodity prices should occur in order to guarantee a fair return upon investment and decent wages for workers.

The membership of the American Federation of Labor is moved by a sincere and compelling desire to realize and enjoy a higher standard of life and living. They can only realize this ambition and achieve this noble purpose through the enjoyment of an annual income fully commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship. It is, therefore, the fixed and determined purpose of the American Federation of Labor to continue to demand and secure higher wages and improved conditions of employment for the working men and women of our country.

#### NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The 77th Congress convened on January 3, 1941, and is still in session. It has concentrated on legislation for national defense and for the purpose of extending aid to those nations engaged in combatting the dictator countries. As a result other meritorious proposals, including those advocated by the American Federation of Labor, have generally lain dormant.

Tremendous appropriations for national defense and aid to the democracies have been made and by August 15, 1941, as a result of legislation passed during this session, \$51,395,672,790.83 has been made available for expenditure by either direct appropriations, reappropriations of funds which would have reverted to the U. S. Treasury, authorizations, permanent appropriations, or RFC war loans which if not repaid will have to be financed through the payment of U. S. Government contracts.

It is estimated that there will be a deficit of from fifteen to seventeen billion dollars this year despite the normal income of the Government which will be augmented by approximately three and one-half billion dollars when the new tax bill, now under consideration, becomes law. Taxation in addition to the pending Act is just beyond the horizon. Living costs have risen and probably will go higher despite efforts of the Government to stabilize prices. On June 30, 1941, the national debt was \$48,961,443,535.71, in addition to



approximately \$6,500,000,000 of obligations guaranteed by the Government. A long period may therefore be expected during which living costs and taxes will be extremely high.

Legislative proposals to freeze wages and reduce normal expenditures of the Federal Government by two billion dollars are now being advocated. The specious plea is again made that rising wages increase living costs, yet experience has proven that the reverse is true as wage rates always lag behind the increase in living costs. The costs of Government, other than the wage cost, are set, hence a reduction in the normal amount required to operate the Federal Government must be largely borne by its employees with resultant reduction in wages and separations from the service. In order to remain solvent the Government expenditures must be met. This fact must be realized and everyone be prepared to willingly pay his proportionate share by direct or indirect taxation.

The Executive Council has carefully scrutinized all bills introduced in Congress and successfully opposed those detrimental to Labor. Particular attention has been given to all appropriation bills to make certain that they carried amounts sufficient for the enforcement of labor laws, and for other activities of Government of a beneficial nature to Labor.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE

**The Lend-Lease Bill**—H. R. 1776 (Public No. 11) provides that for the benefit of any foreign nation whose defense the President deems vital to the welfare of the United States, he may authorize any Government department or agency to manufacture or procure defense articles; to lend, lease, etc., defense articles; to outfit, inspect, repair defense articles; to communicate any defense information concerning defense articles loaned, leased, etc.; and to release for export defense articles upon conditions deemed satisfactory by him. This law also authorizes the Secretaries of War and Navy to acquire arms, ammunition, and implements of war produced in such countries designated above whenever the President deems such acquisition necessary to the national defense. The Lend-Lease Bill was introduced on January 10, 1941, and by the President's signature became the law of the land on March 11, 1941. To enable the President to carry out the provisions of the Lend-Lease Act the following amounts were subsequently appropriated by H. R. 4050 (Public No. 23): \$1,343,000,000 for ordnance; \$2,054,000,000 for aircraft; \$362,000,000 for tanks, trucks, etc.; \$629,000,000 for vessels; \$260,000,000 for miscellaneous military equipment and supplies; \$752,000,000 for facilities and equipment for the production of defense articles; \$1,350,000,000 for agricultural, industrial, and other commodities; \$200,000,000 for testing, repairing, reconditioning, etc., defense articles for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States; \$40,000,000 for necessary services and expenses not specified; and \$10,000,000 for administrative expenses. In all, \$7,000,000,000 to remain available until June 30, 1943.

**Requisition of Property**—S. 1579 authorizes the President, during a national emergency, to requisition at a fair and just price property which can be used



for national defense purposes and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such requisitioned property. As introduced this bill authorized the seizure of practically everything in the name of "national defense." As reported to the House the bill was greatly modified and confined seizure to property actually necessary to national defense. Nevertheless, the modified bill was bitterly opposed on the floor of the House but passed by a record vote; yeas 241, nays 136, absent 55. At the time this is written the bill is in Conference Committee.

**Appropriation for Section Bases**—H. R. 3536 (Public No. 129) provides section bases for the support of small craft, including necessary lands and buildings. Authorized \$50,000,000 for these purposes and limited the profit of contractors to 6 per cent of the estimated cost of contract.

**Appropriation for Operating Bases, Etc.**—H. R. 4839 (Public No. 174) authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works and carries an authorization for \$31,115,000. The money is to be expended on the East and West Coast and in the Great Lakes area for operating bases, marine aviation facilities, training stations, etc., and carries a limitation of 6 per cent of the estimated cost of the contract exclusive of the fee for contractors engaged in the work.

**Appropriation for Naval Aviation**—H. R. 3537 (Public No. 210) authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to establish, develop, or increase naval aviation facilities for lighter-than-air purposes with authority to acquire land and establish stations. The bill authorizes the expenditure of \$22,600,000.

**Appropriation for Coast Guard**—H. R. 4887 (Public No. 178) provides additional facilities for the Coast Guard. It authorizes the construction and equipment of thirteen Coast Guard cutters and provides for the purchase, charter or requisition, for the use of the Coast Guard, any foreign vessel designed as a merchant marine training ship, which is lying idle in waters within the jurisdiction of the United States. This law authorizes such appropriations as are necessary to carry out the purpose of the act.

**Sanitary Areas Near Army Camps**—H. R. 2475 (Public No. 163) is a health measure in the interest of national defense. It was designed to set up areas near military and naval establishments for the prevention of prostitution. In the Senate an amendment was offered by Senator Johnson, of Colorado, conferring on the heads of the Army and Navy not only the power to prohibit prostitution within a reasonable distance of military or naval establishments, but also providing for the prohibition sale of alcoholic beverages including beer, ale, and wine not only in the military establishments themselves but in the areas outlying. On motion of Senator LaFollette the Senate reconsidered the bill when it was shown that Army and Navy officials would have authority to establish prohibition in communities or in areas surrounding such camps, thereby rendering ineffective the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Johnson amendment was then deleted.

**Qualification for Military Service**—S. 1110 (Public No. 189) eliminates prohibition against enlistment in the military service of the United States of any person convicted of a felony. This permits the possible rehabilitation of

special meritorious cases who have been previously debarred from any military service.

**Protection of Navy Yards, etc.**—H. R. 4671 (Public No. 203) authorizes a plant-protection force for naval shore establishments. This force is to investigate espionage or sabotage or subversive or other activities contrary to the interests of the United States. One million dollars is authorized to be appropriated for necessary salaries, weapons, clothing, etc. A civilian is to be in charge of this force at a salary not to exceed \$7,500 per annum.

**Post-War Readjustments**—H. J. Res. 59 and 76, by Mr. Voorhis, provide for the creation of Post-War Economic Advisory Commissions to develop a program for the permanent elimination of mass unemployment and make recommendations to Congress for legislation to eliminate unemployment and readjust the economic life and financial structure of the nation to a full-production peace-time economy when this war comes to an end. A representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before a Subcommittee of the House Labor Committee and testified for the adoption of these resolutions. He called attention to the fact that "social and economic forces are already operating to shape the post-war future; therefore, we must give serious thought to this matter now, or one day we shall awake to the realization that we are too late." To date there has been no report upon these resolutions.

**War Department**—H. R. 5412 (Public No. 247), making a supplemental appropriation for national defense, carried a special item of \$35,000,000 for a new War Department Building to be located in Arlington, Virginia. The Executive Council favored this proposal and aided in securing its passage through both Houses. While the President approved the bill carrying a total of \$7,000,000,000 he pointed out that the construction of this building was not mandatory. War Department architects and engineers are working twenty-four hours a day revising plans for this building, and immediately after Labor Day the President revealed that the building would house but 20,000 employees rather than 40,000 as the War Department wished and that the structure would eventually become a Government record repository and the War Department moved back to the District of Columbia. The President further stated that the building would not cost the full \$35,000,000 appropriated by Congress. The site finally determined upon lies near the Columbia Pike in Arlington County, Virginia, and its location there means that additional transportation facilities, either in the form of bridges or a tunnel under the river, must be constructed.

## HOUSING

**National Housing Act Strengthened**—H. R. 4693 (Public 138) amends the National Housing Act by substantially increasing the appropriation and making other amendments applying to financing the alteration, repair or improvement of existing structures. It further amends the Act to provide for its administration, and increases by a billion dollars the amount the administrator is authorized under present law to obligate the Government

for all mortgages on property and low-cost housing projects insured under Title 2 of the National Housing Act.

**Defense Public Works**—H. R. 4545 (Public No. 137). This amends an Act to expedite housing in connection with national defense and also provides for defense public works which includes such facilities as are necessary for carrying on community life, such as schools, waterworks, sewers, sanitary facilities, water purification, hospitals, recreational facilities, and streets and access roads. The bill carried an authorization for \$150,000,000. This proposal had the active support of the American Federation of Labor.

**Alaska Slums**—H. R. 93 (Public No. 186) authorizes the Legislature of Alaska to set up a public corporate authority for the purpose of clearing slums in order to provide dwelling accommodations for low-income families.

**National Defense Housing**—H. R. 3486 (H. Res. 137) (Public No. 42). It authorizes the appropriation of \$150,000,000 for national defense housing.

**Housing Funds**—H. R. 5395 (Public 248) amendment to the National Housing Act—provides \$200,000,000 additional.

**Housing Appropriation Bills Pending**—H. R. 5211 was introduced in the House of Representatives on June 28, 1941, and authorizes an additional appropriation of \$300,000,000 for defense housing. This doubles the amount carried in the law approved October 14, 1940.

#### **SOCIAL SECURITY**

H. R. 4882 was introduced by Mr. Healey at the request of the American Federation of Labor. It provides for more adequate Federal aid to the states for old-age assistance on a variable grant basis. The plan would permit the Federal Government to pay from one-half to three-fourths of the amount paid in each state as old-age assistance, the higher ratio of Federal aid going to those states whose average per capita income is lower than that of the United States as a whole. The bill would also improve the assistance program (1) by lessening the period of residence required, (2) by providing that no individual in order to be eligible for assistance should be required to transfer during his lifetime title to any property which he owned, and (3) by providing that only the actual income and resources of the individual claiming old-age assistance, and his spouse, should be considered in determining his needs. The bill further provides that the old-age and survivors' insurance shall be extended to cover domestic workers, agricultural employees, persons employed by religious, charitable, and educational institutions except members of religious orders engaging in their obligations under such orders. It also provides for voluntary compacts between states or political subdivisions and the Social Security Board designed to cover under old-age and survivors' insurance, employees of those states or political subdivisions with the exception of any employees already under public retirement programs. This extension of coverage would bring some 10,000,000 persons under the insurance program who now are excluded for the greater part of their employment. It will make the system much more effective in providing protection for the mass of wage earners in the country and their families.

**H. R. 1410**, another Old-Age Pension Bill, referred to by its sponsors as the "General Welfare Act," provides a flat pay-as-you-go \$30 per month Federal pension, without any needs test and with no conditions attached, for all over 60 years of age not now covered by a Federal annuity statute, the states to supplement this on the basis of need and annuitants to be allowed to earn \$15 per month additional, with 4 months annuities to be allowed as funeral benefits all to be financed by a 2 per cent gross profit or "added value" tax, with credits to those now paying a Federal annuity tax and exemptions of the first \$80 per month, or \$960 per year, of gross income. It is significant that H. R. 1410 has received 160 of the necessary 218 signatures on a petition to withdraw the bill from Committee.

**Special Senate Committee's Recommendations**—Senator Downey and three other members of a Special Senate Committee to Investigate the Old-Age Pension System have recommended drastic changes in the old-age insurance system by specifying a minimum of \$30 a month to all persons past 60 who are not gainfully employed. Adoption of such changes would involve total annual pension payments of \$3,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000, to pay the \$30-a-month pensions to an estimated 10,000,000 eligibles, according to the special Committee report. The bill would also extend and liberalize the contributory features of the present old-age insurance provisions by making coverage of workers almost universal and further liberalizing payments to wives and widows with dependent children. In a one-man minority report, Senator Green of Rhode Island stated that while he agreed with many of the committee's conclusions he did not feel that the nation could undertake such "unreasonable" outlays in the face of the present national defense emergency. According to the committee's recommendations, the general pension would begin with \$20 per month, effective July 1, 1942, and rise to \$30 per month after January 1, 1944. On September 3, Senator Downey introduced amendments to the Revenue Act of 1941 (H. R. 5417), then pending in the Senate, providing for the necessary changes in the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code to make effective the before mentioned recommendations of the Special Senate Committee. It is admitted that the proposed general 6 per cent pay roll tax will be insufficient to meet the pension payment. The balance of the necessary funds will have to be provided by general appropriations. Senator Downey's amendments were subsequently withdrawn upon the promise that the Finance Committee will hold hearings upon the subject.

#### ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

Approximately twenty anti-Labor bills were introduced in the last session of the 76th Congress and in the first session of the 77th Congress. These bills are too numerous to analyze in detail but in general were designed to hamstring Labor, provide for cooling-off periods, and prevent Labor's inherent right to strike.

The Smith bill, H. R. 2695; Vinson bill, H. R. 4139; the Ball bills, S. 4434 (76th Congress) and S. 683; the Connally and May amendments to S. 1524—a bill originally introduced to lower the age limit to twenty-eight years for

selective service draftees—were particularly vicious and received the most consideration in the House and Senate.

On several occasions Congressman Smith of Virginia offered extremely obnoxious amendments to appropriation bills in the form of a limitation upon the appropriation. Mr. Smith's amendments were all of the following general character:

No part of this appropriation shall be paid to any person, firm, or corporation who requires or consents to a condition of employment of any employees that he either be a member or not be a member of, or join or not join, a labor union.

These amendments were offered on the following bills:

January 24, 1941—to H. J. Res. 77—National defense, cargo ships construction appropriation.

February 27, 1941—to H. R. 3617—Fourth supplemental appropriation for National Defense.

March 19, 1941—to H. R. 4050—Appropriation for aid to Britain.

June 9, 1941—to H. R. 4965—Military Establishment appropriation.

In each instance we were able to defeat these amendments by an overwhelming vote.

When H. R. 4965, the Military Establishment Appropriation bill, was up for consideration on June 6, 1941, Mr. Starns of Alabama offered the following amendment:

Sec. 11. No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be available for the payment of compensation to any person by whomsoever employed, who, while employed directly or indirectly, in the manufacture or production of any defense article, as defined in Public Act No. 11, 77th Congress, shall hereafter stop work for a period in excess of 10 days by reason of being a voluntary participant in any strike called in any plant manufacturing or producing defense articles.

This amendment was also overwhelmingly defeated.

On June 9, 1941, Mr. Case of South Dakota offered the following amendment to H. R. 4965, which was adopted by the House:

No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be available for the payment of compensation to any person for services in a plant engaged in the manufacture or production of any defense article as defined in Public Act No. 11, 77th Congress, who assists in maintaining a picket line or otherwise seeks forcibly to prevent the return of workmen after the National Defense Mediation Board shall have certified to the President that further stoppage of work in that plant will critically impede the national defense program and has asked the employees to return to work.

Congressman Pace of Georgia on the same day offered the following amendment, which also was adopted:

No part of any appropriation contained in this Act shall be available for the payment of compensation to any person, firm, or corporation who shall for as long as ten days fail or refuse to respect and abide by the recommendation of the National Defense Mediation Board, provided

this limitation shall not apply to individuals who may become members of the military or naval forces.

We were able to have these amendments deleted from the bill as passed by the Senate and also prevailed upon the conferees to omit them, so these two amendments were not in the law as finally passed.

When S. 1524 was being considered by the Senate, Senator Connally of Texas offered an amendment providing for the seizure of plants by the President. The amendment was far-reaching and drafted in such broad terms that it could be used to hamper and hamstring Labor in many highly objectionable ways, but it was adopted by the Senate. When the bill came to the House Committee the Connally amendment was stricken out, and amendments known as the May amendments inserted. The May amendments were much more objectionable than the Connally amendments, but were defeated on July 9, 1941 in the House by overwhelming votes of 219 to 152 and 220 to 149, respectively. The bill was then sent to conference and the conferees made a report which many members of Congress felt were worse than either the Connally or May amendments. We were able to defeat this conference report in the House by a vote of 255 to 114 on July 29. The bill was sent back to conference by the above vote with instructions to the House conferees to insist upon the House action which was confined to a reduction in the age limit of draftees to twenty-eight years. The conferees brought in a new report with all plant seizure and anti-Labor proposals eliminated and both Houses adopted this report on August 5, 1941, thus completing legislative action without any objectionable anti-Labor features.

It is apparent to an unbiased observer that certain Labor-hating members of Congress have seized upon the present emergency to endeavor to black-out many of the gains made by Labor over a long period of years. Having been defeated in the numerous attempts made by them as cited above, to say nothing of attempts made in committees where no public record is kept, it does seem that they should see the light and desist from such tactics, which, after all, can only lend aid and comfort to the enemy.

**Wire Tapping**—As reported to the New Orleans (1940) convention there was pending in the 76th Congress, then in session, a Resolution (H. J. Res. 571), authorizing wire tapping. The Resolution had passed the House and was held in the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee where it died upon final adjournment of the 76th Congress. Early in the 77th Congress two new wire tapping bills (H. R. 2266 and H. R. 3099) made their appearance. The Executive Council vigorously opposed the passage of these bills because they retained virtually all the objectionable features of preceding bills. It should be noted that wire tapping was outlawed by Congress in 1934 (Sec. 605 of the Federal Communications Act) because it is unnecessary, unethical and destructive of American liberties. Extended hearings were held by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee and notwithstanding overwhelming opposition a somewhat modified substitute (H. R. 4228) finally faced the acid test on the House floor after adoption of a special rule by a record vote of 173 to 124. Then came a lengthy and rather acrimonious



debate covering many pages of the Congressional Record: The recorded vote on adoption was yeas 146, nays 154, not voting 131. This ended the efforts to legalize wire tapping.

**Amendments to Anti-trust Law**—Two bills, H. R. 5218 by Mr. Walter and H. R. 5259 by Mr. Monroney, are aimed at demolishing what Thurman Arnold termed "the union toll bridges that now victimize consumers, small business men and workers alike." Each bill undertakes to define what shall be considered legitimate objectives of labor organizations and declares that unions, their officers and members shall be subject to antitrust prosecution, either civil or criminal, if they restrain trade in pursuit of illegitimate aims. Early this year the Supreme Court drastically restricted Mr. Arnold's efforts to prosecute labor unions, hence these bills. The Monroney bill is offered as a simple amendment to the Clayton Act which was an amendment to the original Sherman Anti-trust Law. The Walter Bill is much more sweeping and goes beyond the anti-trust objectives by proposing to confer upon Federal District Courts jurisdiction over all threatened labor stoppages, with special emphasis on strikes affecting defense industries. It provides that persons affected, injured or threatened with injury by a strike may apply to a Federal Court for relief and pending determination of the application a strike would be contempt of court. It would be the duty of the Court to determine whether the strike or threatened strike would have the effect of obstructing commerce or whether it was for a lawful labor objective. Persons found guilty of restraining trade for purposes which the bill defines as unlawful would be guilty of conspiracy and subject to a fine of \$5,000 or one year imprisonment, or both. These bills and other anti-Labor measures are not being pressed as of September 15, 1941, as Congressional action on such measures during the present session have indicated that the proponents of anti-Labor legislation could expect but little support. New proposals in the offing may come from the House Naval Affairs Committee as it has been gathering data by the questionnaire method from both Labor and management.

#### CANAL ZONE

At the last convention we were able to report that Navy and War appropriation bills provided for the elimination of all aliens, except those covered by a treaty with Panama, from all clerical, technical, supervisory and skilled positions; equal rates of pay for comparable positions in the United States plus 25 per cent; and the 40-hour week; that the legislation was to become effective May 1, 1941; and because of its enactment thousands of Americans would be employed in positions formerly held by aliens. The legislation also provided for its suspension by the President if it became necessary during the national emergency. The President availed himself of this clause so this legislation will not go into effect during the present emergency. As a new canal, additional fortifications, with quarters, housing, etc., is being erected at a cost of approximately \$600,000,000, all to be completed within the next five years, the force on the Zone has been greatly

augmented from approximately 15,000 in 1939 to 40,000 at the present time.

A new complaint entered the picture when contractors not covered by the aforementioned legislation began the construction of projects for the Army and Navy on the Canal Zone. They employed many aliens at the work of the skilled trades; did not pay Americans brought from the United States the prevailing rate of pay on the Canal Zone as paid by the Panama Canal and the Army and Navy themselves; did not observe the 40-hour week; and worked the men overtime in excess of 8-hours daily, over 40 hours a week, on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays without any overtime.

As a result of the complaints registered regarding these matters, W. C. Hushing, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor, was ordered to proceed to the Zone and investigate. He was accompanied by Joseph McDonagh, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department. They made the trip last December and reported that the complaints of the employees of contractors were extremely well grounded. As a result of their visit it was, however, agreed that the contractors were in violation of the Federal 8-hour law when men were worked in excess of eight hours in any day, and this was corrected, retroactive to September 9, 1940, except in one or two isolated cases.

The men were extremely restless under such conditions and at a meeting on the Canal Zone expressed a desire to cease work. The American Federation of Labor representatives, however, advised them this would not be in conformity with the understanding between the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Administration, and requested that the men remain at work until the matter could be adjusted with Government officials at Washington.

During the early months of 1941 many conferences were held with officials of the War Department by representatives of the American Federation of Labor on these questions, without avail. No publicity was given to the Canal Zone conditions due to the fact that had they been generally known workmen would have refused to accept employment on the Zone and the defense work would have been as badly hampered as if the men were on strike. However, after several months the War Department said that there was nothing that they could do to correct the conditions complained of as there was no legislative authority for so doing, although American Federation of Labor representatives had stoutly contended to the contrary. As the War Department stated they were helpless in the matter in the absence of legislative authority, representatives of the American Federation of Labor drafted and introduced a bill correcting the complaints. Shortly thereafter the War Department requested Chairman Reynolds of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, who had introduced the bill, to hold up action on the legislation pending the report of an investigator they contemplated sending to the Canal Zone. This investigator, James P. Mitchell, Labor Advisor to the War Department, departed to the Zone on July 16, accompanied by Mr. Hushing.

The principal complaints of these employees of contractors on the Canal



Zone are non-payment of overtime for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, or after forty hours work has been performed in one week; lack of payment of the prevailing wage rate; with several minor complaints regarding lack of hospitalization and medical care, commissary privileges, and quality of food furnished by contractors.

The blanket agreement promulgated under date of July 24, 1941, by Sidney Hillman of O.P.M., will correct many of these complaints, and arrangements have been made to take care of the minor ones by negotiation between Government contractors and the local unions representing the men employed by them. It is possible that the blanket agreement covering all defense work mentioned above will have to be slightly modified by agreement between the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and Government officials before it is generally applied to the Canal Zone, and conferences are to be held in the near future with that thought in mind.

**Canal Zone Retirement**—Several bills (H. R. 561, H. R. 4730, and H. R. 4871) favorably amending the Canal Zone Retirement Law were introduced, the last mentioned being agreed upon by the representative of the employees and the Government departments. However, pressing business in the House Committee prevented any action. Companion bills were not introduced in the Senate.

S. 1481 presented at the request of a group of ex-Canal Zone employees who were retired before any retirement laws were enacted was favorably reported to the Senate. This bill gives these ex-employees the same recognition accorded officers of the armed forces by Congress years ago when it passed the Act of March 4, 1915 (Public No. 316, 63rd Congress).

#### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

**Ordered to Military or Naval Duty**—S. 505 (Public No. 202) provides that employees of the United States Government or District of Columbia, including employees of any corporation created under authority of an Act of Congress which is either wholly controlled or wholly owned by the United States Government, or any corporation all the stock of which is owned or controlled by the United States Government, or any department, agency, or establishment thereof, whether or not the employees thereof are paid from funds appropriated by Congress, when ordered to active duty with the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, in addition to their military pay, receive compensation equal to the accumulated leave in their respective civilian employment. They may receive this money in cash or elect to have it remain to their credit until their return from active military or naval service.

**Longevity Pay for Postal Employees**—H. R. 1057 provides for a just and equitable system of longevity pay for postal employees as a reward for faithful and continuous years of service. Hearings were held in the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads and a modified bill was reported on July 10, 1941. The bill passed the House on July 23, 1941. After further hearings and certain compromises, made necessary by the opposition of the

Post Office Department, the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads reported the bill on July 31. The bill is pending on the Senate Calendar and as reported by the Senate Committee provides increases of \$60 per annum for more than 10 years service, and an additional \$60 per annum after a further continuous service of an additional 5 years. The service of the employee must be continuous, and in order for a post office employee to qualify for an increase in compensation under the provisions of the bill, it will be necessary for him to have served the specified length of time in one or more of the positions in the Post Office Service which are mentioned in the bill. Service in any other position in the Postal Service may not be used for the purpose of qualifying him for an increase in pay under the provisions of the bill. In practically every other department or bureau of the Government the opportunity for advancement, or raise in compensation is open to employees of the lower grades, but in the Post Office Department, when an employee reaches the maximum grade within his own branch of the service, he is particularly handicapped in receiving further advancement because of the limited opportunity for a transfer to another branch of service within the Postal Service.

**Rural Letter Carriers**—H. R. 4210 (Public No. 195) authorizes the Postmaster General to pay additional compensation to rural carriers serving heavily patronized routes of not over 42 miles in length, but total compensation shall not exceed \$2,100, exclusive of maintenance allowance.

**Night Work in Custodial Service**—H. R. 2232 provides a differential in pay for night work to custodial service employees in the Postal Service. Reported by the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads and pending on the House Union Calendar.

**Eight-Hour Day in Custodial Service**—H. R. 1851 limits the working hours of custodial service employees to eight in ten hours a day. Reported by the House Post Office and Post Roads Committee and pending on the House Union Calendar.

**Special Delivery Messengers**—H. R. 2528 provides that special delivery messengers in the Postal Service who served not less than nine months the preceding year shall receive the same annual and sick leave benefits as regular Postal Service employees, and shall be entitled to the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act. This bill passed the House on July 23, 1941. A hearing was held before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. The bill was favorably reported to the full committee where it is now pending.

**Laborers in Railway Mail Service**—H. R. 2985 is sponsored by the National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers. The bill prescribes a more favorable time basis for computing pay for overtime work performed by laborers in the Railway Mail Service. Computation of overtime pay to laborers in post offices is on a 306-day basis whereas the similar work in the Railway Mail Service has been computed on a 365-day a year basis. The bill has passed the House and is pending in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

**Overtime Pay for Certain Government Employees**—S. 1541 (Public No. 100) provides for overtime pay in excess of 40 hours in any administrative work week at a rate of one and one-half times the regular rate of pay. It applies to the War Department, the Panama Canal, the Navy Department and the Coast Guard. It also provides for the payment to per annum employees of the field service in the War Department and Panama Canal, during the period of the national emergency, their vacation pay during the time they would otherwise be on vacation, in addition to their regular pay.

**Extension of Civil Service**—H. R. 1618 (Public No. 183) approved July 18, 1941, and extending the classified civil service to include postmasters of the first, second and third classes.

**Civil Service Classification**—H. R. 1073 (Public No. 200) amends the Civil Service Classification Act. The President concurrently issued an Executive Order providing similar benefits for employees paid from emergency appropriations enacted during the last seven years. In the latter group at least 50,000 will be affected. Under the terms of the legislation and the Executive Order, "within grade" salary raises will be for employees who have not reached the top salary for their grade, as follows:

Grades 1 to 7, inclusive, \$60 following completion of each 18 months of service without increase.

Grades 8 to 12, inclusive, \$100 following completion of each 18 months service without increase.

Grades 13 to 16, inclusive, \$200 following completion of each 30 months service without increase.

Grades 17 to 19, inclusive, \$250 following completion of each 30 months service without increase.

The initial payment of the raises are to be issued October 1, 1941.

**Disability or Death Compensation**—S. 1642 (Public No. 208) extends workmen's compensation for death or injury to persons employed at military, air, or naval bases acquired by the United States from foreign countries, excluding the Canal Zone.

**Post Office Substitute Driver-Mechanics**—H. R. 2077 providing for classification of these employees was passed by the House and is pending in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

**Holiday Pay**—In 1939 a law was passed (Public Resolution No. 127, 75th Congress) forbidding any charge for holidays against leave due employees working on a day, hour, or piece-work basis, and it provided further that such employees should receive the same pay for such holidays as for other days on which an ordinary day's work is performed. This last proviso was interpreted so that when employed at his ordinary work on a holiday the employee received no overtime or gratuity pay. In order to correct this situation S. 1252 was introduced but as it is still in the Senate Committee on Civil Service plans are made to attach it to another bill as an amendment.

**Postal Service Custodial Employees**—H. R. 2075 providing that custodial service employees of the Post Office Department shall, at the end of each year of satisfactory service (except charwomen or charmen working part time) be promoted to the next higher rate of compensation until the maximum rate of

pay in the grade for his position is reached. The bill further provides that the Act shall not be administered so as to reduce compensation of any employee or in the dismissal of any employee. The bill passed the House and is in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

**Retirement**—Some 12 bills were introduced to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act, but practically all witnesses who testified before the House Civil Service Committee on Retirement centered their remarks upon H. R. 3487. The principal provisions of this bill follow: (1) Increases contributions on the part of the employees from the present  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 5 per cent. (2) Advances the present compulsory retirement age from 62 and 65 to 70 years of age. (3) Permits optional retirement after 30 years of service for all three groups (62, 65 and 70) at the age of 60. (4) Permits optional retirement after 15 years of service for all three groups at the age of 62. (5) Provides for the double option, under which an employee who declines to exercise his option to retire, may be retired by the head of the department or agency. In case such an employee is required to retire, he would have a right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission. (6) Permits optional retirement at the age of 55 after 30 years of service, on a reduced annuity which has the worth of an annuity based on retirement at the age of 60. (7) Permits retirement after 5 years of service or more, but less than 15 years, at the age of 70. (8) Employees' contribution to the retirement fund may be withdrawn only in case they have had less than 5 years of service. After 5 years of service, such contributions may not be withdrawn, under the proposed bill. At present, employees have the right, on leaving the service, to withdraw their retirement contributions. No report was made on the bill and as affiliates of the American Federation of Labor could not agree upon its provisions, the American Federation of Labor did not enter the controversy.

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

**Crime Wave**—As a result of a wave of sex murders and other crimes, both the Congress and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia held investigations of the Police Department. The Superintendent of Police and other high ranking officers of the Department were replaced and legislation is pending to greatly increase the number of police.

**Vagrancy Law**—A vagrancy law (H. R. 5448) was passed by the lower House, after it had been amended at our instance in order to fully protect Labor's interests, as follows: "Sec. 6. Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike or the right to picket."

**Habitual Criminals**—Another bill, H. R. 5447, dealing with habitual criminals and severely penalizing second offenders was also approved by the House.

Both these proposals are awaiting action on the Senate calendar.

**Votes for District of Columbia**—H. J. Res. 28 and S. J. Res. 35 propose an amendment to the Constitution permitting national representation for the dis-enfranchised residents of the District of Columbia, and a substitute for the latter has been reported by the Senate Committee. Under the present

set-up which has existed since 1878 the Congress of the United States legislates for the District of Columbia on all questions. The District is governed by three commissioners appointed by the President and confirmed by the United States Senate. The residents of the District have absolutely no power in regard to taxation, expenditures, or choice of those who govern them, as they have no vote. The American Federation of Labor has consistently endeavored to secure the right of the citizens of the District of Columbia to have a voice in their affairs and such efforts will be continued.

**Industrial Accident Prevention Board**—H. R. 5202 creates an industrial Accident Prevention Board to foster and promote the safety of wage earners in the District of Columbia. This bill was drafted at the suggestion of the Washington Central Labor Union and supported by the American Federation of Labor. It passed the House on July 14, and is pending in the Senate Committee.

**Funeral Expenses for Needy Blind**—H. R. 4660 (Public No. 237) amends the District of Columbia Act for Needy Blind by providing additional aid by an allowance for such reasonable funeral expenses as may be deemed necessary for the burial of such persons.

**Prison-made Goods**—H. R. 3191 (Public No. 160) amends the Act of October 14, 1940, which prevented the transportation into the District of Columbia of goods made by convicts in the penal institutions of the District of Columbia, located in Virginia. The District of Columbia can now transport across state lines the products of its own prisons for its own use. This proposal was not opposed by the American Federation of Labor.

**Unemployment Compensation**—H. R. 5514, by Mr. McGehee, proposes a number of changes in the District Unemployment Compensation law. The most far-reaching are tax reductions for all employers depending on the size of the reserve fund, the rates to vary from 0.5 per cent to 2.7 per cent. The bill includes a proposal to study individual tax reductions under an experience rating system in addition to the general tax reduction for all employers when the reserve stands at the specified figure. The only improvement in the benefit schedule under this bill would be a reduction of the waiting period to one week. The bill would write into the Act a number of new exclusions from protection, including those written into the Social Security Act in 1939 and also eliminates the District of Columbia as an employer. It contains a provision for paying unemployment compensation to persons released from military service, the amount to be dependent upon their earnings prior to such service. The Central Labor Union of the District of Columbia has gone on record in favor of increasing benefits and eliminating entirely any experience rating system. There has been no action on this bill.

**Salary Increases**—H. R. 4419 provides for substantial salary increases for the members of the Police and Fire Departments of the District of Columbia and the members of the U. S. Park Police and the White House Police. This bill was sponsored by the newly formed local of the International Association of Fire Fighters affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. It was favorably reported and is pending on the House calendar.

**Building Guards**—H. R. 1409 designates building guards employed in building under the jurisdiction of the Federal Works Agency as United States Building Police, and clothes them with the same powers as they perform the same kind of duties as the United States Park Police and the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia. This bill also sets up a schedule of salaries for the different grades, and provides for the same sort of Trial Board when members of the police force are on trial for charges as is provided by law for the Metropolitan Police for the District of Columbia. This bill passed the House on July 7, 1941, and is pending in the Senate. It has received the support of the American Federation of Labor.

#### **IMMIGRATION, NATURALIZATION, ETC.**

The second world war has greatly reduced the flow of immigrants to the United States. Only about half of the prospective immigrants who seek admission to the United States are being granted the necessary permits under new and drastically tightened restrictions on the entry of aliens. Two official advisory committees on immigration, functioning only since mid-July, already have rejected outright 300 applications for visas on the ground the applications were submitted by potential propagandists or fifth-columnists, or by persons inimical to the American form of government. As a result of the tightened control and because of transportation difficulties, it is predicted that 1941 immigration will be considerably less than in past years. During the first six months of this year only 25,943 immigrants for permanent residence were admitted, against total quotas of 153,774 for the entire year. Immigrants in 1940 totaled 70,756. In 1939, 82,998 were allowed to enter.

Notwithstanding this slump in immigration various bills were introduced to still further restrict immigration. H. R. 3163 prohibits all immigration when there are over one million unemployed in the United States. H. R. 3108 and S. 1384 suspend all immigration for five and ten years respectively. None of these bills were reported from Committee. Following is a summary of immigration bills of interest to Labor that have had action to date:

**Detention of Deportable Aliens**—H. R. 3 provides for the detention of aliens ordered deported but whose deportation is not possible because the country of their origin refuses to accept them. This situation has been aggravated by present world conditions. According to the Committee's report there were outstanding on March 13, 1941, 8,091 warrants of deportation, of which 6,249 cannot be executed because of conditions beyond our control, 3,947 of them having been issued against aliens whose native countries have refused to issue passports permitting them to return, and 2,302 of them being unenforceable because of transportation conditions. Of the aliens whose countries have refused to issue passports, 1,254 are natives of Russia. The 1,960 aliens who cannot be deported because of transportation difficulties include 8 Communists and 852 criminal aliens, among whom are 773 who have been convicted of major crimes, including 45 narcotic violators and 34 counterfeiters. The bill establishes a Board in the Department of Justice



for the supervision of deportable aliens. The Board will be quasi-judicial, serving at the pleasure of the President, consisting of three members appointed by the President and subject to Senatorial confirmation. Each member would receive an annual salary of \$8,000. Aliens ordered deported but who cannot be physically removed from the United States may be held in detention or may be paroled. An entirely new feature of immigration legislation provides that aliens (refugees) who have been admitted as non-immigrants may be granted a permanent immigration status if there is substantial reason to believe the aliens would be subject to political, racial, or religious persecution were they to be returned to the countries of their nativity, citizenship, or last permanent residence. Persons who are racially ineligible to naturalization are denied this privilege. H. R. 3 has had a checkered career. It was reported from the House Judiciary Committee on March 14, 1941, re-committed to the Committee on April 18, 1941, and again reported on June 2, 1941. The bill is pending on the House Union Calendar.

**Naturalization Papers**—H. R. 4489 permits the courts of the United States and state courts to issue copies of naturalization certificates to all persons over twenty-one years of age, who can show they are entitled to citizenship in the United States by the naturalization of their parent or husband. This bill had a hearing before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization where it was shown that persons in this category frequently had great difficulty to prove their citizenship. The bill was favorably reported and is pending on the House Union Calendar.

**Retaliation Against Certain Nations**—S. 1237 excludes from admission immigrants who are nationals of countries which refuse to permit the reentry of any person deported from the United States who is documented as a national of such country. The bill is pending in the Senate Committee on Immigration.

**Limiting Admission of Aliens held in Detention Camps**—H. R. 4873 provides that aliens who have been interned in a foreign country may not enter the United States until one year after release from such internment. According to the Committee report Canada has in detention camps about 2,500 aliens sent from England shortly after the outbreak of the war. The Committee stated that efforts are being made to facilitate the admission of these aliens to the United States and voiced the opinion "that if England thinks it is not safe to let these internees run at large, and if Canada feels that way about it, the United States ought not to be expected to let them in." The bill was favorably reported and is pending on the House Calendar.

**Refusal of Visas**—S. 913 (Public No. 113) authorizes the refusal of visas to aliens whose admission into the United States would endanger the public safety.

**Proposed Importation of Mexican Labor**—Since the early part of 1941 interested parties have approached the Immigration and Naturalization Service with a view of obtaining permission to import contract labor from Mexico. Although unemployment, especially among unskilled labor, is still a serious problem in our country the claim is made that there is a shortage of labor.



Translated into every day language this means that labor willing to work at outrageously low rates of pay is becoming scarce. The only concern that has, so far, made a formal application for permission to import Mexican labor is the Southern Pacific Company. The Executive Council has entered a vigorous protest against the granting of such permission.

#### MARITIME LEGISLATION

**Waiving Navigation and Inspection Laws**—Various bills were introduced and rushed to passage waiving, modifying or suspending navigation and marine inspection laws during the emergency declared by the President:

**H. R. 2074** (Public No. 155) authorizes the Federal Communications Commission to waive the six months previous service required by radio operators on vessels carrying a single operator.

**H. R. 4446 and 4946** modify the manning requirements with respect to the percentage of able seamen vessels are required to carry by virtue of the LaFollette Act of 1915. Because of an alleged shortage of able seamen these bills passed the House and are pending in the Senate.

**H. R. 4632** (Public No. 90) permits vessels of Canadian registry to transport iron ore between United States ports on the Great Lakes during the Great Lakes season of 1941.

**H. R. 4988** (Public No. 153) permits tankers and freighters to go to sea with a lesser free board and less buoyance than the load line established by the International Load Line Treaty of 1930.

**H. R. 5111** authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to waive practically all navigation and vessel inspection laws upon written recommendation of the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, the United States Maritime Commission, or the Office for Emergency Management. This far-reaching bill had the recommendation of the President which undoubtedly facilitated its favorable committee report and its passage by the House on August 1, 1941. Captain Harry Martin of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots vigorously opposed the bill in committee and especially protested the granting of so-called "red ink" licenses and subsequent speedy citizenship to aliens which, in the first World War, jeopardized the chances of American seamen of obtaining jobs. The bill is pending in the Senate Commerce Committee.

**Acquisition of Foreign Ships**—**H. R. 4466** (Public No. 101) Authorizes the acquisition of foreign merchant vessels in United States ports. Vessels thus acquired are to be operated under special privileges. Sub-section (b) of Section 5 provides that:

Notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the President may, by rules and regulations or orders, waive compliance with any provision of law relating to masters, officers, members of the crew, or crew accommodations on any vessel documented under authority of this Act to such extent and upon such terms as he finds necessary because of the lack of physical facilities on said ships, and because of the need to employ aliens for their operation.

**Modification of LaFollette Seamen's Act**—**H. R. 4224** (Public No. 156) amends Section 13 of the Act of March 4, 1915 regarding the rating of able

seamen. Public 156 provides that every person may be rated as an able seaman for the purpose of serving on vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons, when such vessels are not carrying passengers, if such persons are nineteen years of age and had twelve months of service on deck at sea or on the Great Lakes or on the bays and sounds connected directly with the seas.

H. R. 4225 (Public 157) provides that Section 13 of the Act of March 4, 1915, relating to the manning of certain vessels, shall not apply to any sail vessel of less than five hundred tons while not carrying passengers for hire, and while not operating outside the line dividing inland waters from the high seas.

**Shipowners' Liability for Sick and Injured Seamen**—As reported to the New Orleans (1940) Convention Senator Overton sponsored an amendment to H. R. 6881 (76th Congress) to make the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Compensation Act applicable to seamen. When the Sub-Committee on Merchant Marine of the Senate Commerce Committee voted to table the bill Senator Overton sponsored a resolution (S. R. 299) providing for an investigation and study of workmen's compensation with a view of determining whether the same, by act of Congress, should be made applicable to seamen, etc. The resolution, which was adopted by the Senate September 12, 1940, provided that a report must be made on or before February 15, 1941. S. Res. 72 introduced on February 13, 1941 extended the time of the investigation and study to July 1, 1941. To date, no report of this study has been made.

**Admission of Fishermen to Marine Hospitals**—H. R. 84, 5051 and 5130 each seeks to extend the benefits of the Marine Hospital service to commercial fishermen. A ruling of the Comptroller General under date of May 29, 1939, has somewhat restricted such medical relief for fishermen. A hearing was held before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries but no report has been made to date.

**Subversive Activities Among Marine Radio Operators**—H. R. 5074 was introduced because of certain evidence adduced at hearings that a number of C. I. O. marine radio operators have subversive tendencies. The Communications Act of 1934 does not authorize the Federal Communications Commission to suspend a license because of subversive activities. This bill gives that authority with the right of appeal for any person so charged. The bill passed the House on July 22, 1941, and is pending in the Senate Committee on Commerce.

**Maritime Labor Board**—The Maritime Labor Board was created by the Act of June 23, 1938 (Section 1007 of Title X of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended). The Board was directed to submit to the President and to Congress a comprehensive plan for the establishment of a permanent Federal policy for the amicable adjustment of all disputes between maritime employers and employees and for the stabilization of maritime labor relations. The Board was further enjoined to encourage maritime employers and employees to make and maintain written collective agreements and to settle all disputes.

In addition, the Board was given limited powers of mediation and was authorized, upon failure through mediation to bring the parties in dispute to agreement, to use its best efforts to secure the assent of both parties to arbitration of the matter in dispute. H. R. 4107 was introduced at this session of Congress to extend the life of the Maritime Labor Board for a period of two years from June 23, 1941. The two year extension passed the House but considerable opposition developed and after a hearing the Senate Commerce Committee gave the Board a lease of life for only one year "to enable it to complete the correlation of data assembled by it." The one year extension was enacted into law (Public No. 124). Notwithstanding this enactment Congress refused to appropriate the necessary funds to continue the life of the Commission for one year. Instead, \$30,000 was voted "for all necessary expenses to enable the Maritime Labor Board to wind up the affairs of the Board."

**Attack on Union Hiring Halls**—H. R. 2662 was aimed at the hiring halls operated by maritime unions in accordance with collective bargaining agreements. The bill had several other objectionable features and was opposed by all affiliated maritime unions and by the Executive Council. Hearings on the bill were held by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries from February 26 to March 11. There has been no report on the bill, to date.

**Unemployment Insurance for the Maritime Industry**—H. R. 5446, by Mr. Bland, chairman of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, was introduced on July 30, 1941. It contains most of the features of similar bills introduced at previous sessions. A hearing on this bill is scheduled for September 30, 1941.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

**Prohibition**—The late Senator Sheppard introduced his usual resolutions, S. J. 20 and 21, proposing a constitutional amendment to reestablish prohibition. These resolutions remain dormant in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

S. 860, by Senator Sheppard, prohibits the sale of alcoholic liquors on or near military or naval reservations. Notwithstanding the expressed opposition of the War Department this bill was reported by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. There has been no action on the bill but the point at issue was raised in a floor amendment to H. R. 2475 as reported elsewhere under the caption: "Sanitary Areas near Army Camps." This amendment to establish prohibition in certain areas was defeated.

H. R. 125 and 132, by Mr. Culkin, prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio and prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages. Both bills are pending in the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

**Revenue Act for 1941**—This bill, H. R. 5417, passed the House but by action of the Senate Finance Committee many major changes were made in the bill, which included lowering of the personal exemptions from \$800 to \$750 for single persons and from \$2,000 to \$1,500 for married persons. By this action

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

the Committee expects to add at least \$300,000,000 to the yield of the new revenue measure and to place 6,000,000 persons hitherto exempted on the tax rolls. The additional revenue is needed to compensate for the House elimination of the proposal which required husband and wife to file joint income tax returns. The House bill was expected to raise approximately \$3,500,000,000 and as reported to the Senate \$4,000,000,000. The American Federation of Labor opposed the lowering of the income tax exemptions, as well as the sales tax, the payroll tax and the punitive tax on the radio industry, and none of these proposals are included except the lowered exemptions. Taxes will be greatly increased and that this is but the beginning, due to the present enormous expenditures of the Government for national defense and other purposes. In order that this situation may be understood, a comparison of the income tax rates as carried in the House bill and the Senate bill and the present law follows, up to and including salaries of \$25,000:

## SINGLE PERSON—NO DEPENDENTS

Net income before personal exemption	Amount of tax			Effective rates per each \$100		Increase in tax under Senate proposal
	Present law	House proposal	Senate proposal	Present law	Senate proposal	
\$800	.....	.....	\$3.00	....	\$0.40	\$3.00
900	\$0.44	\$5.94	11.00	\$0.04	1.20	11.00
1,000	4.00	15.40	21.00	0.40	2.10	17.00
1,500	24.00	62.70	69.00	1.60	4.60	45.00
2,000	44.00	110.00	117.00	2.20	5.90	73.00
2,500	64.00	157.30	165.00	2.60	6.60	101.00
3,000	84.00	211.20	221.00	2.80	7.40	137.00
4,000	123.00	338.80	347.00	3.10	8.70	224.00
5,000	172.00	473.00	483.00	3.40	9.70	311.00
6,000	255.00	633.60	649.00	4.30	10.80	394.00
8,000	449.00	1,007.60	1,031.00	5.60	12.90	582.00
10,000	686.00	1,469.60	1,493.00	6.90	14.90	807.00
12,500	1,043.00	*	2,178.00	8.30	17.40	1,135.00
15,000	1,476.00	2,934.80	2,994.00	9.80	20.00	1,518.00
20,000	2,666.00	4,826.80	4,929.00	13.30	24.60	2,263.00
25,000	4,253.00	7,073.00	7,224.00	17.00	28.90	2,971.00

## MARRIED PERSON—NO DEPENDENTS

\$2,000	.....	.....	\$42.00	....	\$2.10	\$42.00
2,500	\$11.00	\$38.50	90.00	\$0.40	3.60	79.00
3,000	31.00	85.80	138.00	1.00	4.60	107.00
4,000	70.00	180.40	249.00	1.80	6.20	179.00
5,000	110.00	308.00	375.00	2.20	7.50	265.00
6,000	150.00	435.60	521.00	2.50	8.70	371.00
8,000	317.00	756.80	873.00	4.00	10.90	556.00
10,000	528.00	1,166.00	1,305.00	5.30	13.10	777.00
12,500	858.00	*	1,960.00	6.90	15.70	1,102.00
15,000	1,258.00	2,545.40	2,739.00	8.40	18.30	1,481.00
20,000	2,336.00	4,338.40	4,614.00	11.70	23.10	2,278.00
25,000	3,843.00	6,505.40	6,864.00	15.40	27.50	3,021.00

Under the Senate proposal the attached surtax rate schedule is substituted for the present schedule, and the personal exemptions of \$800 for a single person and \$2,000 for a married person are reduced to \$750 and \$1,500, respectively. Maximum earned income assumed. Includes 10 per cent defense tax.

\* House did not compute tax on \$12,500 income.

The conference report on this measure is pending as this is written.

**Appropriation for National Labor Relations Board**—An effort was made in the Senate to reduce the appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board by \$128,600 below the amount approved by the Bureau of the Budget. The Executive Council vigorously opposed this reduction and pointed to the fact that much of the work of the National Labor Relations Board involves the determination of collective bargaining units in defense industries. The Committee amendment to the appropriation bill (H. R. 4926) providing for the before-mentioned reduction was defeated on the Senate floor after elucidating remarks by Senators Hill, La Follette, Downey and Murdock.

**Appropriation for Wage and Hour Division**—H. R. 4926 (Public No. 146). When the House passed the Appropriation Bill for the Labor Department carried in the Labor-Federal Security Appropriation for 1942, it deleted the sum of \$583,000 for inspection and enforcement in the Wage and Hour Division. As a result of presentations by the American Federation of Labor representatives to the Senate Committee this amount was restored by the Senate.

**Amendments to Fair Labor Standards Act**—H. R. 4310 and S. 1713 are identical bills amending paragraph (2) of sub-section (b) of Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act. These proposals increased the number of annual hours worked under collective bargaining agreements from 2,000 to 2,080 prior to payment of overtime. They were not in themselves so objectionable but the American Federation of Labor feared their consideration would subject the entire law to amendment and did not approve them for that reason. A favorable report was made on S. 1713 by the Senate Committee but no further action ensued.

**W. P. A. Appropriation**—H. J. Res. 193 (Public No. 143) is known as the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, 1942, and carries an appropriation of \$875,000,000 for the Work Projects Administration of the Federal Works Agency for the purpose of continuing to provide work for employable needy persons on useful projects in the United States. Despite our continued objections it contains the same limitations to which the American Federation of Labor entered vigorous protests for the past two years.

**Federal Aid for Highways, etc.**—S. 1580 provided for the appropriation of \$320,000,000 to supplement the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916. This proposal is for the purpose of aiding national defense by providing for a strategic network of highways and access roads to military and naval reservations; defense-industry sites; to sources of raw materials; for the location of flight strips adjacent to public highways or roadside-development areas along such highways; for surveys and plans for the extension of secondary road systems; for elimination of grade crossings; construction of bridges, and emergency repairs. It also provided for off-street parking; \$25,000,000 to reimburse local communities for damage done by Army traffic to highways and streets; the recall, as employees, of retired employees; the unlimited detail of employees as students at Government expense at technical institutions; and \$125,000,000 to correct critical deficiencies in strategic highways. The

American Federation of Labor supported the general provisions of the bill. However, it was vetoed by President Roosevelt because of the following provisions: (1) It greatly exceeded the amount he recommended, which was \$25,000,000; (2) the provision for off-street parking, \$10,000,000; (3) the provision for \$25,000,000 to reimburse local communities for damage done by Army traffic to highways and streets; (4) the recall, as employees, of retired employees; (5) the unlimited detail of employees as students at Government expense at technical institutions; (6) provision of \$125,000,000 to correct critical deficiencies in strategic highways. The Senate passed the bill over the Presidential veto by a vote of 57 to 19. In the House the vote was 251 to override and 128 to sustain the veto, but as those in opposition to the veto failed to muster two-thirds of the votes cast, it was sustained.

A new bill was drafted immediately to conform to the ideas of the President (S. 1840) and this new bill was passed by the Senate on August 15, 1941, and is now in the Committee on Roads of the House.

**Aid for the Blind**—H. R. 623 amends the Act of June 20, 1936, which provides added opportunities for the blind as follows: The exclusive privilege to sell merchandise in Federal buildings shall be granted to blind persons; if a state agency that licenses blind persons having vending stands ceases to exist or fails to comply with certain terms, the Commissioner of Education may make provisions for vending stands operated by the blind under its supervision until another agency is designated; changes the definition of a blind person and defines Federal buildings; authorizes allotments annually to the states on the basis of population for the establishment of blind persons in vending stands, such funds to be distributed to states having approved plans and matching the Federal contribution dollar for dollar. The bill had a hearing on March 19, 1941, before a subcommittee of the House Labor Committee but has not been reported.

S. 1570 amends existing laws so as to permit the sending for repairs and return after repairs, at the rate of one cent per pound, machines known as Braille writers and shorthand machines which produce raised letters and characters. The bill passed the Senate and was reported by the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads on July 24, 1941. It is pending on the House Union Calendar.

**Transportation for Released Prisoners**—H. R. 2844 (Public No. 116) provides for the transportation home of persons who have been arrested and subsequently released without conviction or convicted and placed on probation. This bill, as is indicated in the title, provides transportation and subsistence to the place of arrest of prisoners released if conviction was not secured. The bill further provides that when a court of the United States places a defendant on probation, it may direct the United States marshal to furnish the defendant with transportation to the place to which the defendant is required to proceed under the terms of his probation and, in addition, may also direct the marshal to furnish the defendant an amount of money not exceeding \$20 for subsistence expense to his destination. This proposal received the support of the American Federation of Labor.



**Federal Regulation of Employment Agencies**—H. R. 4675, by Mr. Tolan, regulates practices of employment agencies in inducing laborers and others to migrate in interstate and foreign commerce seeking employment. Requires registration of such agencies with the Secretary of Labor, who shall prescribe and enforce all rules necessary to effectuate the purposes of the Act. Prohibits false or misleading employment practices; acceptance of fees other than for employment obtained through the agency; sharing of fees with employer; inducing employees to quit their employment; sending out employees for work without obtaining bona fide requests for their services; sending out females or minors to places of bad repute; assisting in placing persons in employment prohibited by law; sending persons to places where strikes exist without giving them written notice of such labor controversies. The bill makes it unlawful for such agency to maintain a financial interest in any business pursuit serving people seeking employment, or to require subscriptions or contributions to any services except as provided in the Act, and also authorizes the Secretary, after hearings, to set fees, from which appeal may be taken to the courts. A hearing of this bill is to be held shortly before a subcommittee of the House Labor Committee.

**Tennessee Valley Hydroelectric Projects**—H. J. Res. 194 (Public No. 179) provides an additional appropriation for the Tennessee Valley Authority of \$40,000,000 (1) for beginning construction of two additional hydroelectric projects and two additional storage projects on the Hiwassee River, (2) for installation of additional electric generating units in existing hydroelectric projects of the Authority, and (3) building the transmission facilities needed to connect these projects and units to the existing transmission system of the Authority and to deliver the power produced by these projects and units to the market. This proposal received the active support of the American Federation of Labor, as at the time of its enactment power shortage was already in existence for defense purposes.

**Migratory Labor**—Pursuant to H. Res. 63 (76th Congress) and H. Res. 16 (77th Congress), a special committee, with John H. Tolan as Chairman, has continued to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs and the movement of indigent persons across state lines. President Green appeared on July 15, 1941, and presented the American Federation of Labor's activities and recommendations on the problems raised by shifting workers from one section of the country to another for defense purposes. He traced the efforts made by affiliated unions to supply the necessary men to jobs, and particularly the contribution made by the Building Trades Department in finding and getting to the job without any cost to the Government large numbers of construction workers. He outlined the results of a survey conducted by central labor unions in defense areas, showing the rapid rise in rents, the desperately overcrowded living conditions, the menace to health, and the lack of adequate recreational and school facilities in many of these sections. He recommended prompt adoption of a more adequate housing program, with attention to the necessary community facilities which should accompany the



construction of new homes, and the adoption of an improved and extended social security program which would protect the rights of workers leaving their former employment for defense jobs. He stressed especially the necessity for meeting this problem in a democratic fashion and the importance of giving Labor real representation in formulating the policies which are to govern our nation in making the necessary adjustments to defense production.

The Committee, in the light of ten volumes of testimony, has made the following preliminary recommendations: "To regulate private employment agencies engaged in interstate commerce; to secure continued improvements of the standards of housing and sanitation for migratory agricultural workers; to provide public assistance for nonsettled persons; to provide assistance for low-income farm families which will help to prevent them from becoming migrants; to continue and extend at the most rapid rate feasible, adequate water supplies for farmers already on the land; to provide for as many agricultural migrants as possible an opportunity to return to independent farming; to secure settlement rights for non-agricultural and agricultural migrants."

**Payment of Poll Tax as a Prerequisite for Voting**—H. R. 970 and 1024, H. J. Res. 112 and S. 1280, all designed to remedy the poll tax evil, are pending in Congress. Hearings on S. 1280, by Senator Pepper, have been held at this session by a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. A petition to withdraw H. R. 1024, by Mr. Geyer, from the House Judiciary Committee is being circulated. It requires 218 signatures to make the petition effective. Only eight states out of 48—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—require the payment of a poll tax as a condition precedent to voting. The taxes range from \$1.00 a year non-cumulative to \$2.00 a year cumulative from the ages of 21 to 60. The need for legislation to make unlawful the collection of a poll tax in Federal elections is again illustrated by statistics from the last Presidential election. The percentage of the potential voters who cast ballots in the 1940 Presidential election in the eight poll tax states was 21.1 per cent. In the forty non-poll tax states, the percentage was 70.59 per cent. The average vote cast for members of Congress in the 1940 election in the eight poll tax states (78 Congressional Districts) was 22,175 out of a total average population of 307,668. The average vote in the 40 non-poll tax states (347 Districts) was 128,901 out of a total average population of 308,442 (votes for ten members-at-large not included).

**Census of Industry and Business**—S. 1627 provides for a census of industry and business and for collection of current statistics by the Bureau of the Census. It passed the Senate on August 11, 1941, and is pending in the House Census Committee.

**Merging of Telegraph Companies**—By virtue of Senate Resolution 95, adopted at the 76th Congress, a subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has carried on a study of the telegraph industry and especially "the tendencies toward consolidation and monopoly in such industry." According to a preliminary report of the subcommittee the telegraph industry is a major American business enterprise; the domestic telegraph units alone

employ more than 60,000 persons and are thereby a means of livelihood for approximately 200,000 persons; they do a gross annual business of \$130,000,000. It soon became evident that perhaps the principal reason for this investigation was to obtain the consent of Congress to obtain a merger of the Postal and Western Union Companies. The Commercial Telegraphers Union, with the aid of the American Federation of Labor, has actively opposed the merger because no good purpose will be achieved from the viewpoint of the public or the employees of the telegraph companies. Further committee hearings were held on May 27 of this year and a representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared in opposition to the merger. To date the subcommittee has not rendered a final report.

**Settlement of Disputes with the United States—H. R. 6324.** On page 80 of the 1940 Proceedings, a partial report on the Walter Logan bills is found under the heading "Settlement of Disputes with the United States." This proposal as carried in H. R. 6324 was finally enacted by the Congress but the President vetoed it on December 18, 1940, on the ground that as it provided for an appeal to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the court would be overburdened and that litigation would become so costly it would be beyond the ability of the average person to bear and that there had been a substantial improvement in the standards of the administrative action.

**Price Control—H. R. 5479 and S. 1810** are pending in the respective Banking and Currency Committees. The House Committee has held hearings with OPACS Administrator Henderson as the witness. The resumption of the hearings is expected after the end of the House recess, September 15. Mr. Henderson in his testimony stated, "We stand now on the brink of inflation." He urged prompt consideration of the bill in order to check speculative and inflationary tendencies but also stated that influencing the cost of living through control of prices is the best control of wages and, therefore, wage control was not needed, as it is something entirely different from price control because they are judged by different standards. Chairman Steagall advised Mr. Henderson that the Committee desired all information available as to the effect of wages, utilities rates and agricultural prices and wages on living costs. The bill, as introduced, makes no reference to wages and Mr. Henderson recommended that wage control be omitted from the bill. There can be no doubt, however, but that proposals to control wages will be advanced, as some members of the Committee have said privately that such a step is a necessary complement to price fixing.

**St. Lawrence Waterways Project—H. R. 4927 and H. R. 4163**, designed to provide for the improvement of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin in the interest of national defense, and H. Res. 63, providing for a study of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterways, have had no action, as the opposition is powerful, numerous and apparently effective. The American Federation of Labor is opposed to this proposal. However, late in 1940, the President allocated \$1,000,000 from the special defense fund to the Federal Power Commission and Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, for the preliminary work in

connection with the power project for the development of the International Rapid Section of the St. Lawrence River. He also urged that the project be undertaken immediately from the defense viewpoint and he further contended that this development of power was necessary in order that it might be available to carry the peak power loads of 1945. The St. Lawrence Treaty was rejected by the U. S. Senate in 1934 and on May 28, 1939, a draft of a treaty was submitted by the Secretary of State to the Minister of Canada. The cost of the St. Lawrence Project is to be borne, principally, by the United States and most of the work done by Canadians. Many sections of the country are opposed to the St. Lawrence Project on the ground that projects within the United States, for the development of power, should be completed prior to the St. Lawrence Project; the Tom Bigbee Tennessee Waterway, the Florida Ship Canal and the Columbia River Project being those most frequently mentioned. The President requested that the St. Lawrence Project be included in the current rivers and harbors omnibus bill and this measure is to have immediate attention after the House returns to regular sessions on September 15. The Florida Ship Canal is also to be included in this proposal. This bill, with numerous costly additions, which include the St. Lawrence Project, is the same bill that President Roosevelt vetoed on May 21, 1940, with the following statement:

With respect to the few items in the bill that are of national defense value, I would be glad to approve separate legislation covering these projects.

The bill which he then vetoed carried an expenditure of \$109,000,000 and the new bill provides for an expenditure in excess of \$1,000,000,000 due to the fact that it includes tremendously expensive projects, many of which Congress has heretofore declined to approve.

**Amendment to Copyright Act**—H. R. 4826 amends section 8 of the March 4, 1909, Copyright Act, in order to preserve the rights of authors during the present emergency. It has passed the House and has been favorably reported in the Senate.

**Coal Mine Inspection**—H. R. 2082 (Public No. 49) provides for Federal inspection and investigation of coal mines.

**Registration of Trade Marks**—S. 895 provides for the registration of trade marks and carries out the provisions of international conventions. This bill is identical with H. R. 6618, which passed the House and was favorably reported to the Senate in the 76th Congress. The present bill has been favorably reported to the Senate.

**Amendment to National Labor Relations Act**—The American Federation of Labor prepared and Representative Ramspeck introduced H. R. 3489, amending the National Labor Relations Act, but no action was taken on the proposal.

**Forest Lands**—The Joint Committee on Forestry, created by S. C. R. 31 (75th Congress) and extended by subsequent resolutions, submitted a report of its study and investigation on March 24, 1941. The report declared that "the time is ripe for the establishment of a real forest economy in this

country which, as an important segment of the broad agricultural economy, will put to constructive use one-third of our total land area." According to the Committee, "the program necessary to establish a satisfactory nationwide forest economy includes a series of public measures or actions, some of which require new legislation, some require modification of existing legislation, and some simply more aggressive action under existing authority." The American Federation of Labor has more than a general interest in any proposal to conserve and utilize in orderly and constructive ways the forest resources of our country. It is estimated that the forest resource in the United States furnishes, directly and indirectly, an equivalent of year-long work for between three and three and one-half million men. Since many of these workers are engaged only part time, the actual number benefited is much larger. Approximately 40 per cent of the employment is engaged directly in the growing, harvesting and primary manufacture of forest products. Some 60 per cent are engaged in the further manufacture of timber into finished products, in transportation and distribution, in construction, and in corresponding activities for other constituent products. A large percentage of these workers are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and they are dependent upon the adequate development and maintenance of the nation's forest resources in order that they may have gainful work and income for a decent living. Moreover, the rehabilitation and stabilization of our forest resources should afford work and income for a far larger number than are now so engaged. In the past, our forest industries have been interested largely in immediate returns. Mills have cut out the virgin timber and moved on to new areas. This policy has given us barren stump lands, not to mention stranded workers and decadent lumber communities. The workers who undertook to follow the mills were deprived of the opportunity to settle down and establish permanent homes. This process of "cut out and get out" is still in evidence on the privately owned forests in the Northwest. There is failure, also, adequately to rehabilitate and protect the private cut-over lands in almost every part of the United States. Problems of low wages, inadequate employment, and stranded families on cut-over areas have brought about such serious situations that in some areas as many as one-third of the workers' families are dependent on relief. The American Federation of Labor, therefore, has repeatedly emphasized the need for an aggressive forest program that will restore the productive capacity of our forest areas on a permanent basis in order that American labor may enjoy the fruits of a permanent and stable source of raw materials. Public regulation of forest practices or outright Government acquisition of timber lands that will assure permanent productivity and afford Labor a steady source of income appear to be the solution.

#### SHORTER WORK DAY AND SHORTER WORK WEEK

The industrial and economic changes which have taken place during the past year have served to lessen the interest justifiably shown in the economic need for a reduction in the number of hours worked per day and the number of days worked per week in order to provide work opportunities for all classes

of workers. Even though we are passing through a period when the call of the moment is for increased production and highly stimulated industrial activity, we still recall and we must not forget the distressing days of unemployment which were faced during the period between 1929 and 1939, when the number of unemployed fluctuated between five million and fourteen million. During those trying days Labor offered the shorter work day and shorter work week as a partial remedy, at least, for unemployment. The American Federation of Labor contended vigorously that the amount of work available should be distributed, through the application of the shorter work day and shorter work week, among the millions who were eagerly seeking employment, but who were denied an opportunity to work.

Now we turn our eyes from the past, those days of unemployment to which we have referred, to the post-war period which may be upon us ere long. We know that a decided change will take place when that period arrives and we pass from a war preparation economy to a peace time economy. For that reason it is the opinion of the Executive Council that the Government should immediately prepare to meet the post-war situation in a practical and constructive way.

The Executive Council is of the opinion that the change, which is inevitable, calls for the application of the principle of the shorter work day and shorter work week just as soon as the international conflict is ended and the defense program and policies of the Government have been carried out and the work incident to our national defense has been completed.

We can not escape the consequences of post-war conditions. We must plan for the inevitable. We must face the stern facts now. We can not find work for the increasing millions of men and women who are able, ready and willing to work during normal periods upon the basis of a long work day and long work week. We can provide work opportunities for increasing millions through the application of the shorter work day and shorter work week.

The Executive Council recommends that the convention reaffirm its approval of the principle of the shorter work day and shorter work week as a partial remedy for unemployment; and urges that such economic committee as may be created, either by act of Congress or by Executive Order, shall recommend the application of the shorter work day and shorter work week, immediately when the post-war period arrives, as a partial remedy, at least, for unemployment.

#### WAGE-HOUR LAW ADMINISTRATION

The past year has been one of growth and development in the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Minimum wage, maximum hour and child labor standards of the statute have gained further acceptance among employers required to maintain these minimum standards. At the same time the enforcement of these standards became an integral part of our national defense policy.

The Fair Labor Standards Act has been in operation nearly three years. During this period minimum wages required to be paid workers covered by the Act have been raised to 30 cents per hour and maximum hours have

been reduced to 40 per week. Although the minimum standards of the Act apply only to workers employed in the production of goods intended for interstate commerce, the stabilizing influence of these federal standards has been immense. In many large basic industries in which extremely low wages had prevailed in the South and other depressed wage areas, the application of a universal minimum has placed a solid floor under all wage standards. A uniform application of the statutory requirement for the payment of time and one-half for all work done in excess of 40 hours per week has served to wipe out intolerably excessive hours in many industries and occupations.

With the rising employment in the industries covered by the Act the number of workers protected by the minimum wage and overtime standards of the law has risen well above 15,000,000. This fact alone is sufficient to measure the importance of the protective and stabilizing effect of the Wage and Hour Law on the basic labor standards of the American workers.

#### **Maximum Hours**

On October 24, 1940, the standard work week provided by the Act was reduced from 42 hours to 40. This reduction came at a time when industrial activity was rapidly expanding due to the acceleration of the defense program and a marked rise in the demand for consumer goods.

Increases in employment resulting from the quickening in the pace of our industry and trade have brought into play new and powerful pressures for the elimination of overtime standards. Early in 1940 industry began to agitate against the lowering of the overtime limit from 42 hours per week to 40, insisting that lengthening of hours without overtime pay was essential for the efficient operation of defense industries. Deliberate attempts were made to create the impression that a rigid maximum of 40 hours per week established by the Act, make flexible operating schedules impossible.

The American Federation of Labor acted quickly to offset this drive, and focused public attention on the fact that the Fair Labor Standards Act does not limit hours of work but merely requires that for work in excess of 40 hours per week overtime rates of time and one-half the regular rate of pay must be paid. Our call for public support of the overtime standards established by the Act was given effective emphasis by General Philip B. Fleming, the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division.

By widely publicizing the record of industrial experience of the last war and of maximum hour regulation abroad, the American Federation of Labor and Administrator Fleming were successful in dispelling any doubt of the effectiveness of the 40-hour standard work week not only from the standpoint of workers welfare but also from that of productive efficiency under emergency conditions.

#### **Minimum Wages**

Since October 24, 1939, a minimum wage of 30 cents per hour has been in effect for all employees covered by the Act. There will be no further rise in this general statutory minimum until October 24, 1945, when it will be increased to 40 cents per hour.



In addition to this general minimum wage requirement, the Act empowers the Administrator to appoint industry committees to investigate economic conditions in individual industries with a view to raising minimum rates to 40 cents per hour as rapidly as possible without substantially curtailing employment. By August 35 industry committees in 26 industry groups had been convened since the Act went into effect. These committees have recommended minimum rates ranging between 32½ and 40 cents per hour. The law limits the authority for minimum wage determination not to extend beyond the 40-cent rate.

The importance of the industry committee procedure is reflected by the fact that during the three year period of the operation of the Act wage orders recommended by industry committees have brought wage increases to 1,061,000 workers in industries employing a total of 4,388,000 workers. The largest groups to receive increases in minimum wages as a result of these wage orders have been 300,000 workers in the textile industry; over 200,000 workers in the wearing apparel industries; 65,000 workers employed by railroads; 60,000 boot and shoe workers; and 50,000 workers in the converted paper products industry. Industries for which wage orders have been issued, minimum wage rates established and the number of workers benefited by the increases in minimum wages are shown on the table beginning on page 74.

A number of industry committees have met and recommended wage rates to the Administrator but these recommendations have not yet been put into effect by the Administrator. On August 1, 1941, the following industry committee recommendations have been made and were pending the Administrator's approval:

Industry	Minimum Wage Recommended (cents per hour)
Lumber and timber.....	35
Wood furniture .....	40
Men's woven underwear and commercial knitting.....	40
Women's apparel .....	40
Clay products .....	34
Grey iron jobbing foundry.....	40
Men's shirts, single pants and allied garments.....	40
Rubber .....	40

In addition, a new industry committee has been appointed for the trucking and motor bus industry and committees were formed for the second time to consider further minimum wage increases in boot and shoe, knitted outerwear, and miscellaneous apparel industries. These committees are scheduled to convene in August and September 1941.

The rapid rise in living costs gives additional importance to the industry committee procedure. It is through this procedure that a universal minimum wage of 40 cents per hour can be achieved for all industries covered by the Act long before the statutory minimum of 40 cents scheduled for October, 1945 goes into effect. In all industries in which minimum wages lower than 40 cents per hour still prevail, unions should seek the formation of industry committees in order to bring the minimum up to 40 cents. The establishment



of this universal minimum will go a long way toward protecting organized wage earners against competitive pressure of employers paying substandard wages to workers in the unorganized portions of the industry. Equally important is the need for our unions to strengthen wage standards above the 40-cent limit beyond which the Wage and Hour Law does not reach, by seeking to establish higher minimum wage rates by collective bargaining.

In order to make the industry committee procedure most effective, all affiliated unions are urged to bring their problems of Wage and Hour Law administration to the officers of the American Federation of Labor so that their interests may be fully protected and proper representations made. This is especially important in the case of affiliated unions desiring to secure the formation of industry committees in industries in which minimum wages of less than 40 cents still prevail. Requests for the scheduling of new industry committees and the preparation of the union's case for each committee will be given expert assistance by the American Federation of Labor representatives assigned to this work. The Research and Information Service of the American Federation of Labor has prepared wage and other economic data for every industry committee in which technical assistance has been requested by the unions concerned. The availability of comprehensive wage and employment data has proved to be indispensable in securing recommendations favorable to Labor by industry committees.

#### **Child Labor**

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act all employment in mining and manufacturing of persons under 16 years of age is deemed to be oppressive child labor and is prohibited. In occupations other than manufacturing and mining employment between the ages of 14 and 16 may be permitted but only under the regulation or order of the chief of the Children's Bureau.

In any employment found by the chief of the Children's Bureau to be particularly hazardous or detrimental to the health of young persons between 16 and 18, no one less than 18 years of age can be employed. Such prohibition can be effected only after public hearings. Unions concerned may submit requests for determination of particular occupations or industries as being hazardous. During the past three years employment of persons less than 18 years of age has been prohibited in hazardous occupations on an industry-wide basis in the following industries: explosives, motor vehicles (drivers and helpers), coal mining, logging and sawmilling, and woodworking (involving operations near and around machines).

#### **Homework**

Section 8 (f) of the Act authorizes the Administrator to include in the wage orders based on industry committee recommendations, terms and conditions necessary to prevent the subversion or evasion of the order and to safeguard the minimum wage rates established.

In connection with the meetings of the industry committee for the jewelry industry, hearings were held on the question of whether or not industrial homework in that industry should be prohibited. Testimony of representatives

of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor clearly established the fact that unless industrial homework were prohibited in this industry it would be impossible to insure strict enforcement of any wage order. It was shown that employers of homeworkers customarily and flagrantly violated both the wage and hour as well as child labor provisions of the law. As a result of this hearing industrial homework has been prohibited in the industry. We urge on our affiliated unions the necessity of recommending to the Administrator that similar action be taken in other homework industries. Only by this means can the exploitation which has characterized all homework industries in the past be effectively controlled.

#### Deductions

Section 3 (m) authorizes the Administrator in determining what constitutes the wage to include the reasonable cost to the employer of furnishing employees with board, lodging or other facilities if these are customarily furnished by the employer. In connection with the hearings on the recommendations of the second textile industry committee the Administrator decided to take evidence as to whether or not textile employers should be prohibited from making deductions from wages for facilities furnished employees. This included charges made for company housing, groceries purchased in company stores and similar items. The American Federation of Labor strongly urged outright prohibition of all such deductions and cited widespread abuses existing in the industry whereby employers have deprived workers of even the minimum wage standards to which the law entitles them.

#### Exemptions

Section 7 (b) (3) of the Fair Labor Standards Act provides that employees engaged in industries found by the Administrator to be seasonal may be exempt from the overtime provisions of the Act for a period of 14 work weeks in any one year. In 1940 Administrator Fleming amended Part 526 of his regulations with respect to this provision of the Act. The new regulation extended exemptions to industries which both (a) engage in the packing or storing of agricultural commodities in their raw and natural state and (b) receive for packing or storing 50 percent or more of the annual volume in a period or periods amounting in the aggregate to not more than 14 work weeks.

It should be noted that part (b) of this interpretation applies to industries whose operations are seasonal only insofar as *receipt of raw materials* is concerned. Naturally if seasonality in the receipt of raw materials is taken as a criterion of seasonality of each industry, it would be possible to extend the seasonal exemption to many industries not otherwise entitled to it. During the past year exemptions rising out of the word "receiving" have been granted for the following industries: peanuts, pecans, walnuts, filberts, artificially dried alfalfa, dehydration of citrus pulp, raw shorn fleece wool, receiving of grain flax and buckwheat and flat warehousing of grain in sacks. These exemptions could not have been granted had it not been for this new and arbitrary construction of the Act. The American Federation of Labor repeatedly protested the amended regulation, stressing the fact that the language

of the Act implies that industries must be of a highly seasonal character in their total operations to be eligible for seasonal exemptions.

During the last year exemptions of executive, administrative, and professional employees were considerably revised. Following a series of hearings, new definitions of exempt occupations were made effective on October 24, 1940. While certain modifications may be desirable in these definitions, they represent a substantial improvement over those previously in effect.

Exempt employees must be vested by their employers with a considerable amount of discretion and responsibility. Also they must not be called upon to spend a substantial portion of their time in the performance of work carried on by non-exempt employees. Executive employees must be compensated for their services on a salary basis at not less than \$30 per week while administrative and professional employees must receive not less than \$200 per month. Under the new regulations the overtime standards contained in the law were applied to a considerably larger group of such workers than was previously the case.

#### Enforcement

Enforcement of the minimum wage and maximum hour provisions of the Act has taken on special significance under the employment shifts and pressures incidental to current industrial expansion. While in the fall of 1940, the employers drive toward complete elimination of the overtime standards of the Act failed to undermine these standards, by the summer of 1941 new and primarily local pressures became apparent. Added responsibility has been placed upon the Wage and Hour Division to make sure that full enforcement of overtime standards can yield an adequate safeguard against the breakdown of these vital provisions of the law.

The enforcement record of the Wage and Hour Division during the past year was considerably improved over that of the preceding year. The Division has succeeded in definitely turning the corner in its investigations and adjustments of complaints and has for the first time achieved a substantial reduction in the accumulated backlog of complaints. At the close of 1939 there was a backlog of 30,000 uninvestigated complaint cases on hand with 3,000 new complaints coming in per month. In July, 1941 there were 24,000 uninspected complaints still on hand with new complaints coming in at the rate of 2,000 per month.

These figures show that the entire enforcement procedure should be drastically speeded up and strengthened. There is a very urgent need for strengthening the inspection staff with personnel experienced in the handling of wage problems and with trade union background.

It is difficult to reconcile the still heavy backlog of uninspected complaint cases with the fact that the Division reimbursed the Treasury with \$200,000 of its appropriation for the last fiscal year which was left unexpended. It is clear that a more aggressive enforcement policy is imperative to meet the pressure of current conditions.

During May, 1941 the Division made 6,192 inspections. Not all of these

were based on the complaints lodged with the Division by Labor, but many were routine investigations undertaken by the enforcement staff of the Division on its own motion. One device used by the Division to bring about effective compliance with the standards of the Act has been the special industry-wide enforcement drive directed at industries in which low wages and excessive hours have been long prevalent or industries in which violations have been especially flagrant. These industry drives have the advantage of ruling out all violations in one concerted effort rather than approaching them piecemeal.

Such industry drives have been conducted in the boot and shoe industry, among apparel manufacturers, in textile establishments and in shops manufacturing leather and luggage. As of July, 1941, there was an extensive drive on in the lumber industry as well as in the fruit and vegetable canning industry. The lumber industry is characterized in the South by a large number of small independent operators. These operators are extremely hard to police. In many cases their places of business are frequently transferred as small local stands of timber are exhausted. The Administrator, in view of the difficulty of policing these numerous small enterprises, is attempting to reach them through the concentrators to whom these people sell lumber. The "hot goods" section of the Act is being used to force concentrators to make sure that primary producers are in compliance with the Act.

The Division has developed a rather unique system for checking complaints which come into its various offices. When a complaint is received alleging a violation, the Division sends a questionnaire to the employer in which he is asked to report payroll information for the period in which the alleged violations have occurred. These statements are then checked against those obtained from the employees by means of interviews. If any discrepancies are found to exist, an investigation is then instituted. This method of investigation is most unsatisfactory since it affords employers an opportunity to engage in misrepresentation, falsification of records, and intimidation of employees which would not have been possible had they not been put on their guard by receipt of the questionnaire from the Division. Clearly complaints should be followed up by investigation by inspectors rather than by the advance mailing of questionnaire forms.

Wage restitutions have increased markedly during the last year. In May, 1941 back wages collected and paid to employees amounted to \$1,335,000 distributed to 40,500 employees. This shows that the amount of back wages collected in the summer of 1941 was almost double the amount collected by October, 1940. This gain was partly due to the increase in the number of investigations resulting in wage restitutions.

In all phases of wage and hour enforcement a more determined policy on the part of the Division is greatly needed. Much closer cooperation on the part of the inspection staff with unions in each industry and region would undoubtedly enable the Division to assure much fuller policing of the employers' compliance with Labor's basic statutes.

### Litigation

In the course of the past year, the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act became firmly established. In a notable decision in the *F. W. Darby Lumber Co.* case the U. S. Supreme Court unequivocally upheld the power of Congress to fix labor standards under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution. In this decision the Court expressly overruled its decision in the case of *Hammer vs. Dagenhart* which declared the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional in 1918. This decision brought to a close one of the great legal controversies in the field of Federal regulation of minimum standards and has provided a new foundation for Federal protection against perpetuation of unfair labor conditions through the channels of interstate commerce.

In another decision in the *Opp Cotton Mills* case the Supreme Court held that the industry committee procedure for raising minimum rates in industries subject to the Act was a valid exercise of authority granted by Congress. In this decision the Court also ruled that the regulations of the Division requiring that employers keep records of wages paid to and hours worked by their employees are reasonable and proper. This decision gave legal validity to the basic administrative procedure of the Wage and Hour Division.

### Puerto Rico

The economy of Puerto Rico is different from that of the continental United States, consequently the establishment of minimum rates for the Island offers certain special problems. It was felt by Congress and the Administrator of the Act that the immediate application of the 30 cent rate to all industries operating in the Island would lead to a substantial curtailment of employment among Puerto Rican workers. As the result in June, 1940, Congress passed an amendment to the Act authorizing the Administrator to appoint special committees to fix rates lower than 30 cents per hour for the Island industries. A number of rates have been set under this procedure. These recommendations are for wage rates ranging from 25 cents per hour for a large group of industries to 12½ cents per hour for the raffia handbag industry. By August, 1941, 12 special minimum wage recommendations have been made.

In formulating these recommendations it was attempted to establish rates which would not create unemployment in the Island and at the same time would not give Puerto Rican industries a substantial competitive advantage over the corresponding industries in continental United States.

The progress which is being rapidly made by the American Federation of Labor unions in Puerto Rico lends strength to our hope that minimum wage standards uniform with continental United States may be soon put into effect for the protection of all wage earners in Puerto Rico.

### Labor Standards and Defense

The record of the Wage and Hour Administration during the past three years has demonstrated conclusively the vital need for the maintenance of basic minimum wage and overtime standards, not only as a method of protecting the workers against the effects of unfair competition, but also as a means of sus-

taining maximum productive efficiency in our industry. This experience has proved that only through the maintenance of reasonable hours and fair working conditions can the best over-all productivity be achieved and the morale of the American workers remain unimpaired. It is therefore not only in the interests of the wage earners concerned but in the interests of the national defense also that the uninterrupted application of the basic standards of the Wage and Hour Law and their extension to the large mass of workers who are still deprived of its benefits be made basic to our national labor policy.

The Executive Council recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor guard with renewed vigilance any attempt, either by statute or by order, to impair or destroy any of the minimum standards established in American industry through the operation of the Act. We recommend that the continued and accelerated application of the Industry Committee procedure be actively sought so that the minimum wage standard of 40 cents per hour for all industry can be attained as rapidly as possible.

We also recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor confer with the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division and propose practical ways and means of (1) strengthening the enforcement procedure, (2) modifying such rulings as provide excessive and unjustifiable exemptions, and (3) establishing a closer and more effective basis of cooperation between the American Federation of Labor and all those charged with the responsibility for the administration of the Act. We finally call upon all American Federation of Labor unions for full cooperation with the officers of the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to strengthen the administration of fair labor standards under the Wage and Hour Law.

**Industry Minimum Wage Orders Issued by the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act and in Effect as of August 15, 1941**

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Wage Rate</i>	<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Number Affected</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
Woolen .....	36	150,000	12,000	June 17, '40
Apparel .....		650,000	190,000	July 15, '40
<b>Men's Wear:</b>				
Men's and Boys' Clothing.....	40	126,600	13,500	
Sportswear and other Odd				
Outerwear .....	40	14,000	8,200	
Leather & sheep-lined Garments	40	4,100	850	
Rainwear .....	40	4,500	2,000	
Single Pants and Breeches other than those of 100% cotton fab- ric .....	37½	7,000	3,100	
Single Pants of 100% cotton fab- ric, Overalls, Coveralls & Work Shirts .....	32½	66,000	33,500	
Dress Shirts, Collars and Sleep- ing Wear .....	32½	68,000	27,900	
Men's and Boys' Underwear of Woven fabric .....	32½	10,000	6,900	

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<i>Committee</i>	<i>Wage Rate</i>	<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Number Affected</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
<b>Women's Wear:</b>				
Cloaks, Suits and separate Skirts	40	40,000	600	
Dresses .....	35	134,500	31,100	
Blouses, Shirtwaists, Neckwear, Scarfs .....	35	12,400	2,300	
Corsets and Allied Garments....	35	17,200	3,400	
Underwear, Nightwear and Neg- ligees made of Woven Fabric.	35	30,150	11,500	
Infants' & Children's Outerwear	35	29,500	12,800	
Robes .....	35	2,800	900	
Washable Service Apparel .....	35	9,900	2,800	
<b>Accessories and Special Products:</b>				
Caps and Cloth Hats .....	40	3,450	1,350	
Belts .....	40	3,600	800	
Covered Buttons and Buckles....	35	800	300	
Garters, Suspenders, Arm Bands	35	3,500	1,000	
Ladies' Handbags .....	35	12,200	4,800	
Artificial Flowers and Feathers.	35	5,500	1,800	
Men's Neckwear and Scarfs....	35	10,300	3,000	
Gloves and Mittens other than Work Gloves and Mittens....	35	13,900	5,700	
Work Gloves and Mittens.....	32½	15,000	7,300	
Handkerchiefs .....	32½	5,600	2,700	
Hosiery .....		140,000	46,000	Sept. 18, '39
Full-Fashioned .....	40	80,000	16,000	
Seamless .....	32½	60,000	30,000	
Hat .....		25,000	5,500	July 1, '40
Wool-Felt, Fur-Felt, Hatters' Fur. ....	40	21,000	4,500	
Straw and Harvest.....	35	3,900	1,000	
Millinery .....	40	23,500	3,500	Jan. 15, '40
Knitted Outwear .....	35	23,000	7,500	July 1, '40
Knitted Underwear and Commer- cial Knitting .....	32½	60,000	16,000	May 6, '40
Railroad Carrier .....		1,017,000	65,300	Mar. 1, '40
Trunklines .....	36	1,000,000	60,000	
Shortlines .....	33	17,000	5,300	
Leather .....	40	50,000	3,000	Sept. 16, '40
Pulp and Primary Paper.....	40	130,000	8,500	Sept. 16, '40
Carpet and Rug .....		31,000	1,100	Mar. 17, '41
Wool and Wool-Yarn .....	40	30,100	1,000	
Paper, Grass, Fiber, Cotton....	35	900	100	
Luggage and Leather.....	35	18,250	4,900	Jan. 6, '41
Converted Paper Products .....		200,000	50,000	June 30, '41
Folding Paper Boxes.....	40			



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<i>Committee</i>	<i>Wage Rate</i>	<i>Number Employed</i>	<i>Number Affected</i>	<i>Effective Date</i>
Shipping Containers .....	40			
Paper Cups .....	40			
Bottle Caps and Hoods.....	40			
Waxed Papers .....	40			
Carbon Paper .....	40			
Towels and Toilet Tissues.....	40			
Auto Panels .....	40			
Photo Mountings .....	40			
Waterproof Paper .....	40			
Glazed and Fancy Paper.....	40			
Commercial Envelopes .....	40			
Tags and Labels.....	40			
Gummed Papers .....	40			
Die Cut Specialties.....	40			
Sensitized Papers .....	40			
Sand Paper .....	40			
Stationery .....	40			
Playing Cards .....	40			
Book Matches .....	40			
Loose-leaf and Blank Books, Tab- lets and Pads, Index Cards....	40			
All products not included in any of the enumerated divisions of the Industry in which the principal basic component consists of syn- thetic material .....	40			
All products not included in any of the enumerated divisions of the Industry made by the coating or impregnating of paper or paper board with any material.....	40			
Shipping Sacks .....	38			
Paper Bags .....	39			
Miscellaneous Rolls and Wrapping Specialties .....	38			
Products not elsewhere classified..	38			
Plain Rolls .....	36			
Set-up Boxes .....	36			
Cans, Tubes, Cores and related Products .....	36			
Expanding Envelopes and related Products .....	36			
Lace and Fluted Paper Products..	36			
Twisted Paper Products.....	36			
Embroideries .....	37½	14,250	4,400	Jan. 27, '41
Portable Lamp and Shade.....	40	10,000	4,000	July 1, '41
Enameled Utensil .....	40	6,200	1,200	Apr. 21, '41
Drug, Medicine, Toilet Preparations	40	44,000	9,000	July 7, '41
Textile .....	37½	650,000	300,000	June 30, '41
Jewelry .....	40	35,000	11,500	Nov. 1, '41

### NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

In accordance with the mandate of the Cincinnati Convention of 1939 and the New Orleans Convention of last year, the American Federation of Labor has continued in its efforts to bring about the necessary reforms in the National Labor Relations Act and its administration discussed in previous reports.

The American Federation of Labor sought to accomplish these reforms both by appeal to Congress to pass amendments to the Act and by resort to the Board itself to remedy the biased application of the Act through changes in its decisions and changes in its method of administration. The present national emergency and defense effort has intervened to delay Congressional action on our pending amendments which were introduced at this session of Congress by Representative Robert Ramspeck. We are pleased, however, to report that our efforts before the Board have met with considerable success.

The Board, headed by Chairman Millis, appointed last November, has not only put into effect a number of changes in its administrative setup and procedure, which have eliminated to a degree abuses of delay and prejudiced administration, but, in addition, has in precedent-making decisions announced new policies and new rules applicable to such vital questions as craft and geographic unit determinations and interference with collective bargaining contracts. These decisions reverse previous decisions of a biased Board, thus removing a number of harmful precedents against which the American Federation of Labor amendments were directed. The changes in the administration and application of the Act operate to remedy, at least temporarily, a number of the specific abuses which are the subject of the American Federation of Labor amendments. These changes, introduced by the Board itself, afford complete justification for the amendments proposed by the Federation. By majority action of the present Board, it has seen fit, by decision and administrative action, to bring about much of what we sought to accomplish through our proposed amendments.

Specifically, the following changes have been made:

#### I. Removal of Biased Personnel

The Board, in an effort to reorganize, has removed some of its personnel, both in the Washington office and in the various regional offices. Incompetents were eliminated; some of those employees who had evidenced an attitude openly hostile to the American Federation of Labor were let go; and other employees who had demonstrated ability and fairness were placed in key positions both in the Washington office and in the field. Further changes in the administrative setup were designed to prevent bottlenecks, and to decentralize responsibility where centralization had previously resulted in delay and abuse of power, as in the case of the Secretary's office. There still are employees who in the past have shown, and even now from time to time show, hostility to the American Federation of Labor but the Board, on learning of it, has proceeded to make correction. There are, however, still a number of regional employees of the Board who are antagonistic to the American Federation of

Labor who must be eliminated in the interest of fair dealing to our organization.

## II. Lessening of Delay by Administrative and Procedural Changes

The Board revised its procedure in the handling of cases, giving Regional Directors a larger measure of discretion in the handling of certain proceedings, and eliminating to a large extent the Review Division which had been duplicating the work of the Trial Examiners. These administrative changes have resulted in eliminating some of the delay to which certain of our amendments had been directed. However, our affiliates still complain of cases pending and undisposed of for long periods of time. Generally, the complaints pertain to older cases instituted before Drs. Millis and Leiserson joined the Board.

## III. Principle of Self-Determination in Unit Questions Respected

The Board, in the second *West Coast Longshoremen's case* (May, 1941), reversed its previous decision in the Longshoremen's case and certified port-wide units instead of the large geographic unit covering the entire coast established in its first decision, under which whole ports which had been organized by the American Federation of Labor had been obliged to bargain through the C. I. O. The first Longshoremen's decision had directly occasioned the amendment preventing the Board from prescribing large geographic units. In addition, in the second *Ford-Libbey-Owens Glass Company case*, the Board reversed its previous decision in which it had merged a plant organized by the American Federation of Labor with other plants organized by the C. I. O. located a considerable distance away so as to give the C. I. O. exclusive bargaining rights over the American Federation of Labor plant. These cases and others similar to it had prompted the American Federation of Labor to submit amendments depriving the Board of the right to prescribe large units against the wishes of the majority in smaller units. In both the second *Ford-Libbey-Owens Glass Company case* and the second Longshoremen's case the Board indicated that the choice of the employees involved was to be given paramount consideration which is consistent with the basic philosophy of the Act. We have emphasized this consideration in all of the unit amendments which we have advanced or approved. The principle of self-determination seems at last to be recognized by the majority of the Board.

## IV. Contracts Protected

Another amendment sponsored by the American Federation of Labor sought to restrict Board interference with collective bargaining contracts where the contracting union was alleged to have been "assisted" by acts of minor supervisory employees, such as "straw bosses" or "gang leaders," who themselves were members and other officers of the union involved, and were acting solely in the interest of the union. In such cases as the *Tennessee Copper Company case* and the *Serrick Company case*, the expressions of opinion by such em-

ployees as to the relative merits of competing labor organizations were held sufficient to invalidate either collective bargaining contracts or elections which had been won by American Federation of Labor affiliates. These decisions were, in effect, reversed in a recent decision of the Board involving the Calvert Distillery Company, in which the C. I. O. had sought to upset a nation-wide contract covering all of the Calvert Company's plants. The Board upheld the contract in that case, holding that the "acts of assistance" of minor supervisory employees could not be attributed to the employer when the circumstances disclosed that such acts were, in fact, done to benefit the union and not the employer. Thus, the protection which the American Federation of Labor sought to secure for its contracts through amendments has, at least in part, been secured by this decision of the Board. It should further be noted that during the past year the former Board practice of flaunting and disregarding American Federation of Labor contracts has greatly, although not entirely, diminished. A recent decision of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in the *Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company* case (reported on under "Legal Activities" in this report), upholding an American Federation of Labor contract which had been struck down by the Board and upholding the rights of the American Federation of Labor unions involved to attempt to preserve their contracts against the raids of competing organizations, will go far towards sustaining the present Board trend in respect to contracts.

While the present administration and application of the Act by Chairman Millis and Board Member Leiserson is fair and impartial, and constitutes a vast improvement over the previous administration, there is still room for improvement in certain respects. The American Federation of Labor continues to receive complaints of delays in some cases, and we will continue to press for prompt adjudication of all cases. Further, some of the Board personnel in its regional offices continues to evidence prejudice in favor of the C. I. O. This condition should be eliminated as rapidly as possible. Finally, in some few cases the Board still continues to disregard craft or professional lines.

While the Board's present unit position is a great improvement over that of the previous Board, efforts to obtain amendments removing a great deal of the discretion now exercised by the Board in this and other respects should not be lessened. It must be borne in mind that all of the favorable changes, both in administration and application of the Act, have been put in effect only because the majority of the present Board chose to initiate them. There is nothing to guarantee that there will not be a change in policy when a new Board comes into office. The Board's vast discretion in administering the Act has been strongly emphasized by recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the *Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company* and *Phelps Dodge Company* cases. In the former case, involving a situation similar to that involved in the *Ford-Libbey-Owens Glass Company* case, the United States Supreme Court held that the Board, under the present Act, had almost unlimited discretion in the determination of appropriate bargaining units. In

the latter case the United States Supreme Court held that the Board had vast powers of discretion in enforcing the unfair practice provisions of the Act. Accordingly, even though the majority of the present Board has proved itself fair and competent and has remedied at least some of the abuses which the American Federation of Labor amendments seek to prevent, nevertheless, efforts to obtain Congressional enactment of such amendments should not be relaxed, lest in the future, a different Board should undertake to exercise its broad powers in a manner similar to that followed in the past.

One matter respecting the Board remains for consideration, and that is the expiration of the term of Board Member Edwin S. Smith. Enough has already been said of Board Member Smith's attitude of hostility to the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Smith invited and even encouraged opposition by the American Federation of Labor by his repeated and consistent favoring of the C. I. O. in conflicts between the two organizations. Sufficient indication that Mr. Smith's attitude remains unchanged is seen in the fact that he vigorously dissented in each of the decisions discussed above in which a majority of the Board had attempted to remedy the evils of the previous administration. Mr. Smith's term as a member of the Board expired August 27th. The American Federation of Labor opposed his reappointment. We are unable at the time of the preparation of this report to state how the vacancy will be filled. The Executive Council continued vigorously its opposition to the reappointment of Mr. Smith.

A number of outstanding court decisions have been rendered in the past year which have extended the protection and benefits of the Act in various respects. These are reported on under the title "Legal Activities."

Much encouragement can be taken from the trend of these decisions of the courts and of the Board itself. If a member of the calibre of Chairman Millis and Doctor Leiserson is chosen to take Mr. Smith's place, the Act may bid fair to fulfill the hopes of the American Federation of Labor when it originally sponsored the legislation. The only ultimate guarantee of this, however, is the passage of our amendments. We will continue to work for that end.

### SOCIAL SECURITY

In the six years since the Social Security Law was passed the principle of protection of individuals against social hazards has become an important part of our national thinking. It is now clear that we need to extend that principle to protect all workers in a more comprehensive national program of social insurance. Today from fifteen to twenty million wage earners are not protected by retirement systems and even more are without unemployment compensation rights. Even those who are covered are handicapped by obvious gaps in the insurance program. One of the most serious of these is the absence of any provision for disability insurance. If a worker is laid off he may get unemployment compensation; if he loses it because his health is bad he has no claim on the compensation funds, in spite of his even more urgent need for income then.

The emergency of national defense has emphasized the national character of employment and unemployment. The employment service has been organized to send workers from one state to another promptly upon call. Our unions have cooperated in this effort to transfer available workers to jobs in other areas. Training programs have been instituted by a number of agencies to brush up rusty skills and train men to more highly skilled jobs than they knew before. This means we are mobilizing industrial manpower on a nationwide basis and creating a national labor market. We must therefore be prepared to handle unemployment due to priorities and cuts in production to save materials needed for defense as well as post-defense unemployment on a national scale.

We recommend that Congress amend the Social Security Act to provide a single pooled fund out of which payments for unemployment compensation as well as old age and survivors' insurance benefits, and temporary and permanent disability insurance benefits will be made, as well as supplementary payments for medical care and hospitalization to enable workers and their families to get the attention they need but which is now beyond their financial reach. We recommend further that this protection be widely extended to the millions of workers who now lack security. Special provisions should be included to preserve and insure the extension of social insurance rights to workers who are taking their part in the defense of the nation whether in military or civilian occupation.

National defense requires high morale and demands that we increase the security of our working men and women and their families against the loss of a decent living which results when wage income is cut off by unintentional unemployment, old age, disability and ill health. Even in the midst of acute peril, Great Britain has extended and improved its program of social insurance. It is essential for us to conserve our manpower by maintaining decent living standards in spite of emergencies which otherwise might leave a family destitute.

The Executive Council reports on the following subdivisions of Social Security:

1. Old Age Provisions
2. Employment Security
3. Disability Problems
4. Defense Production and Social Security Rights
5. Committee on Social Security

#### 1. Old Age Provisions

##### *Old Age Assistance*

There was no amendment of the Federal Old Age Assistance provisions of the Social Security Act in 1940 or in the first seven months of 1941. During 1940 the effect of the 1939 amendment raising the Federal funds available

for matching state payments for old age assistance to a maximum of \$40 per person was observed. Nine states which had not made any payments in excess of \$30 in 1939 made such payments in 1940. Nine other states which had payments in excess of \$30 in 1939 continued such payments in 1940. These 18 states accounted for 50% of all old age assistance payments in the United States. 27% of all recipients in those 18 states received payments in excess of \$30. The bulk of those were in California and Colorado, in which 90% and 54% respectively of those aided received more than \$30. In no other state were more than 20% of the recipients getting over \$30.

Average monthly payments in April, 1941, ranged from \$7.49 in South Carolina, with total payments 17% below those of April, 1940, to \$37.82 in California, which paid a total 11% above the previous year. National average payment was \$20.63 for the month with total payments 12.5% above April, 1940, to 9% more recipients.

The extremes in average payments could be avoided and the very low payments brought to more reasonable levels if Federal funds were granted on a variable matching basis, with higher percent going to those states whose average monthly income is below that of the country as a whole. The American Federation of Labor is supporting this proposal in the bill H. R. 4882, introduced May 27th at our request by Representative Healey.

We urge that the method of variable grants be used for all social security Federal grants-in-aid programs to assure equitable treatment for needy persons in the poorer states.

The elections of 1940 were unfavorable to many extravagant pension panaceas. The workers who helped vote them down know that these schemes would offer them less real security than they can get from expanding and improving a sound social security program. The American Federation of Labor will continue to work for a fair program for all people, young and old, handicapped, and unemployed, and one which will not unduly handicap workers by high taxes and increased living costs. We want intelligent planning for a national program of social insurance, not deceptive pretended cure-alls which would create chaos by their unsound financing.

#### *Old Age and Survivors' Insurance*

Nearly 310,000 persons were receiving monthly benefits under old age and survivors' insurance by the end of April, 1941. The amount was \$6,000,000 monthly. Lump sum payments of more than \$1,000,000 were also certified on the wages of 8,000 deceased workers. This compares with \$1,288,000 monthly benefits paid to 52,700 persons in April, 1940, with about the same number and amount of lump sum payments in both years. The number applying for benefits is smaller than expected by this time because many older workers who would otherwise have retired have continued to work in the present press of defense jobs. In fact a number of persons who had already retired returned to skilled employment. While the drain on the retirement funds was reduced, the ultimate benefit for retired workers will be greater because of their longer period of employment before drawing benefits.



A very serious criticism of old age and survivors' insurance is its limited coverage. Because many workers move from covered to non-covered employment during their working period, the average amount credited to their accounts monthly is lower than if all their wages were in covered employment. Consequently their benefits are smaller, and many persons fail to qualify for any benefits during the year because of insufficient wage credits in covered employment.

Carrying out the resolutions adopted by the Sixtieth Annual Convention, the American Federation of Labor had a bill introduced (H. R. 4882) which proposes a wide extension of coverage of old age and survivors' insurance to agricultural and domestic workers, lay employees of religious, charitable and educational institutions, and permits by compacts with states or municipal governments the coverage of such of their employees as are not protected by existing public retirement programs. The passage of this bill would bring protection to about 10,000,000 additional workers and their dependents, and would raise the average benefit amount for many workers who work in both covered and non-covered employment.

## **2. Employment Security**

### *Employment Service*

The United States Employment Offices has taken a big part in filling the defense labor demands. They placed more than 1,100,000 persons in the first 4 months of 1941, a gain of 68% over the corresponding period in 1940.

The Employment Service conducts a continuous survey of the expected hirings over a 6-month period by employers who have defense contracts, and it keeps a current file on workers of various skills available in the occupations listed as important to defense. It publishes such information monthly.

In 394 selected defense occupations there are 78 in which the number of registrants at the Employment Service in April, 1941, was short of the anticipated demand. The extent of the prospective shortage has been decreasing, partly because of upgrading and training of workers to higher skills and partly because bottlenecks in materials and machinery reduced the expected rate of hiring.

Some of the so-called "shortages" of workers were local and due to the low wage rate offered. The current shortage of agricultural workers in many sections results from poor wages and working conditions on farms compared with industrial work. Often reported labor shortages have been due to unnecessary stringency in employers' specifications. Many of these, especially age limitations, are being dropped. Discrimination against women workers and against negroes is also being overcome to some degree, with a consequent elimination of the "labor shortage."

American Federation of Labor unions have cooperated with the Employment Service in furnishing qualified workers for jobs. With advice from union members, the Federal Employment Service prepared a statement of procedure to be followed by local offices in placing workers both when union contracts existed and when an employer did not specify union affiliation in

calling for workers. The policy adopted was designed to assure the effective use of all channels of labor placement, preserving the functions of union placement, and protecting the rights of union members under contracts. With the assurance of such policy in public employment offices, unions have cooperated freely in urging all members to register at employment offices not only when unemployed but also when they are working at jobs not requiring their highest skills.

The Employment Service has developed an interstate clearance system to make full use of the nation's labor supply. When a local office cannot fill an employers' request for workers, it notifies the nearest offices which have the needed workers on their registers and these men are notified of the available jobs. In an attempt to prevent unnecessary travel, employment centers have been established to which employers could send interviewers to see and hire the workers before they left home. At times employers have authorized the employment offices to do the hiring, to avoid referring a man to a distant job which might be filled when he arrived.

The interstate clearance machinery was designed to weld the employment service more closely into a national system. The Federal Security Administration and Social Security Board have the responsibility of promoting a national system of employment office under the Social Security Act and Reorganization Plan No. 1, which transferred the administration of the Wagner-Peyser Act to them from the Department of Labor. Federal grants to states include both funds under Title III of the Social Security Act for administration of unemployment compensation laws including the employment service functions associated with unemployment compensation, and the Wagner-Peyser funds for maintenance of public employment offices.

In developing a comprehensive national program of social insurance we expect the employment service to be broadened and improved so that we will have the machinery to handle efficiently a national labor market, to know the extent of unemployment and of job opportunities, and to direct the flow of workers to jobs with the least possible lost time and dislocations in living. Both for the defense period and in preparation for the post-defense adjustments to a peace-time economy we need an employment service operating on a nation-wide basis fully informed of job openings and labor supply and prepared to help men find jobs promptly.

An excellent precedent has been established in the coordinating agreements worked out between the United States Employment Service and union placement work, and also with the vocational rehabilitation work of the Office of Education. We will need full use of all our resources to avoid employment chaos in the post-defense period. A sound national employment service can contribute greatly to this end. Coordinated with this placement service should be a comprehensive Federal system of unemployment compensation.

#### *Unemployment Compensation*

Forty-five states had legislative sessions during 1941. The legislation affecting unemployment compensation, while improved in a few states, was on

the whole disappointing. To July 1, only four states had extended coverage to employees in smaller firms than had previously been covered. About a third of the states extended coverage to Federal instrumentalities to the extent permitted by Congress, but nearly half of them, on the other hand, adopted new occupational exclusions, barring from benefits workers formerly included.

The benefit schedules were improved by a reduction in waiting period to 1 week in 22 states and to 2 weeks in 6 states. The minimum benefit amount was increased in 16 states, and the maximum in 7 states. Five additional states adopted a flat duration of 16 or more weeks. Some change in duration provisions were made in 11 other states, to the advantage of at least part of the workers affected. In view of the importance of adequate duration this disregard of the need for amendment by two-thirds of the states is significant.

The method of computing weekly benefit amounts was changed to the advantage of the workers in 6 states. On the other hand 2 additional states adopted an annual earnings formula. In each of the four states already using an annual earnings formula, the result has been to increase the percentage of benefits paid for small amounts and decrease the more adequate benefits.

Disqualifications were made much more severe by lengthening the period, adding new causes, and cancelling benefit rights instead of merely increasing the waiting period as a penalty.

Some changes were made in seasonal provisions, with no clear trend. There was pressure in some states with experience rating to add seasonal provisions to permit employers to get a lower rate. This is entirely inconsistent with the alleged purpose of experience rating—to stabilize employment.

Thirty-five states amended their experience rating provisions in some manner. Three states repealed experience rating, two adopted it. The effective date of experience rating was postponed in 3 states and advanced in 3. A number of changes were made in the method of measuring employers experience. The most usual change in tax rate schedules was a reduction in minimum or maximum rate; only 1 state raised its maximum rate. A few states modified the state-wide reserve requirements to give greater safety to the funds. This is an attempt to offset partially the danger which experience rating creates of insolvency of the funds.

On the whole it is clear that legislatures were more concerned to save the employers from paying taxes than to provide an adequate unemployment compensation system which will be able to prevent distress in the post-defense period and effectively maintain consumer purchasing power in a period of great unemployment. The American Federation of Labor believes a Federal system with adequate standards of benefits and a single pooled fund is essential. It would be far safer and less expensive in unused reserves as well as in administrative cost than 51 separate systems. With the Employment Service operating to move men from one state to another, sometimes great distances, the inefficiency and absurdity of separate unemployment compensation systems is obvious. Employment is a national problem. Unemployment is also national in scope. We need a national system of unemployment compensation to make our post-defense adjustment easier and less disastrous.

We recommend that unemployment compensation be coordinated in a broad Federal system of social insurance embracing protection against wage loss resulting from unemployment, old age, premature death, temporary and permanent disability, and helping workers and their families bear the burden of medical care.

### 3. Disability Problems

The failure of our social security laws to provide an income to compensate in part for wages lost because of temporary or permanent disability is a major defect. The social insurance method is as applicable to the risk of disability as to that of old age, and the need of the worker and his family for some protection is at least as great and perhaps greater if the disabled person requires special treatment. The Railroad Retirement Act established by Congress in 1935 combines old age and disability allowances. Most public retirement systems maintained by Federal, state or local governments make some provision for disability benefits. There is no sound reason for its exclusion from our social security program.

Failure to provide disability benefits coordinated with the old age and survivors' insurance may also result in a worker losing his old age protection or having it reduced to a serious degree. Every year not in covered employment reduces the wage upon which benefit amounts are figured, and a worker must be in covered employment roughly half the time since the act was passed, to a total of ten years, to be fully insured. If he becomes disabled and cannot work in covered employment he may lose all insurance protection. He should not only receive disability benefits before he is 65, but should be protected against loss of old age and survivors' insurance rights while he is disabled.

We need not only disability insurance, but also supplementary payments to provide medical care and needed hospitalization for workers and their families. It is a disgrace to our nation that more than 40% of our young men called in the military draft were found unfit for active service because of physical defects. Nine out of ten of the young men and women examined under N. Y. A. programs have health defects, most of which could be remedied by suitable treatment. These young people are handicapped because they are not able to pay for the necessary medical care.

A single social security fund under a national program should provide along with unemployment compensation and old age and survivors' insurance, permanent and temporary disability benefits and supplementary payments to enable our workers to get the essential medical and hospital care for themselves and their families. Employers will benefit from having stronger, healthier workers. The nation will gain in strength and morale. The workers themselves will be relieved of the staggering costs serious illness frequently imposes, and will be able to get care to prevent minor ills becoming serious. It is fair to all that such an expanded and improved program of social insurance should be paid for by joint contributions from employers, employees and the Government.

#### 4. Defense Production and Social Security Rights

Three-fourths of the states took legislative action to preserve unemployment compensation rights for persons who entered military service. The method by which this was done varies, and is complicated by the different provisions for base and benefit years in state laws. The laws generally provide that a man who is unemployed at the close of his military service will be entitled to that amount of unemployment compensation to which he would have been entitled had he become unemployed instead of going into military service. If he had used any of his benefit rights for the year before entering service he will have only the amount remaining to use on his discharge. Some states increased the possible benefit rights of selectees by counting their training periods as periods of employment at an arbitrarily determined wage rate. More commonly, however, the benefits are frozen, the period of service not being considered as part of the normal base or benefit years.

These state laws nearly all provide that no unemployment compensation will be paid during any period in which Federal compensation is paid.

The inadequacy of this protection is apparent from a survey of the normal unemployment compensation rights in a benefit year. About 44 per cent of all benefit payments are for amounts less than \$10. In 7 states the average payment is below \$7. Duration of benefits is so short that in the 15 states studied more than half the beneficiaries exhausted their benefit rights while still unemployed, and in 7 states more than two-thirds. Close to 80 per cent of the beneficiaries were still unemployed when their rights ran out in 1 state. When this is the normal condition it is easy to see that freezing the unused benefit rights is going to mean little in protecting demobilized men in an acute period of unemployment. Furthermore thousands of the selectees will have no benefit rights when they enter service and freezing rights will not create any for them.

For this reason we need a national program to provide adequate compensation for all selectees leaving service and for workers who have been employed during the defense period but who are laid off at its close. We need a broader, more adequate and safer unemployment compensation system than separate state systems give us. We should also explore the possibility of a supplementary system of dismissal compensation, built up on a contributory basis which will serve the double purpose of checking inflation now and providing funds to offset deflation later.

Congress has given no consideration to the reduction and perhaps loss of old age and survivors' insurance rights by men called into military service or who transfer from private employment to defense jobs directly paid by the Government. While some of these latter workers may acquire Civil Service Retirement rights, a large number of them will be only temporarily employed by the Federal Government and will lose social security benefits without gaining any compensating advantage. We urge immediate provisions to protect the retirement and survivors' insurance rights of persons serving their country in military or civilian defense employment.

We should not add to the sacrifice of men and women called to the defense of their country any loss of security which they would have in their normal occupations. The emergency demands more, not less, assurance of the future. A sound social insurance system is a powerful weapon against an enemy from within. We must both preserve the security already established and expand its scope and coverage. A comprehensive Federal system is essential to our defense preparations.

#### 5. Committee on Social Security

(Matthew Woll, Chairman; G. M. Bugniazet, John P. Frey, George Meany)

The Committee held several meetings with representatives from affiliated unions concerned with the problem of extending old age and survivors' insurance coverage to state and municipal employees now outside its scope, without injury to existing public retirement systems. Following the principles embodied in the resolution adopted at the Sixtieth Annual Convention, the Committee prepared a bill which was introduced by Congressman Healey as H. R. 4882.

The Committee has also studied plans for a comprehensive program of social insurance, which would include disability insurance and payments for medical care, and which widely extend the coverage of the Act.

The Executive Council recommends that this Committee continue its study of coordinating the various parts of the social insurance program into a system which will furnish reasonable protection for all workers and their families. We expect our Social Security Committee to watch particularly the development of the defense program to plan ways of strengthening our social security, thus raising the morale of the nation for this national effort.

We urge the Committee to study the question of compulsory savings or a contributory dismissal wage program to make recommendations on proposals of this character which are currently arising. We must not come unprepared into a post-defense depression. We must revamp and develop our social insurance program to meet its task of maintaining purchasing power and helping the workers of the nation find jobs and have an income until they do. Both now and in whatever crisis may face us later, we need a comprehensive system of social security for the welfare of the nation.

#### WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION

As the defense program passed from the tuning-up stage to the production stage in the summer of 1941, the problem of public relief and relief employment was pushed outside the focus of public notice. Yet it was clear that the vast industrial dislocation caused by the transfer from civilian to defense production was bound to place new burdens upon the community as a result of these far-reaching readjustments.

On August 1, 1941, the American Federation of Labor estimated that new unemployment due to defense dislocations would affect more than one million workers by mid-October, unless prompt preventive action was taken by the defense agencies in accordance with the recommendations submitted to them



by the A. F. of L. While no exact estimates were possible at the time because of the complexity of the situation, it was clear that displacement of large masses of workers was inevitable in many sections of the industry.

Application of priorities and curtailment in the supply of raw materials was the largest source of this job displacement. It was clear, however, that a very large portion of the new unemployment was being brought about by the confused and ineffective organization of the defense production program. Failure to consider effect on employment as one of the basic guiding factors in letting defense contracts, was characteristic of the policy making in the administration of defense production and purchasing and in the formulation of priorities by all agencies concerned. This was further aggravated by the lack of a firm policy with regard to subcontracting of defense orders under a plan which would preclude unnecessary waste of our productive manpower.

Defense production was not being spread through industry but was highly concentrated in the plants of the largest industrial corporations. Nor were the contracts distributed in a way as to spread employment equitably in all sections of the country. By May 1, 1941, almost half of the defense contracts was concentrated in and around 8 large cities. At that time 68 per cent, or more than two-thirds, of all prime defense contracts were allocated in only 20 industrial areas. These 20 areas contained only 27 per cent of the population of the country and only 24 per cent of WPA relief employment. After a year of our defense production effort, there were 2,300 counties in which there were no direct defense contracts whatever.

While the defense program was furnishing strong impetus to industrial expansion, a corresponding increase in employment could not be realized. This was due to a number of restrictive factors. Important among these was a greatly increased labor productivity achieved by defense as well as civilian industries, making possible increases in industrial output without comparable increases in employment. Thus while industrial production in April 1941 was 26 per cent above 1940, employment increased only 7.8 per cent during the same period. Much of the employment expansion was also restricted by the limitations of plant capacity in one industry after another. Shortages of materials, power and transportation facilities, shortages of gasoline and oil in the East, combined with restrictions in civilian consumption and failure to carry defense to more communities, served to offset defense employment gains and to create new areas of unemployment.

There is no doubt that in the coming year employment expansion in defense industries will be severely hampered by capacity limitations, further shortages in materials, power and transportation. During the next year more than 600,000 persons would have normally come to seek employment for the first time. Under the prevailing conditions of improved wages, a much larger number of persons will undoubtedly seek jobs. Women who would otherwise have remained outside industrial and trade employment, retired workers, and young people who normally would have stayed longer in school, as well as the surplus hands working on farms for subsistence, will undoubt-



edly be drawn by job opportunities in defense production. Under these conditions it is unlikely that during the fiscal year 1941-42 unemployment will be reduced by much more than 1,000,000.

WPA employment in 1941 reached its lowest level since 1935. Average employment for the fiscal year 1940-41 was estimated at 1,700,000 and for the fiscal year 1941-42 it was placed at 1,000,000. Drastic reductions in WPA work rolls were effected in July 1941. The following table shows the average number of persons employed on WPA projects by fiscal years from January 1936 through June 1942:

<i>Fiscal Year</i>	<i>Number</i> <sup>1</sup>
January to June 1936.....	2,695,000
1937 .....	2,231,000
1938 .....	1,934,000
1939 .....	3,014,000
1940 .....	2,054,000
1941 <sup>2</sup> .....	1,700,000
1942 <sup>2</sup> .....	1,000,000

<sup>1</sup> Includes employment on Work Projects Administration projects operated by other Federal agencies and financed by allocation of Work Projects Administration funds.

<sup>2</sup> Estimated.

Distribution of WPA employment by type of project is shown by the figures for April 30, 1941. At that time total WPA employment included 1,560,245 workers, of whom approximately 1,000,000 were employed on some phase of building or construction. Of the total employment 54.7 per cent were employed on highway, road and street construction and on public building and other building construction. 10.3 per cent were employed on work in connection with publicly owned or operated utilities such as water purification and sewage disposal. Only 27.4 per cent, or 415,000 workers, were employed on community service programs such as education, recreation, library, museum, art, music, research, public records, public health and similar work, including 102,000 workers employed on sewing projects.

Many of the WPA projects were classified as "defense projects" during the past year. Most of these projects involve building and construction work which could readily be done by private contractors. According to WPA Administrator Hunter, "The principal types of WPA defense work include the construction or improvement of airports, strategic highways, access roads to military, naval, or industrial establishments; roads, water and sewer systems, and buildings of various kinds at military posts, cantonments and naval stations; armories and training fields for the National Guard and the R. O. T. C.; and sanitation and health projects in the vicinity of military concentration areas."

It was the contention of the WPA that many of these projects were undertaken because no funds were available to carry them out by contract method. It was claimed, therefore, that the urgency of defense work made its allocation to WPA necessary. The record shows, however, that any defense construction carried out by WPA is vastly less efficient than work performed by qualified labor under contract. It was shown, for example, that

the construction of Astoria Airport, one of the most essential defense projects in the Columbia River area, was allotted to WPA on its representation that ample men and equipment were available for the completion of the project by July 1, 1941. By that time only a small portion of the clearing and grubbing had been done. Neither hydraulic dredges necessary to make the fill nor experienced men to handle the dredges and shore operations could be furnished by WPA.

Time is a vital factor on defense construction. Quality of work is also paramount. It is our view that both speed and quality requirements of defense can be met more effectively if all building and construction projects would be allotted to private contractors employing qualified union labor. That this method be used on defense construction was stipulated by the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in its agreement with the Federal Government effective in July 1941. We urge that the use of the contract method on all building and construction initiated by the Federal Government be made a requirement under the Emergency Relief Act and under policies and procedures of all Federal agencies.

The over-all problem of Federal relief still remained a major one despite improvement in the general economic conditions during the past year. By June 1941, 4,720,000 households were still receiving public relief and employment on the Federal Works Program, representing 12,540,000 persons. This included relief employment distributed as follows:<sup>1</sup>

WPA .....	1,453,000
NYA—	
Student Work Program .....	462,000
Out-of-School Work Program .....	391,000
CCC .....	223,000
PWA .....	9,000
Other projects financed with emergency funds.....	10,000

In addition the Public Assistance Program provided relief to the following groups:

Old Age Assistance.....	2,146,000
Aid to dependent children.....	392,000
Aid to the blind.....	74,000
General relief .....	1,083,000
Farm Security Administration grants .....	34,000

The Executive Council feels strongly that the relief needs must be met through Federal and local public assistance channels and that the problem must not be obscured by emergency conditions. Special attention should be paid to the needs of families subjected to unemployment and privation because of industrial dislocations incidental to defense. Relief work should be continued wherever truly needed but its allocation should not be in conflict with available private employment. Closer integration of relief administration with the placement work of public employment offices should be

<sup>1</sup> May 1941.

## Prime Defense Contracts, 1940 Population, and Work Projects Administration Employment, by Industrial Areas

Industrial area <sup>1</sup>	Prime defense contracts cumulated from June 1, 1940, through June 30, 1941 <sup>2</sup>			Population 1940 <sup>3</sup>			Employment on projects financed with WPA funds as of June 26, 1941 <sup>4</sup>		
	Amount (000)	Per- cent	Cumula- tive percent	Number persons	Per- cent	Cumula- tive percent	Number persons	Per- cent	Cumula- tive percent
Continental U. S.	\$15,025,358	100.0	....	131,699,275	100.0	....	1,333,364	100.0	....
New York City-Newark-Jersey	1,669,652	11.1	11.1	10,782,353	8.2	8.2	99,712	7.5	7.5
Philadelphia-Camden	1,480,920	9.9	21.0	3,199,637	2.4	10.6	22,547	1.7	9.2
Boston	881,283	5.9	26.9	2,656,131	2.0	12.6	35,885	2.7	11.9
Norfolk-Newport News	715,605	4.7	31.6	2,855,246	0.2	12.8	1,971	0.1	12.0
Los Angeles	584,614	3.9	39.8	2,565,593	1.7	14.5	17,253	1.3	14.5
San Francisco-Oakland	422,639	2.8	42.6	2,687,061	0.5	17.0	16,018	0.5	15.0
Washington (D. C.)-Alexandria (Va.)	348,720	2.3	44.9	1,412,856	1.1	18.2	13,988	1.0	16.0
Chicago	316,668	2.1	47.0	753,654	0.6	18.8	7,753	0.6	16.6
Baltimore	291,731	2.1	49.1	4,625,527	3.7	22.5	42,887	3.2	19.8
Hartford	264,480	1.8	51.1	1,014,925	0.8	23.3	2,318	0.2	20.0
St. Louis	250,854	1.7	52.9	1,406,189	0.3	23.6	1,277	0.1	20.1
San Diego	239,057	1.6	54.6	1,406,326	1.1	24.7	18,270	1.4	21.5
Albany-Schenectady-Troy	209,017	1.4	56.3	2,835,948	0.2	24.9	2,514	0.1	21.9
Bremerton	205,949	1.4	59.3	465,643	0.4	25.3	2,460	0.2	21.9
New London	203,111	1.4	60.7	44,387	0.1	25.4	507	0.1	22.0
Bridgeport-New Haven-Waterbury	200,549	1.3	63.4	902,700	0.7	26.1	4,033	0.3	22.3
Cleveland	197,330	1.3	64.7	1,329,640	1.0	27.1	14,265	1.1	23.4
Total, 20 industrial areas..	\$9,720,230	64.7	64.7	35,735,329	27.1	27.1	311,250	23.4	23.4
Remainder of country.....	\$5,305,128	35.3	100.0	95,963,946	72.9	100.0	1,022,114	76.6	100.0

\* Less than 0.05 percent.

<sup>1</sup> Industrial areas as defined by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in the Biennial Census of Manufactures, 1937, Part I, pp. 40-41. Where no definition is given by the Census, industrial areas are as defined by the Bureau of Research and Statistics, Office of Production Management, in release of April 29, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Source: Office of Production Management, Bureau of Research and Statistics: "Summary of Defense Contract Awards by Industrial Area, June 1, 1940, to June 30, 1941," release of July 14, 1941. Includes prime defense contracts awarded by the War and Navy Departments and project orders to Army and Navy establishments of \$10,000 and over. This tabulation reflects not only the awarding of new contracts but also the reassignment of contracts to other plants or companies and the modification or cancellation of previous awards.

<sup>3</sup> Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

<sup>4</sup> Subject to revision.  
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American Federation of Labor  
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achieved. Above all, planning must be begun to make provision for workers whose employment will terminate at the end of the emergency. This planning for the post-emergency should stem from the local communities which are most likely to be affected. Central Labor Unions and their committees are urged to call upon agencies of the municipal government to undertake studies of industrial and power resources of each locality as well as of housing and other community facilities to make possible the formulation of an integrated national program based on the needs and objectives of each locality.

### HOUSING FOR WORKERS

In August 1941 the progress of the defense program was threatened by a widespread and acute housing crisis. In hundreds of communities all available housing facilities were taxed beyond capacity as the result of the expansion of defense industries and of the establishment of military camps and cantonments in their vicinities. Overcrowding and doubling-up of defense workers' families characterized the situation in many towns and cities while skyrocketing rents were reported from all parts of the country. Lack of housing often deterred workers from taking defense jobs. To bring their families and children to congested towns lacking housing and sanitary facilities, with a constant threat of epidemic and disease, seemed too great a risk to many workers whose skill was needed on defense production. Housing shortages were rapidly becoming bottlenecks in the supply of labor needed by defense industries.

As in the field of low-rent housing and slum clearance, the American Federation of Labor was the leading force in bringing the problem of defense housing to public notice. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor began an intensive study of the problem in September 1939. This study provided the basis of the public declaration issued by the Executive Council on May 20, 1940. Our declaration called upon those responsible for the national housing policy to carry out without delay measures essential to meet the rapidly rising requirements of national defense for housing accommodations for workers. Our May, 1940, declaration envisaged the mass "syphoning of wage earners into communities dominated by specialized production \* \* \* the rapid increase in specialized industrial facilities and their shift to new locations." The declaration, emphasizing that "these developments will create emergency housing situations which must be remedied in advance," urged the use of the available machinery of local housing authorities, "whose experience in the construction of workers' homes will enable them to provide defense housing with extreme speed and with thorough knowledge of each local problem." The declaration outlined the scope of the problem and laid down a program which would be essential to meet the immediate need, and at the same time provide defense housing which "will not be a total economic loss at the conclusion of the emergency, but will become a permanent asset available to low income families in the future."

We reiterate the principles and policies laid down in our May, 1940, declaration. The record of the defense housing program during the year and a

half which has since elapsed, demonstrates that the present crisis would have been largely averted had our proposals been carried out.

During the past year the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, keeping in close touch with the local housing committees, was able to bring together vital facts reflecting the housing needs and special problems of communities most affected by defense. Through direct contacts and correspondence it was also possible to bring these problems quickly to the attention of the various operating agencies of the Government which were most likely to act on our recommendations. The committee also made an exhaustive study of defense housing needs for individual communities and for the nation as a whole. The latest estimate of the committee showed that apart from the normal needs for housing, the housing requirements of the nation, limited strictly to defense for the fiscal year 1941-1942, called for the construction of 750,000 family dwelling units and 300,000 units for single workers. The basis for this estimate is shown in the accompanying table.

The first defense housing statute enacted by Congress in the present crisis was the result of a proposal advocated and supported by the American Federation of Labor. This was Public 671, approved by the President on June 28, 1940, authorizing utilization of the U. S. Housing Authority and providing machinery for coordination of this program with the defense activities of the War and Navy Departments. The statute was designed to achieve simplicity, economy and speed. It made use of the readily available, tested, and decentralized machinery of the U. S. Housing Authority and the local housing authorities throughout the nation. It called for no appropriation from the Treasury but contemplated that USHA would sell its bonds to raise its loan funds from private sources.

Under this plan no subsidies or contributions would be necessary. It followed the principle of local construction, local management, and local autonomy. Although this proposal was enacted into law, Congress failed to authorize the bond issue necessary to carry it out. Having received authority to finance defense housing under this plan, the USHA succeeded in providing \$31,800,000 from its regular authorization. This made possible 20 defense projects developed by local housing authorities in cooperation with the USHA, and four projects built directly for the Army and Navy. While relatively small, this program proved the superior ability of the USHA to deal with the defense housing problem. It produced projects which set top standards for construction and planning, as well as for maximum economy, and showed that all this could be done in record time with only 87 days intervening from the beginning of construction to the occupancy of the project.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the framework of Public 671 is best suited for a public defense housing program. In July, 1941, we asked President Roosevelt to recommend to Congress an authorization of \$200,000,000 under Public 671 which would make possible immediate construction of 50,000 family dwelling units.

The bulk of public defense housing during the past year was being built under the Lanham Act (Public 849) which became law on October 14, 1940.

The American Federation of Labor secured several important amendments to the original Lanham Bill before its enactment into law, one of them placing the administration of the program in the hands of the Federal Works Administrator, John M. Carmody, instead of the Public Buildings Administration as originally provided. The Lanham Act was amended in May, 1941 (Public 42), increasing the original authorization of \$150,000,000 to \$300,000,000. The total of \$300,000,000 available under the Lanham Act was sufficient to build only 75,000 defense housing units. Of this total 22,500 units were assigned for construction to the USHA, while the rest were being built by the Public Buildings Administration, and the Federal Works Agency itself. H. R. 5211 which was introduced in July, 1941, called for an increase in the Lanham Act authorization by \$300,000,000. This would make possible the construction of only 75,000 defense housing units during the current fiscal year. The American Federation of Labor urged that the amount be doubled so that at least 150,000 units could be provided under the Lanham program during the 1941-42 fiscal year.

The defense housing program under the Lanham Act was pitifully small compared with the immediate need for adequate shelter to house workers in defense areas. The program was also slow in getting under way. The law itself having been enacted only as late as October 14, 1940, considerable time was needed to organize the facilities of such operating agencies (other than the USHA), as the Public Buildings Administration which had never engaged in residential construction before. Time was also needed to define the share of participation in the program of agencies with overlapping jurisdictions and to determine the extent to which the program would be carried out through direct, centralized Federal construction as against the decentralized responsibility of local housing authorities. The FWA construction program did not begin to get under way until June, 1941. By the end of July all agencies within FWA brought to completion only 16,107 dwelling units for defense workers' families, the enlisted personnel and civilian employees of the Army and the Navy. On August 1, 1941, only 11,359 defense housing units were actually occupied.

Just how unwieldy the program was could be seen from the fact that participating in the FWA program as construction agencies were the following separate and unrelated units of Federal and local governments:

- (1) The United States Housing Authority
- (2) Public Buildings Administration
- (3) Division of Defense Housing, FWA
- (4) Mutual Ownership Defense Housing Division, FWA
- (5) The Tennessee Valley Authority
- (6) The Farm Security Administration
- (7) The War Department
- (8) The Navy Department
- (9) The District of Columbia Alley Dwelling Authority
- (10) Several local housing authorities designated by FWA

It was increasingly clear that greater integration of defense housing construction work done by different agencies was badly needed and that failure

to decentralize the program by making full use of local housing authorities of the USHA was a mistake which should be promptly remedied.

The Defense Housing Coordinator, whose office is responsible for the appraisal of the over-all housing need and for the planning of the general program was in the meantime devising supplementary means of relieving the pressure for shelter, caused by the deficiency in the available public defense housing, in the most strategic areas. To provide shelter for workers called to the site of defense production where no homes were available at all, the Defense Housing Coordinator secured from Congress authorization in Public 9 and Public 73 of a \$20,000,000 appropriation for temporary housing such as trailers, camps, and movable housing units. Although the use of trailers was originally proposed as an emergency measure to relieve the immediate need for housing, it was soon becoming apparent that trailer camps were to become permanent features of many defense areas since no housing accommodations were forthcoming from other sources.

One of the first plans for defense housing formulated by any Government agency was the setting up of the Defense Homes Corporation in the RFC, still another independent housing agency designed to get private enterprise to do a major share of the immense defense housing job. The plan was that the Defense Homes Corporation would put up 20 per cent on defense housing that could be erected profitably by private builders. The other 80 per cent was to be borrowed from the RFC on mortgages guaranteed by the FHA. The Defense Homes Corporation plan proved to be neither sound or effective. At the end of the first year of its operation, only a third of its funds was allocated. Costs proved high. The agency consistently refused to establish prevailing wage standards or to require fair labor conditions and a number of strikes resulted.

One of the major proposals of the Defense Housing Coordinator was the development of a defense housing program under the FHA. This again was to be a separate program which sought to induce private builders to construct defense housing on their own, but with Government aid and with the possibility of making unlimited profits. Under this program both the banker and the builder received full guarantee against risk by the Federal Government. In contrast to this the defense worker, induced to become a home buyer under highly unstable employment conditions inherent in the emergency, was to shoulder the entire risk without any protection whatsoever against the possible loss of both income and the property.

This law which made it possible for the FHA to insure mortgages in defense areas with no down-payment required of prospective home owners, provided for a \$100,000,000 authorization. The American Federation of Labor squarely condemned this proposal. It emphasized the fact that a public policy designed to anchor to home ownership low-income defense workers whose employment and earnings were uncertain and unstable, was ill-conceived and inequitable. There can be no stable and lasting home ownership under a twenty-year plan of heavy repayments in emergency situation in which employment cannot be assured for even as much as two years. To bring the



pretense of home ownership to a large mass of our workers would in the end prove subversive to the true American ideal of sound and permanent home ownership we hope to bring within the reach of our wage-earners. It is highly questionable also to base the financial structure of Federal insurance on the assumption that defense workers are sound financial risks under a twenty-year plan of repayments which are far too heavy even while these workers have full defense employment.

One amendment was proposed by us seeking to protect defense workers against deficiency judgments for the unpaid balance on homes they would be forced to give up when their emergency employment was terminated. Another American Federation of Labor amendment sought to limit profits and rents on such defense housing by limiting the sale and rental charges to not more than 20 per cent of the worker's income. These amendments were opposed by the FHA and failed to receive Congressional approval. In the meantime an amendment embodied in H. R. 5395, increasing the power of the FHA to insure mortgages under Title VI for defense housing from \$100,000,000 to \$300,000,000, was introduced on July 23, 1941, and was pending Congressional consideration.

In addition to this legislation which brought the FHA activity into the defense housing field, H. R. 4693, increasing the general FHA insurance authorization from \$4,000,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000, was approved by Congress. This bill, which also included some perfecting amendments, became Public Law 138. In this connection it should be noted that a Senate amendment to provide FHA insurance for rural housing under the Bankhead-Jones program was rejected by the House. A number of bills amending the Home Owners Loan Corporation Act were introduced in the last session, most of them providing for a reduction in the interest rates and lengthening the permissible amortization period. No action was taken on any of these bills.

Congress has moved to extend USHA low rent housing and slum clearance, as well as USHA defense housing, to the Territories and Possessions of the United States. On January 3, a bill was introduced to permit the Legislature of Alaska to adopt a low-rent housing, slum clearance, and defense housing law. This bill was enacted into law and became Public Law 186. Commissioner Pagan of Puerto Rico introduced H. R. 4872 which would permit amendment of the Puerto Rican law in such a way as to enable local housing authorities in the Island to engage in defense housing activities. No action on this bill had been taken prior to August, 1941.

The \$100,000,000 Army and Navy program under Public 781, approved on September 9, 1940, made provision for the housing necessary to meet the direct military requirements. While some of this housing construction was undertaken by the War and Navy Departments directly, a substantial portion of it was delegated by them to the U. S. Housing Authority. Provision was also made for the construction of barracks and cantonments on military reservations under Public Resolution 99 which authorized an appropriation of \$337,000,000 for that purpose. The cantonment construction program was carried out in record time and far ahead of schedule, with full cooperation of

the American Federation of Labor unions. As pointed out by the War Department, this urgent and important defense construction program was brought to completion with no measurable interruption resulting from strikes or labor disputes.

In reviewing the defense housing program in its entirety, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that no clear-cut, single-minded policy with regard to housing has been formulated by the Federal Government. This has resulted inevitably in a multitude of different and often conflicting policies and in wasteful competition among several operating agencies with overlapping jurisdictions.

The attitude of the Administration toward the place of public housing in the defense program was one of hesitancy and indecision. Many precious days, weeks, and months were devoted to repeated efforts to cajole private operative builders into doing a job on their own initiative and in their own way which the Federal Government could have started immediately and completed without delay. Even more time was spent on experiments with prefabrication in response to pressures from promoters eager to get the Federal Government to underwrite their promotion and development costs. At the same time the need for a public defense housing program was consistently understated. No attempt was made by the Administration to place before the public and before Congress the unassailable case in support of a prompt and adequate public defense housing program. No call was sounded for a single, unified, planned program which would fit the long range needs of defense communities and could be administered through the existing network of 618 local housing authorities equipped to build the housing best suited to the requirements of each community and to the needs of its workers.

It cannot be denied that the absence of such an aggressive policy served to bring about the acute housing crisis in our key defense communities. We urgently request that steps be taken by the American Federation of Labor and its Housing Committee to achieve a fundamental realignment and unification of the national housing policy. The insufferable conditions, which threaten the welfare of defense workers in the face of the approaching winter and threaten the defense program itself, must be promptly brought to an end. We ask that a housing program be formulated which would make *speedy provision of durable, sanitary, and livable housing for defense workers* the prime objective, second to none.

We firmly believe that there is no conflict whatsoever between the role of public housing and that of private housing in the solution of the emergency problem. Private builders can and should provide homes for workers whose family incomes are above \$1,800 a year. Private builders cannot provide any appreciable number of homes for workers whose family incomes are less than \$1,800 a year. Since the large majority of defense workers have annual incomes far below this figure, it is imperative that the bulk of defense housing should be provided for them through a public housing program.

The average cost of all housing privately built under the FHA mortgage insurance in 1940 was \$5,261 per home. This means in terms of monthly

payments an equivalent shelter rent of \$44 per month and a total rent with utilities of \$56 per month. It is clear, therefore, that the bulk of privately built new housing is far beyond the financial reach of defense workers and their families. This is true even if we assume that the employment and incomes of these workers are stable and assured. But, as is well known, defense employment and defense earnings are surrounded with uncertainty. Production is shifting from one plant to another because of the application of priorities and because of the allocation of defense contracts. The duration of the defense program itself cannot be predicted and threat of joblessness at the end of the emergency characterizes defense employment.

Public defense housing makes full use of the resources of private industry. It is built by the private contractor and relies upon the private industry for the supply of building materials. It does not interfere with private enterprise except the speculative builder and the unscrupulous profiteer. We believe that the most essential and urgent need for shelter in defense areas should be promptly met through a unified program of public defense housing.

Only through such a program can we make quick provision for housing the demand for which is already imperative, and also make available to our communities housing which will fully serve the post-emergency needs. It is our considered policy that under the existing Congressional authorization of Public 671, public housing, which is financed from private sources and with no appropriation from the Treasury and which is developed and managed by local public agencies, provides the most effective framework for the fulfillment of both the defense and the post-defense requirements. We strongly recommend that the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and of its Housing Committee to carry out this policy be continued with renewed vigor.

Local housing committees of the American Federation of Labor which have been set up in the majority of our communities should be strengthened and their activity intensified. We recommend that the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor urge all central labor unions and state federations of labor to bring their housing committees to full activity so that, under the general supervision of the Housing Committee, they could provide effective channels for information, representation, and action on all matters pertaining to housing in every town and city.

New and heavy responsibility has been placed on our housing committees by defense conditions. Skyrocketing rents in many defense centers call for prompt relief to workers and their families. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has already placed in the hands of local housing committees a model rent-control law designed to prevent rent profiteering. Enactment of such legislation should be urgently sought in all emergency situations. Home registration offices have been set up in all defense areas by the Division of Defense Housing Coordination. The American Federation of Labor has been assured that labor representation will be provided on all home registration committees. Steps should be promptly taken to make sure that the membership of the American Federation of Labor

is given complete protection by full representation on these committees and on all local housing agencies.

Defense employment of building workers has been shifting and unstable. In many areas no adequate employment has been available to building mechanics and laborers. We recommend that a concerted effort be made in cooperation with the Building and Construction Trades Department and all local building trades councils to make the employment needs of building workers fully known to the Government agencies concerned. We recommend that sufficient facilities be made available by the American Federation of Labor to the Housing Committee to enable it to serve the housing needs of our membership and to carry out in full the purposes and policies herein set forth, as well as to meet any special problems which may arise during the ensuing year.

#### NEED FOR DEFENSE HOUSING FOR FISCAL 1942

	<i>Family Units</i>	<i>Family Units</i>
Non-commissioned officers and families.....	50,000	
Commissioned officers and families.....	40,000	
<b>TOTAL: ARMY AND NAVY.....</b>		90,000
Defense Workers: Resident.....	160,000	
Defense Workers: Immigrants .....	700,000	
<b>GROSS TOTAL DEFENSE WORKERS</b>	860,000	
Less available vacancies.....	200,000	
<b>NET TOTAL DEFENSE WORKERS.....</b>		660,000
<b>TOTAL FAMILY NEED.....</b>		750,000
<b>SINGLE UNITS FOR SINGLE WORKERS.....</b>		300,000
Average weekly earnings of defense workers: \$30 per week.		
<b>SOURCE:</b> Housing Committee, American Federation of Labor, July 16, 1941.		

#### LABOR STANDARDS ON PUBLIC CONTRACTS

With the rapid expansion of defense production in industry, the administration of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act assumes special importance for American Labor. The dollar volume of industrial production which is turned out under Government contracts well illustrates the greatly increased scope of protection yielded by the Act to American Labor.

During the first two years of the operation of the Act, which went into effect on June 30, 1936, the total value of contracts subject to its provisions was \$575,394,433. As compared with this figure, during the past year alone, between July, 1940, and July, 1941, Government contracts subject to the provisions of the Act amounted to \$5,085,693,793, or nearly ten times as much. Thus, while during the first two years of its operations contracts subject to the Act averaged approximately \$24,000,000 per month, by July, 1941, the con-

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tracts were being let at the rate of \$500,000,000 per month. For the entire five-year period contracts amounting to \$6,997,690,577 have been let subject to the terms of the Walsh-Healey Act.

Beginning with the summer of 1940, expansion of Government contract work has been especially rapid. For example, for just two weeks ending June 28, 1941, a total of \$950,000,000 in contracts was reported, as compared with \$57,000,000 reported for the two weeks ending June 28, 1940. If the rate of expansion of defense activity continues, it is anticipated that the volume of Government contracts will be more than doubled during the next twelve months.

The Walsh-Healey Act applies to all Government contracts for more than \$10,000. It requires that time and one-half the regular rate be paid for all work done in excess of 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week. All workers employed by the contractor subject to the Act must be paid not less than the minimum wage determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wage.

Prevailing minimum wages are determined by the Secretary of Labor for each industry or group of industries on the recommendation of the Public Contracts Board, which holds hearings for the purpose of surveying the wage structure in the industry. Representatives of Labor and management are afforded opportunity at these hearings to present facts which are vital to the prevailing wage determination. Until a determination of the prevailing minimum wage is made for a particular industry, there is no prevailing minimum standard established and the wage provisions of the Act remain inoperative.

To date, prevailing minimum wages have been set for only 36 industries. There are many large and important industries in which the volume of Government contracts has become very large for which no prevailing minimum wage determination has been made. Only four prevailing wage determinations have been put into effect since March, 1940. They are:

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Wage (Cents per hr.)</i>	<i>Differentials Provided</i>
Blue Print Paper Coating	40	No differentials
Structural Clay Products	30, 40	By regions
Uniform and Clothing	40, 60	By products
Die Casting Manufacturing	50	Learners may be paid 40 cents for a period of 60 days

In addition to the wage determinations already in effect, the Public Contracts Board has held hearings and has made recommendations to the Secretary of Labor in the following industries:

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Minimum Wage (Cents per hr.)</i>	<i>Differentials Provided</i>
Paint and Varnish	30, 50	By regions
Electrical and Radio Products	45	40-cent rate for learners for 160-hour period
Aircraft Parts and Accessories	50	No differentials

<i>(Continued)</i>	<i>Minimum Wage (Cents per hr.)</i>	<i>Differentials Provided</i>
<i>Industry</i>		
Boiler Shop Products	35, 40, 50	By regions
	55, 60, 62½	
Scientific Instruments	40	Lower rate for apprentices if conditions conform to Fed- eral standards.
Dental Goods Equipment:		
Durable goods	40	No differentials
Consumer goods	35	No differentials
Evaporated and Condensed Milk	32½, 40, 50	By regions

In addition to the above, hearings have been held on the prevailing minimum wages in the chemical industry and in the crushed stone, gravel and slag industry, but the Board has not yet submitted its recommendations to the Secretary of Labor.

Before the Public Contracts Board has a formal public hearing at which it takes evidence necessary to the establishment of a minimum for an industry, the Administrator of the Division of Public Contracts convenes preliminary panel meetings of advisors representing labor and management in the industry in question. Advisory meetings have been held for the following industries: cooking and heating appliances, fans and blowers, leather, clocks and watches, fire extinguishers, and silverware. Preliminary advisory meetings are followed by public hearings and eventually by wage determinations.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently urged on the Division of Public Contracts the desirability of determining uniform prevailing minimum wage rates on an industry-wide basis. In almost all industries competition for government contracts takes place on a nation-wide scale. The consequent establishment of lower wage rates for one part of an industry than another presents a competitive threat to established minimum wage standards. We recommend that the policy of determined opposition to geographical wage differentials in prevailing wage determinations be continued and effectively presented to the Division and to the Secretary of Labor.

The Act makes it possible for the Secretary of Labor to set wage rates lower than the prevailing minimum for special classes of workers. During the past year two of the determinations contained "tolerance" wage rates for learners lower than the prevailing minimum. An Act concerned with establishing prevailing minimum wage rates should not foster sub-minimum wage rates. This applies in particular to learners who should be paid not less than the minimum entrance rate applicable to all unskilled workers.

During the past year the Act has been the subject of attack from several groups. The critics have followed the usual method of creating the impression that the Public Contracts Act places a rigid limitation on the hours of work per day and per week and is therefore so inflexible as to interfere with the speed of defense production. These assertions are of course wholly unwarranted. Since the inception of the Act the regulations under which it is administered have merely required that time and a half the regular rate be paid for all work done in excess of 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week.

There is no limitation of the actual hours that can be worked in special situations provided the overtime rates are paid. The flexibility and the reasonableness of these standards have been fully demonstrated during the five years the Act has been in operation.

Labor has acceded to even greater flexibility to meet special defense requirements when established facts are available to prove that it is in the public interest to give a serious problem special consideration. In the case of fruit and vegetable canning where large government contracts were pending to supply our armed forces, the War and Navy Departments requested an exemption from overtime pay provisions on the ground that no bids could be secured from the canners in the absence of such an exemption. After a series of hearings and on the full showing of the existing procurement problem, the American Federation of Labor agreed not to oppose such an exemption for the 1941 season on the condition that no further requests for exemption would be made by the departments concerned. The American Federation of Labor also proposed and secured the establishment of a committee composed of representatives of Labor and management to make a full investigation of the seasonal operations of the industry. The factual study and the recommendations of this committee will serve as a basis for overtime standards in the industry in the 1942 season. This example of organized labor's cooperation in facilitating the progress of the defense effort in all its phases well illustrates the fact that the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act places no obstacle in the prosecution of national defense.

The Public Contracts Act merely translates into reality the right of the Federal Government to insist that all materials and equipment it purchases are manufactured under wage conditions which are not less than the established basic standards in the industry and on work-hour schedules which are not excessive. This principle is not derived from any abstract philosophy but is based upon the simple fact that labor employed under unfair, sub-standard and oppressive conditions cannot and will not make its full contribution in terms of productivity, efficiency and working morale. In the development of our defense effort in industry we must not only avoid waste in defense materials and equipment but also prevent waste of our human resources which are more vital to the future of the nation. Unimpaired and extended application of minimum wage and maximum hour standards under the Walsh-Healey Act is essential if this policy is to be carried out.

Tremendous expansion in Government purchases during the past year leads to consideration of another problem arising in connection with the administration of the Act. All materials manufactured by a prime contractor are subject to the provisions of the Act, but subcontracting generally is not covered. Only subcontracting which would, in the normal course of business, have been performed in the plant of the prime contractor is subject to all the provisions of the Act. While substitute manufacturers are required to comply with the standards of the Act, there are many difficulties in enforcing this policy on defense production contracts. A substitute manufacturer is held to be one who produces items customarily made by the contractor. In aircraft construction, tank assembly, and a large number of other defense industries, new methods



are rapidly being introduced and it is often impossible to say what the customary production methods would be.

The present vast expansion in subcontracting throughout defense industries makes it imperative that subcontracted production be brought within the coverage of the Act. S. 1032 introduced in July 1939 provided that contractors must file certificates of subcontracting on all orders in excess of \$4,000 and that the same stipulations as in the original contract be made applicable to subcontractors. This Bill was never enacted and the absence of the legislative basis for coverage of subcontractors is now responsible for a serious threat to the entire Walsh-Healey program. We strongly recommend the support of legislation which would extend the coverage of the Act to the immediate subcontractors.

The Division of Public Contracts has necessarily been faced with the problem of enforcing the minimum wages and overtime standards of the Act. The Division maintains a staff of inspectors who check payroll records of companies and ascertain whether or not they are in compliance with the terms of the law.

From the date on which the Act became effective, June 30, 1936, to July 1, 1940, the Division recovered \$339,459 in restitutions to workers earning less than the prevailing minimum rates. During the last year, or from July 1, 1940 to June 30, 1941, the Division collected restitutions in the amount of \$225,403. Thus a total figure of \$594,862 has been collected by the Division since the inception of the Act. These figures show that the enforcement officers of the Division have not been able to keep pace with the increase in government contracts which has taken place and the growing volume of violations.

It is true that the field staff of the Division of Public Contracts has grown since the formation of the Investigation Section. At present there are investigators in practically every area of industrial concentration stretching from Texas to Maine and including the West Coast. Special attention is given to Government work performed under the national defense program, but firms working on Government non-defense contracts in which violations are alleged are also given all possible attention.

Additional enforcement personnel is urgently needed. A recent survey of enforcement reveals the need for additional personnel not only in the field but in the various units of the Investigation Service in the Washington office. It should be the policy of the Division to cover all companies suspected of wage, overtime and other violations. As the record to date indicates that approximately 40 per cent of the contracts inspected were in violation an attempt should be made to extend enforcement to this entire group.

If the volume of government contracts received is maintained, it is expected that there will be approximately 32,000 new contracts for the fiscal year of 1942 of which 60 per cent or 19,200 are inspectable. This will provide a total of 32,416 potentially inspectable contracts by June 1, 1942 (present backlog of 13,216 plus 19,200 new inspectable contracts), of which 40 per cent or approximately 13,000 should be considered as possible violations.

Approximately 10 per cent of all contracts list New York City firms as

sources, and information from Public Contracts investigators in the New York City area discloses that perhaps as much as 80 per cent of all contracts inspected there are in violation with falsified records at two out of every three plants. If each investigator can cover an average of 200 contracts per year, it will require the services of 75 men to prevent any increase in the present backlog. This represents an addition of 35 investigators and additional funds will be needed for at least that number of additional investigators.

The Executive Council calls special attention to the greatly increased importance to Labor of the prevailing wage and overtime standards with the expansion of the defense program. We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor formulate a program which would (1) expedite the prevailing minimum wage determinations; (2) strengthen the enforcement of the labor standards established by the Act, and (3) establish a basis for continued representation and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act. We further recommend formulation of amendments to the Act for presentation to Congress to extend its application to subcontractors.

#### REPRESENTATION BEFORE ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

The multiplication of administrative boards and commissions serving in quasi-judicial and quasi-legislative capacities has increased the complexity of services labor unions render to their members. The new social legislation administered by such agencies requires a different technique from practice before courts of law. It is a field in which the practical experience of union representatives outweighs formal legal training in usefulness.

Year after year objections are raised by bar associations, interested in expanding the field of practice for their members, to so-called "unauthorized practice of the law." The field of practice which they want reserved for lawyers includes many activities commonly performed by union representatives, such as drawing up contracts in collective bargaining, settling prospective suits, presenting workers' cases and appeals to workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation commissions, and at sundry hearings before administrative tribunals. It is vital to labor unions and to their members to retain the functions which would be destroyed if too inclusive a field should be reserved to the lawyers as the practice of law.

In 1938 the American Federation of Labor helped in the presentation of a case before the Missouri Supreme Court which overruled a lower court's decision under which union representatives would have been barred from appearing for their union before mediation boards and similar agencies. We have opposed various bills which would have had a disastrous effect on union activities in representing the interests of their membership. We have no quarrel with members of the Bar who insist that persons who offer their services to the public for a fee to give legal advice should be authorized to practice law. We cannot, however, too strongly condemn attempts to rule out, by a definition of what constitutes the practice of law, those experienced union representatives

best able to serve their fellow union members in the new field of administrative law.

We must continue to watch that no narrowly legalistic interpretation shall prevent our agents, who are by reason of their experience, thoroughly qualified to deal with the facts and relationships considered by administrative boards, from serving our unions in this important manner. We must not permit the exclusion of our representatives to burden our unions with heavy legal expenses, to handicap the development of sound administrative law outside the courts, and to add to the congestion and delay of regular courts.

Public interest, as well as the interest of unions, is served by having simple, non-technical procedure in such agencies as workmen's compensation boards, unemployment compensation commissions, and other agencies set up in the development of administrative tribunals in this country. It requires constant vigilance to preserve these interests.

#### LABOR AND THE ANTI-TRUST DRIVE

In our report to the Sixtieth Annual Convention we observed that it was our "unpleasant duty to warn against the stubborn, capricious and irresponsible" anti-Labor campaign of the Anti-Trust Division, headed by Mr. Arnold, which jeopardized "the precious gains of sixty years of struggle for industrial democracy."

Our report detailed the sordid history of the Sherman Act—how soon after its passage a hostile judiciary distorted it into a vicious anti-Labor instrument; how thereafter the Supreme Court, usurping legislative functions, rewrote the Clayton Act, and thereby confounded Congressional efforts to undo the tragedy and injustice of the Danbury Hatters and other cases; how the resulting widespread agitation and how the persistent struggles of the American Federation of Labor culminated in the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which in lucid, unequivocal language proclaimed the deliberate and enlightened national policy to free Labor from the restrictive and unjust shackles of the Sherman Act.

It was shocking to behold a sub-executive of the very administration that fostered and promulgated this policy seeking to revive the Sherman Act as a means of foisting his own dangerously naive and confused concepts on the working people of America. The Executive Council announced "the firm purpose of the American Federation of Labor" fully to resist this unwarranted onslaught upon "the rights gained by organized labor through generations of struggle, the rights without which economic democracy in America cannot survive."

We are, therefore, highly gratified now to be able to report the eminent success of this "firm purpose." The Supreme Court of the United States, sustaining each and every contention advanced by the American Federation of Labor, has during the past year administered a resounding and humiliating setback to Mr. Arnold's ill-conceived program of destruction.

As predicted in our last report, the *Hutcheson* case proved to be the "test for Mr. Arnold." Previously, in the outstanding Washington, D. C.,

*Teamsters'* case, Mr. Arnold's crude attempt to solve the delicate, complicated problem of jurisdictional controversies by criminal prosecution was bluntly repulsed by a verdict of "not guilty" in favor of the Teamsters. Thereafter, the principles pronounced in the *Teamsters'* case were affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Hutcheson* case, which completely repudiated Mr. Arnold's absurd theories on labor economics and lawful union objectives.

The Court's decision, handed down on February 3, 1941, is truly a memorable landmark for organized labor. In language so clear that even future, ambitious Assistant Attorneys General will not dare to distort it, the Court pronounced the extremely limited connection between the anti-trust laws and union activities.

The Sherman Act does not apply, said the Court, "so long as the union acts in its self-interest. . . ." Neither courts nor prosecutors have any right to judge "the wisdom or unwisdom, the rightness or wrongness, the selfishness or unselfishness of the end to which the particular union activities are the means."

With remarkable analytical insight, Justice Frankfurter traced the struggle between Congress and the courts over the relationship of the Sherman Act to Labor. He showed that the Clayton and Norris-LaGuardia Acts were "a series of enactments touching one of the most sensitive national problems."

Referring to the success of Labor's constant agitation, as reflected in congressional debates, reports and enactments, the Supreme Court gave the fullest scope to the intent of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It rightly concluded that the Norris-LaGuardia Act was intended to restore the Clayton Act to its true function and purpose:

The underlying aim of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to restore the broad purpose which Congress thought it had formulated in the Clayton Act but which was frustrated, so Congress believed, by unduly restrictive judicial construction.

Labor quite naturally rejoices in the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States repudiated the conception Mr. Arnold had formed regarding labor unions and their objectives. We are indeed fortunate that it has been made unmistakably clear that Congress had definitely exempted labor unions and their objectives from the provisions of the Sherman and Clayton Acts.

Yet, despite the clear and explicit rulings of the Supreme Court, Mr. Arnold is extremely reluctant to abandon his unhappy crusade. Within a few days after the decision he appeared before the Temporary National Economics Committee, where he testified that, in his opinion, many of his theories on labor union objectives constituted crimes under the Sherman Act, notwithstanding the Supreme Court's decision in the *Hutcheson* case. Accordingly, many old indictments were pressed and new indictments continued indiscriminately to be issued.

In these new indictments Mr. Arnold has seized upon and misinterpreted the one exception noted by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court held that the Act can only apply to labor unions when they collude and conspire

with employers to enforce a monopoly in a given industry. The plain meaning of this holding is that unions may not abandon their essential roles by permitting themselves to be used by employers as a means of employer violation of the Act. It does not mean—Mr. Arnold's new indictments notwithstanding—that unions are liable when they act in their legitimate self-interest merely because of the coincidence of acting together with a given employer whose activities may constitute a violation of the Sherman Act. We are confident that Mr. Arnold's recent indictments premised on this theory—such as those issued against the Bakery Union and the Teamsters in Washington, D. C., and against the Chicago and Cook County Building and Construction Trades Council and the Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America in Chicago, Illinois—will prove no more successful for Mr. Arnold than those previously issued.

Notable among the indictments that were pressed after the *Hutcheson* decision was rendered were those involving the Building Construction Trades Council in New Orleans and the Carpenters Union in Illinois. When these indictments were originally issued they were based on the identical theory as was the *Hutcheson* indictment. To dismiss these indictments following the *Hutcheson* decision was an expected act of grace that was not forthcoming from Mr. Arnold. Instead, points of distinction were artificially manufactured. The extreme absurdity of these attempted distinctions can be seen from the incredible argument made before the Federal courts. The Anti-Trust Division actually urged that the National Labor Relations Act—which is directed solely against employers and is not even a criminal act—imposes criminal restrictions upon labor unions.

The district courts in New Orleans and Chicago had no difficulty in seeing through this untenable argument and dismissed the indictments. Mr. Arnold still persisted. He sought a review of these decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. This time the Supreme Court denied the review and affirmed the dismissals by the lower courts without even requiring the presentation of oral argument.

Frustrated by the courts, Mr. Arnold has given up all pretense of being a law-enforcement public servant, whose duty it is to enforce the laws as they exist, and has assumed the role of a full-blown anti-Labor lobbyist whose prime objective is to amend the Sherman Act to include labor unions.

In this, of course, he is greatly encouraged by the reactionary press, which from the beginning has hailed Mr. Arnold's exploits against Labor, for they have proved a convenient and inexpensive means for anti-Labor employers to attack organized Labor and to further their anti-Labor aims.

We dare not minimize the danger of this new threat to Labor's basic rights. Notwithstanding his many defeats in the courts, Mr. Arnold still has effective access to many Congressmen and Senators who share his anti-Labor views.

Already two indescribably vicious bills—H. R. 5218 and H. R. 5259—evidently fostered and backed by Mr. Arnold, have been introduced in Congress by Congressmen Walter and Monroney, respectively. Blindly and arbitrarily these bills seek to sacrifice the solid lessons learned from a social experience

of over fifty arduous and difficult years, to the insatiable ego of a disappointed but arrogantly persistent crusader. They are directed to the single objective of converting Mr. Arnold's thoroughly discredited theories into a solemn act of the Congress of the United States.

H. R. 5259 would accomplish this drastic purpose by amending the Clayton Act of 1914 so as to define as "not within the legitimate objects of" union efforts

- 1) "to induce . . . any employer to deal with . . . or to employ members of one labor organization instead of members of another labor organization when the latter has been" certified by the Labor Board;
- 2) "to . . . require any employer . . . to give . . . in money or other thing of value" to a union officer or agent "unless such payment is pursuant to publicly announced terms of an existing collective bargaining agreement";
- 3) "to . . . require an employer to impose unreasonable restrictions or conditions upon the use of any material, machines or equipment";
- 4) "to . . . combine with any employer . . . to fix prices, allocate customers, restrict production, eliminate competing employers, or to restrain competition or otherwise to restrain trade or commerce."

The second bill achieves the same end by a more inclusive and even more vicious proposal. It outlaws almost verbatim the same language the activities proscribed by the Monroney bill and includes additional activities which are outside the category of "lawful labor objectives." Under this bill the following union acts would not only be subject to employer injunction suits, regardless of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, but would also constitute crimes punishable by \$5,000 fines or by imprisonment for one year:

1. Stoppage in any defense work pending a hearing before the National Mediation Board;
2. The protection of inefficient methods of production or distribution. . . . ;
3. A compulsory . . . employment of additional employees . . . as a method of preventing the adoption of more efficient methods, or for the purpose of eliminating. . . competing employers, or for the purpose of preventing the employment of members of a (rival) union . . . ;
4. The requirement that any employer refrain from bargaining . . . with . . . a (rival) union . . . ;
5. The requirement that the employer pay . . . secret payments or other exactions to any officer, agent or representative of any union;
6. The joining or combining with any non-labor persons . . . to fix prices, control production, or otherwise to restrain trade or commerce;
7. The fixing of prices or the imposing of other restraints upon any commercial as well as non-commercial competition.

We do not hesitate to characterize these proposals as legislation of the worst kind. Their underlying technique is to revive the most discredited theories of social legislation. Vague and indefinite phrases like "legitimate objects," "unreasonable conditions," "restraint of trade," "efficient methods" are made the corner stones of the bills. These phrases not only invite, they require judges and prosecutors to translate their personal opinions on social and economic questions—opinions which are all too frequently based on ignorance or prejudice, or both—into the controlling law of the land. Ex-



pressly or by necessary implication they repudiate the enlightened principles recently announced by the Supreme Court of the United States, repeal the Clayton Act of 1914, the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, and the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Briefly and bluntly, these bills would throw the entire pro-Labor policy of the present Government into the proverbial ashcan.

If these proposals, or any suggestions even remotely equivalent to them, are enacted into law we would return—only this time a hundredfold more intensely—to the dictatorial era of government by injunction. The American Federation of Labor will resist this hateful retrogressive trend with every resource at its command.

To corral public opinion behind this new legislative assault on Labor, Mr. Arnold has resorted to the public press and the public forum in a most deplorable and most unconscionable manner. He has sought to try his cases in the press, which, to say the least, violates the fundamental concepts of fair play, and is certainly inconsistent with high public office.

A most flagrant example of trying a case in the newspapers was his unwarranted publicity of a proposed indictment of the American Federation of Musicians. Not only were there no grounds for an indictment, but Mr. Arnold has since acknowledged that the United States Supreme Court decisions definitely hold that the alleged conduct of the Musicians Union to which Mr. Arnold objected was not a violation of the law. Quite obviously, the chagrin the Anti-Trust Division suffered because of the lack of success with the Supreme Court of the United States has persuaded him to adopt the methods of the sensational yellow journalist in order to malign organized labor.

Common decency and a sense of justice should have restrained a public servant from applying—as he recently did in an article published in a magazine with national circulation—the libelous title and epithet of “Labor’s Hidden Holdup Men” to officials of labor organizations who have already been victimized by indictments declared unfounded by the Supreme Court of the United States, indictments unnecessarily issued by that very public servant.

Mr. Arnold’s publicity campaign is a rank exploitation of the prestige of his public office. His unusually many articles and speeches dealing with Labor substitute for the proof he could not supply in courts of law, the colorful but malicious and slanderous innuendo of those journalists whose excesses are limited only by the gullibility of their reading public. Organized labor deeply resents Mr. Arnold’s unprincipled methods of attack, but is confident that the American people will not be thus deluded into reviving the antiquated and restrictive concepts which Mr. Arnold so fervently sponsors.

Indeed, while we cannot gainsay the adverse publicity, the enormous expense, and the great harassment imposed upon labor unions by Mr. Arnold’s irresponsible prosecutions, nevertheless some good has been thereby accomplished. It has been a most fortunate circumstance for Labor that the effect of the recent legislation upon the Sherman Act was passed upon by the



present Supreme Court. Not only did this Court—which had abundantly established its complete understanding and sympathy for Labor's objectives, problems and methods—abstain from repeating the grievous blunder of the court that ruled on the Clayton Act, but also it undid the harm of its predecessor court. It did so by finally, in 1941, granting to Labor the immunities intended by Congress in the Clayton Act of 1914.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have, through their determined and persistent protection of Labor's rights in this matter, finally justified the declaration of the American Federation of Labor in 1914 that the Clayton Act was Labor's Magna Charta.

### EDUCATION

The changes and dislocations made by national defense in our economic world are reflected also in educational opportunities open to boys and girls in the public schools. Migration of wage earners in search of defense jobs, the construction of defense plants in small towns without resources to expand schools or other public facilities; the expansion of industrial areas, all created in some localities need for increased school facilities due to causes external to the community. As the causes were Federal, schools look to the Federal Government for aid in meeting their emergencies.

In addition to emergency needs, there is the necessity of making headway toward a condition essential to real democracy—making available to every potential citizen, regardless of place or father's financial ability, equal educational opportunities. At present the wealth or poverty of a community conditions the educational opportunities of the majority and may deny them the birthright of citizens of a democratic country. The Federation believes, therefore, that the Federal Government should provide subsidies to the public-school systems of the states in proportion to their average per capita incomes. Such a provision should be written into our public policies by the necessary legislation. In addition, emergency funds should provide educational opportunities for the children of defense workers handicapped by the service they are giving in this national emergency.

Senate 1313, cited as the Educational Finance Act of 1941, was drafted to meet the emergency needs and then inadequately revised for the purpose of making it permanent legislation.

The American Federation of Labor endorsed the purpose of the legislation but urged it be made an emergency one. The permanent program should be developed separately and safeguarded by proper definition of agencies and standards for procedure.

We urge all central labor unions to be on the alert against reductions in provisions for public education. Your public schools should be the last place where reductions should be made.

## REPORT ON STATE LABOR LEGISLATION—1941

Very little legislation of benefit to Labor was enacted by the states in 1941, although this was again a year in which most of the legislatures met. The outstanding gains can be quickly listed: an anti-injunction law in New Jersey, in line with the Norris-LaGuardia Act although not so comprehensive; a State Labor Relations Act in Rhode Island similar to the national Act. Rhode Island also passed a wage payment and wage collection law permitting the Director of Labor to take wage claim assignments up to \$200 per claim and file suits on behalf of wage earners; the same state has adopted a number of amendments which materially strengthen the administration and improve the benefits of its workmen's compensation law; Florida has amended its child labor law adopting the basic 16-year minimum age.

While the gains were small, it should be said, however, that Labor succeeded in defeating many hostile measures in that only a limited number of the anti-Labor bills became law.

## State Departments of Labor

A new department of labor makes its appearance this year in distant Alaska, and this is the only new law of its kind to be acclaimed. In Utah and Indiana reorganizations of the state governments threatened to disrupt the agencies administering labor laws, and in Utah the Industrial Commission did, as a result, lose control over the state fund. In Indiana the department was transferred, still intact, to a newly created Department of Public Works and Commerce headed by the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Treasurer. In Nevada the unemployment compensation division and employment service were taken from the Labor Department and placed under a new Employment Security Department.

## Wages and Hours Legislation

Twenty-six states and two territories introduced state wage and hour bills. The only one to become law was in Puerto Rico, although bills narrowly missed being enacted in Rhode Island and Hawaii.

In Maine, Massachusetts, and North Carolina interim legislative commissions had been appointed to study the need for such legislation. In North Carolina there was a divided report and no legislation. In Maine a six-member commission submitted three separate reports. All members opposed a general wage and hour law, but three of the members favored a proposal which sounds like wage board procedure for certain industries. The Massachusetts Commission recommended setting up a wage and hour board by law, but no flat rates or hour standards in the law itself.

A legislative commission is to function during the next biennium in Indiana, where a wage and hour bill this year passed one house. A strong recommendation from the Commission, backed by incontestable facts such as a survey of intrastate industries in the state can provide, might suffice to put the bill through next time.

New York made corporation officials personally responsible for unpaid wages.

New Hampshire provided minimum wages for employees on public works.

The wage collection law in Rhode Island also extends the requirement of weekly payment of wages to all employers (instead of to corporations only); Pennsylvania may obtain similar wage collection legislation (a bill having passed one house); Arkansas changed its law so that the Labor Commissioner can now accept the assignment of claims for wages due under Federal statutes, such as Fair Labor Standards Act, Public Contracts Act, or the Davis-Bacon Act. Vermont, like Rhode Island, extended its pay-day law from corporations to all employers in enumerated industries.

In Illinois the State Federation of Labor has obtained passage of a new prevailing wage law (to replace a law declared unconstitutional), the enactment of the anti-kick-back statute, and of a law requiring certain companies operating on leases without tangible assets which might be attached under the lien laws, to furnish bond equal to twice the pay roll for the usual pay period, either semi-monthly or weekly.

Utah has also required bonding of payrolls in the case of mining lessees employing more than three workers, but the special session rescinded this action in part by permitting waivers by agreement between the lessee, the employees, and the Industrial Commission. Nevada has amended its prevailing wage law to provide for separate wage classifications for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

#### **Child Labor**

The thoroughgoing revision of the Florida child labor law now brings that state well to the fore in its child labor standards. However, Indiana has repealed the protection which its law formerly extended to newspaper carriers; and California has repealed its requirement of work certificates for children under sixteen in agriculture when working for parents or guardians, and permits farm owners to plead that they did not knowingly employ under-age children. This will increase the difficulties of enforcement of the child labor provisions even in industrialized agriculture.

#### **Workmen's Compensation**

Outstanding progress in workmen's compensation was made this year in three states—Delaware, Rhode Island and Washington. In Delaware the law has been made compulsory for employers of three or more instead of elective for employers of five or more, the benefits have been increased considerably, and the schedule of occupational diseases has been extended. Rhode Island raised benefits for the loss of major members, enacted a wage base provision which provides that the benefits shall be based upon full-time earnings with a minimum of forty times the hourly rate, raised medical benefits and amended administrative provisions to give the Department of Labor a closer check upon performance under the law. The Washington law was amended to raise benefits generally and to change from schedule to general coverage of occupational

diseases. Significant changes in benefits were also made in Florida and in Ohio, while minor increases were made in Oregon and Tennessee.

Connecticut shortened the waiting period and provided compensation for dependents of workers fatally injured.

In Utah there is a new schedule in occupational disease law which differs from anything in effect in other states. The benefits are flat monthly sums instead of being based upon a percentage of the wages of the disabled. The Act in general is of the restrictive type. Montana has provided for welfare payments of \$30 monthly to silicosis sufferers, thus placing the cost of the benefits directly upon the public rather than upon industry. West Virginia reduced the waiting period to one week. In New Hampshire medical care was extended from thirty to sixty days. Vermont lengthened the period of benefit payment and increased hospitalization. Illinois provided a flat increase of 10 per cent for benefits in occupational diseases. New York provided additional compensation for protracted temporary disability and authorized studies of dusts and fumes.

Six states this year joined North Dakota in enacting a reciprocal provision for extraterritorial application of the state workmen's compensation act. The states are Colorado, Maryland, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. The new arrangement should prove of great assistance to workers from those states who are injured while temporarily out of their home states on duty, but its effectiveness depends upon similar legislation in all states.

Pennsylvania has recognized its obligation to silicosis and anthraco-silicosis victims who have thus far been unable to collect the state's portion which was held unconstitutional by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court and has now been replaced by the method of direct appropriation.

In Oklahoma the legislature has approved a constitutional amendment to be submitted at the next general election to permit payment of death benefits under the law.

Improvements have been made also in the laws of other states, and in a number of administrative details that cannot be mentioned here although of genuine importance to workers with compensable injuries.

### **Industrial Safety and Health**

Boiler inspection departments have been provided by law in Iowa and Utah; mine inspection laws have been tightened in Ohio; better safety rules for tunnels, quarries, and caisson work have been authorized in Washington, and for explosives in New Jersey. Colorado has imposed a premium tax upon all workmen's compensation insurers, the income being earmarked for safety work. Oregon has provided that the state fund may use, in addition to the present 10 per cent allowed for administration, 2½ per cent of the premium income for safety work.

### **Industrial Relations**

Anti-injunction bills were introduced in ten states and passed in New Jersey only. State labor relations acts were introduced in thirteen states but passed in Rhode Island only.

### Apprenticeship

In Arizona, Montana, and Washington, state apprenticeship laws have been passed which provide for state apprenticeship councils with labor representation to function within the state departments of labor. The Governor of Michigan, at the request of Labor, vetoed a bill which would not have provided for these safeguards. In New York a bill which divides responsibility between the Department of Labor and the Department of Education has become law.

### Anti-Union Bills

A large number of bills that would have impeded union activity in various ways were introduced this year, but only four were enacted in addition to sixteen anti-sabotage laws which passed. Fourteen states considered bills providing for compulsory truce periods (California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin). Only one became law, in Georgia.

Seven states considered laws prohibiting any interference with persons engaging in a lawful vocation (which might be construed to prohibit all forms of picketing). These were: California, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Texas. Only the bill in Texas was enacted.

In addition there were bills in New Jersey and Maryland prohibiting strikes on defense projects, bills in Michigan, Texas and Wisconsin requiring the taking of strike votes under public supervision; a bill in Utah aimed at "stranger" picketing; bills in Florida, Georgia, Missouri prohibiting the closed shop on public works (a bill in Georgia was vetoed).

Bills also were passed in California regulating the relationship between a union and its members; and regulating the payment of union fees and dues in Florida, Georgia, Nebraska. Texas considered bills requiring union organizers to secure state licenses to be issued only if certain conditions as to citizenship and residence were complied with. Pennsylvania had a bill requiring full publicity of union accounts. Georgia had a bill requiring locals and labor organizations collecting dues in the state to incorporate with a prescribed minimum capital stock of \$2500.

Four states enacted anti-Labor bills, as follows:

Georgia (Governor's No. 293) Approved March 27, 1941

(H. 668)—Prohibits any strike, slow down or stoppage by a labor organization or local until after 30 days' written notice to employer. Does not apply to seasonal industries such as men's or women's clothing and hats, nor to unions operating under Railroad Labor Act. Violation constituted misdemeanor.

Maryland (Ch. 340) Approved May 29, 1941

(S. 176)—Prohibits occupation of factory or buildings of an employer by employees or former employees after he has given notice to leave, when effect is to deprive employer of substantial possession, control, or use of land, property or buildings.

Texas (H. 800) Approved April 4, 1941

Declares it unlawful and a felony for any person by use of force or violence or threat to attempt to prevent any person from engaging in any lawful

vocation within state; declares it unlawful and a felony for any person acting in concert with one or more other persons to assemble at or near any place where a labor dispute exists and attempting to prevent persons from engaging in lawful vocations; or collectively aiding or encouraging such unlawful assemblies.

Defines labor disputes as any controversy between an employer and two or more of his employees concerning terms or conditions of employment or collective bargaining and representation.

Provides penalties of imprisonment for minimum of one year, maximum two years.

California (S. 877) Passed over Veto June 5, 1941

Declares "hot cargo" and "secondary boycotts" as defined in act, unlawful. Act to be effective until May 1, 1943 and thereafter during continuance of present national emergency and whenever the United States is at war.

#### Summary of State Anti-Sabotage Bills

Out of 43 states in session, anti-sabotage bills have been introduced in 37, 16 have become law: Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin. In Oregon, the Governor vetoed the bill.

#### Reports by Individual States

**Arkansas**—Unemployment Compensation Act amended—waiting period reduced to one week and payment of benefits to persons on strike to conform to Federal or state law; solicitors using union name must post bond; retirement for firemen and policemen of first- and second-class cities; civil service for cities of 20,000 or more; amendment of Wage Collection Law; barbers licenses.

**Connecticut**—A State Labor Relations Act, which could have been used as an anti-strike act, was defeated. Substantial improvements were made in the Workmen's Compensation Act—injured employees would be entitled to compensation from the first day of injury, provided the injury lasted three weeks, whereas previously they could not be paid compensation until after the fourth week from the first day; in all fatal cases of injured workmen, dependent children will be entitled to their share of compensation until they arrive at the age of eighteen. By asking for an exclusive state fund for compensation the tactics of out-of-state insurance companies in dealing with mercurial cases in the City of Danbury were disclosed and as a result an agreement has been reached with the manufacturers in the hat industry eliminating causes of mercurial poisoning for the hatters.

Benefits under Unemployment Compensation were changed from \$15 to \$20; the number of weeks from thirteen to eighteen; the waiting period from two weeks for total and partial unemployment benefits to one week waiting period. Employment period for tax purposes was reduced from twenty weeks to thirteen; that means that an employer employing four or more for a period of thirteen weeks shall be subject to the tax and liable for unemployment compensation. Heretofore it was an employer of five or more for a period of twenty weeks. The Act was also changed to make employers coming into Connecticut and employing one person, liable under the Act.

The prevailing rate of wage law on road and bridge work was secured. A wage and hour bill was defeated. A 48-hour bill for bridge tenders; a bill for aid to dependent children and a barbers license law approved by the Journeymen Barbers, were passed.

Under the Old Age Assistance Law a maximum of \$40 a month was granted to elderly people. Motion Picture Operators Bill was defeated on two different occasions.

A bill was passed that during the emergency women in manufacturing industries would be allowed to work beyond forty-eight-hours a week and up to fifty-five for not more than eight weeks. A Milk Control Bill was passed, and while not entirely satisfactory to the milk wagon drivers organization, because it fails to provide labor representation upon an advisory council or setup, it is a great improvement over the last law. A Savings Bank Life Insurance Bill was passed that ought to be of some assistance to our people in the lower paid brackets. There was a constant threat throughout the entire session of the Legislature that legislation was going to be reported out of committee tying Labor both hands and feet, as far as strike activity was concerned in state defense industries. Such a proposal was incorporated in the State Labor Relation Act, which was defeated.

**Idaho**—Apprentice training bill introduced but defeated in Senate. Firefighters retirement bill passed the House but was defeated in the Senate by one vote.

**Illinois**—All anti-Labor bills defeated, including fresh pursuit; private guard bill; anti-strike; measure requiring registration and bonding of union officials; bills designed to involve unions in litigation over race, color, creed, and to repeal civil service. Unemployment Compensation Act amended: (1) Workmen's Occupational Diseases Act amended to provide a flat increase of 10 per cent. Prevailing rate of wages—reenacted to conform to objections of State Supreme Court. Scaffolding amendment to Health and Safety Act. Anti-kick Back Law. Notice required of existing strikes and lockouts when advertising for workers.

**Iowa**—Boiler Inspection Act—regular inspection with penalties. Defeated amendment to classify thousands of workers as seasonal. Defeated anti-sabotage and anti-strike bills.

**Kansas**—Sponsored following bills which were defeated: Exclusive state fund for workmen's compensation; defining the jurisdiction of equity courts; inspection of steam boilers; occupational diseases; state measure modeled on Norris-LaGuardia Act; price-fixing for barbers. Unemployment compensation was amended to reduce waiting period to one week; benefits equal to sixteen times weekly benefit amount or one-third of earnings whichever is the lesser. Workmen's compensation amended with respect to computation by yearly wage.

**Louisiana**—Firemen pension funds. Civil service for firemen and policemen in cities from 15,000 to 250,000. Land lease for cropping. Civil service for employees of State Department of Labor. Amending school book law. Repealing workers contributions to unemployment compensation and transferring



funds to the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Insurance Account in Washington.

**Maine**—Bill to make workmen's compensation compulsory; limiting hours of work and women's work were killed. Measure requiring regular payment of wages to certain employees was enacted. Merit rating proposal referred to Research Committee.

**Michigan**—The following labor bills were passed, became effective immediately and are now part of the Public Acts of this state: Civil Service for City Health Board employees; labor debt claims to have preferential status against estates of insolvent debtors; retirement act for non-teaching public school employees; Teachers Retirement Act amended specifying retirement age of seventy and discontinuing tenure status at age of sixty; railroad companies must secure permission of Public Service Commission before discontinuing passenger service; authorizes workmen's compensation for employees of home rule cities; amended Unemployment Compensation Act by increasing duration of benefits from sixteen to eighteen weeks, abolishes monthly partial benefits, eliminates two additional weeks waiting period and increases severity of disqualifications for voluntarily leaving employment.

The Legislature, which refuses to adjourn, passed the following Labor bills, which were signed by the Governor, and which will become effective ninety days after adjournment: Fire fighters additional twenty-four hours off duty in each sixteen days; regulation of civil service promotion for fire fighters; provision for proper overhead and side clearance near railroad tracks on all future structures; retirement fund for County Road Commission employees; authorization for formation of credit unions by labor unions without endorsement of employer; old age assistance grants increased from \$30 to \$40 a month; school districts to be penalized for hiring unqualified teachers by restricting state aid; regulation of issuance of labor permits to parochial or private schools; increases exemptions in garnishment of wages; abolishes requirement for operating engineers of college education; regulates trade practices and prices for barbers in counties over five hundred thousand population; Public Service Commission to regulate hours for truck drivers to conform to Federal regulations; provides for election for adoption of Civil Service for counties over five hundred thousand population.

Eight anti-Labor bills were defeated, among them being anti-strike bill requiring compulsory mediation in defense industries; a bill to incorporate trade unions and compel them to render financial reports monthly; a bill to have private police for defense industry and railroads; fresh pursuit bill; compulsory arbitration by a board of arbitration to be appointed by the Governor and its decisions to be final.

**Minnesota**—Anti-sabotage bill defeated. Unemployment Compensation Act amended to eliminate extreme disqualifying clauses. Civil service was a major issue because of attacks on existing law; general sales tax defeated; painters license act repealed; state to share relief expense of Minneapolis and St. Paul and Minnesota Public Relief Advisory Committee to advise Government on relief matters. Minimum wage for women and minors defeated.

**Montana**—Defeated all bills hostile to Labor. For the third time in eight years a bill to cut compensation for injured workers was defeated. An amendment for unemployment tax of 1 per cent was defeated. Secured enactment of law providing payment of \$30 per month to persons incapacitated by silicosis. This is an effort to avoid physical examination of those exposed to silica dust because the examination was used to victimize many.

**New Hampshire**—Bills to set up a minimum wage; to establish a Labor Relations Board; reorganization of the State Department of Labor; Federal Housing; State Apprenticeship Council; to place private employment agencies under state control; to cover construction work under the jurisdiction of the Labor Department; to allow the Commissioners to set up a scale of wages for employees on public work; to license painters and to restrict the use of labor by inmates of state institutions, were introduced. The bills covering minimum wages for employees on public works and legislation authorizing action under public works as well as legislation authorizing action under the Federal Housing Act (the latter in amended form) were passed. The waiting period in unemployment compensation was cut to two weeks, and this will be reduced to one when the reserve fund reaches \$8,000,000 and remains at that figure for two months. The minimum benefit was raised from \$5 to \$6 a week and payments are figured on annual earnings. The merit rating system became effective. Workmen's compensation was amended by the extension of medical care from thirty to sixty days and by giving the right to the injured worker to appeal to the courts to determine the amount of weekly or lump-sum payments. The State Guard and anti-Sabotage bill was amended so that the right to strike was recognized in the law, and that before the State Guard can be called in an industrial dispute proper investigation shall be made by the Governor. The bill to abolish the State Barbers Board was defeated.

**New Jersey**—Following were enacted: Injunction procedure law; unemployment compensation amending procedure of reporting by claimants; Labor Mediation Act; Child Labor Law amended to permit minors to work in bowling alleys and liquor establishments.

**New York**—Nineteen measures favored by the State Federation of Labor were passed, fifteen were signed and four vetoed.

Awards of state contracts to promote public interest. This provision gives opportunity for protests against lowest bidder by organized labor and other interested groups.

Approval of membership corporation to conform to public policy. Proposal by the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council that Justices of the Supreme Court have authority to withhold approval from any proposed corporation. This gives Board of Standards and Appeals right to investigate.

Day-of-rest law for stationary engineers and firemen.

Division of Industrial Hygiene was authorized to spend from funds for studies and disseminating information on harmful dusts and fumes. Amendment of workmen's compensation providing additional compensation for protracted temporary total disability.

Corporation officials made personally liable for unpaid wages.

Subway employees given sick-leave allowance.

Forty-hour week for women bindery workers. Amendment of unemployment insurance to extend coverage. Employees inducted into military service were guaranteed reemployment if qualified to perform past duties.

Reduction of fees required to be paid by licensed box-office employees.

**Ohio**—Bills introduced: State Labor Relations Act; system of voluntary apprenticeship; anti-injunction; wage collections; state wages and hours. Bills enacted into law: Teacher tenure; reinstatement of firemen and other classified employees serving in armed forces. Civil service for employees in city health districts. Pay any time monthly. Unemployment compensation amended to reduce waiting period from three to two weeks, a \$5 minimum; benefit duration raises from sixteen to eighteen weeks, maximum increased from \$15 to \$16.

**Oklahoma**—Unemployment Compensation Act amended. Workmen's Compensation Act amended.

**Pennsylvania**—Bills granting leaves of absence to teachers in military service and sabbatical leaves for school employees; regulating the hours of service, rest, and annual vacation for firemen and giving firemen in Second Class A cities twenty-four hours rest each week and fourteen days vacation a year, with pay, were passed.

A law was enacted providing for any person who has a judgment against him, as in an accident case, and who heretofore would have suffered a suspension of license without notice, will receive twenty days notice before any action is taken.

Among the bills which were defeated—a bill to repeal the 1939 amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Act and restore it to the 1937 status; an occupational disease bill to provide additional coverage of workers; an anti-injunction act which would have restrained the courts from issuing temporary injunctions without jury trial; an amendment to unemployment compensation to increase benefits and provide for partial unemployment compensation; a bill to place all state employees under civil service, except executive officers; a bill giving the Secretary of Labor and Industry the power to collect any unpaid wages due workers from employers; minimum wage and hour law; a bill to have the Commonwealth pay prevailing rate on all printing contracts; a bill to license all contractors and journeymen engaged in painting and provide for inspection of all work; a bill to license all general contractors; a bill to license all bakeries; a bill to increase the wages of all employees in the Department of Public Works in cities of the first class; a bill to establish a bread-control board.

Twenty-one bills to which Labor was opposed were defeated.

**South Dakota**—The following bills in which organized labor was interested were passed by the legislature and approved by the Governor. Unemployment compensation bills to conform to new Federal rules; to re-define exempted workers; to govern seasonal employment, etc.; to provide lien for collection of unemployment compensation tax; to put all employers on same level on termination of unemployment compensation commission; to extend to three years the time for application of unemployment compensation tax refund;

to provide one fund for unemployment compensation administration; that the court shall be given right to consider appeals in unemployment compensation commission cases without being bound by commission's findings of fact; that unemployment compensation commission appeals referee shall be a lawyer; that separate reserve account and experience ratings in unemployment compensation be set up.

It was interesting to note how little support we received from the Unemployment Compensation Commission on the bills to increase the weekly benefit allowances and reduction of coverage from eight to four. They refused to give these measures their approval on the grounds they were of controversial nature. Their stand proves to us that they are working more in the interest of the employer than the employees who are benefited by the law.

Although organized labor was not successful in getting any of their main proposals through, we can feel proud of the fact that no detrimental legislation was passed to cripple our activities in this state.

**Tennessee**—Defeated on poll tax bill, but some counties have discontinued tax. Main issue on bill which allowed Governor to impound school funds. Bills pending for electrical safety state-wide regulation. Uniform elevator safety. Child Labor Amendments.

**Texas**—Although many bills Labor opposed were defeated, few that it wanted were enacted. Workmen's Compensation Act amended to require insurance companies to furnish injured workers with appliances. Omnibus Tax Bill—largest tax bill in the history of Texas—designed to raise funds for Social Security; does not injure Labor and removes possibility of sales tax. So-called defense bills but thinly disguised anti-Labor measures. Exclusion of tips as part of wages—passed both houses but was vetoed by Governor. Seasonal workers excluded from Unemployment Compensation—passed Legislature, was vetoed by Governor and passed over his veto. Licensing of labor organizers—died in committee. Control of issuing of charters to rump unions requires investigation and approval of Department of Labor.

**Vermont**—Main efforts centered on amendments to Unemployment Compensation Act which reduced the waiting period from three weeks to one; increased benefit period from fourteen to fifteen weeks; securing \$5 as flat minimum and \$15 as maximum; appeal period and penalties amended in Labor's favor. Workmen's Compensation Act amended to lengthen period of benefit payment; increased payment in hospitalization cases; Act to exempt military service men from poll tax. Health Act to improve health and sanitary working conditions.

**Washington**—Provisions to include state and political sub-division employees under old age insurance when the necessary amendments are made in the Federal law. Workmen's compensation liberalized by increased awards to workers or their dependents in extra-hazardous occupations. Time limit for reopening aggravated cases from three to five years. Coverage of occupational diseases extended to all workers—formerly covered consequences of specified diseases. Unemployment compensation coverage extended to employers of one or more employees—previously covered employees of eight or more. Ap-

prentice training law. Improved safety and working conditions—tunnels, caissons and subway workers.

**West Virginia**—Unemployment Compensation Act amended reducing waiting period to one week; benefit period extended to sixteen weeks; minimum benefits raised from \$3 to \$6; Labor Relations Bill defeated.

#### **Affiliation to State Federations of Labor**

The important work of state federations of labor in securing necessary state laws is conditioned by the effectiveness with which national and international unions secure the affiliation of their local unions with the state organization in whose jurisdiction each is. Funds are necessary to carry on legislative work and unity of action is necessary to secure favorable consideration by members of state legislatures.

We recommend to all national and international executives that they urge upon their locals compliance with organizational policies of the American Federation of Labor. Our Federation is a chain of hands, and when individuals or groups fail to make anticipated connections the whole structure is materially weakened and falls short of possible achievements.

#### **BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT**

During the past year employment of members of the affiliated national and international unions has been predominately in the field of national defense projects. The time and effort of the officers of the Department has been chiefly in that field. The relationship of the Department with the government agencies doing the building and construction work in national defense, has been more understanding than ever before. We have recently concluded an agreement upon labor policy arrived at in conferences with representatives of the government agencies having jurisdiction and responsibility for the construction program. So far as we know, this is the first time in the history of the organized labor movement that representatives of government sat in conferences with us for the purpose of negotiating and agreeing upon a labor policy to apply exclusively to the membership of one of the departments of the American Federation of Labor.

Jurisdictional disputes in the building and construction field have been materially reduced during the past year. While the public press has continued to carry headlines describing delays and stoppages of work in the defense program due to labor difficulties, a survey of the activities of the Construction Quartermaster's Corps of the United States Army indicates that there was but .03 per cent of total man days of employment lost due to labor disputes.

The Department, as is the custom, has supported the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor to aid in the passage of legislation in which Labor was interested and we have at all times received the cooperation and assistance of the officials of the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor in legislation in which the Building and Construction Trades Department was particularly interested.

In regard to the routine operations of the Department, it is with pleasure that we report a satisfactory financial condition and that all of the affiliated national and international unions are in good standing with the Department and will be represented at the Thirty-third Annual Convention in 1941. The membership of the local unions whose national and international unions are affiliated with this Department has increased considerably and charters for several new Building and Construction Trades Councils have been issued during the fiscal year.

### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor may well be compared to the Bureau of Standards of the United States Government. It is our designated duty to assure the consumer that the products upon which manufacturers desire to display the union label are of the highest quality. Before obtaining the right to use the union label we must ascertain if the workers in a factory enjoy American union standards of wages, hours and conditions. In case the shop card or service button is used we must also determine if a plant is 100 per cent unionized before a contract is granted. Thus, the Union Label Trades Department becomes the American Federation of Labor "Bureau of Standards."

The Union Label Trades Department has pursued its usual policy of promoting and publicizing union labels, shop cards and service buttons. Every available means of advertising these official emblems of American Federation of Labor unions have been used to urge consumers to buy only union label products and to use only union services. In fact, our Department urges union label-conscious consumers to demand union made goods where union label goods are not available and to employ union members for all services regardless of the fact that they do not display a shop card or service button. We feel that the purpose of our Department is to obtain the loyal support of all members of labor unions, their families and friends for everything "that is union." We are confident that by increasing the demand for all things that are union, those labor organizations which have not adopted a union label or some emblem to designate their services will adopt an official emblem and become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department. During the past year the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union of America has become affiliated, and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has re-affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department. There are now 55 labor unions affiliated with our Department.

It is a fundamental fact in economics that if union-earned money is not spent for the products and services of union workers American union labor standards cannot be maintained. To state it positively, we repeat the principle that in order to obtain union wages through collective bargaining members of labor unions and their friends must buy collectively. Only in this way can the American labor movement sustain the wages, hours and working conditions that have been gained in the past sixty years of struggle and sacrifice.



The Union Label Trades Department wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the splendid cooperation it has received from all national and international labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We also desire to express our deep gratitude to several railway labor unions which, while not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have given splendid support and cooperation in every campaign. In addition, we have received unusual support from various cooperative and business organizations, which, of course, are not in any way associated with the American labor movement.

Among the most ardent advocates of buying union label goods and using union services are the members of the union label leagues, directly affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department, and the members of the international, national, and local women's auxiliaries. These organizations add great impetus to the efforts made by officials of state federations of labor, central labor unions and local labor unions throughout America. The growing demand made by these members and their friends is placing the union labels, shop cards and service buttons on the map of America. During the past year our Department has issued a number of charters to new union label leagues.

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor wishes to acknowledge the splendid cooperation that it has received from the officials of the American Federation of Labor, and the three other departments of the American Federation of Labor; i. e., Building and Construction Trades Department, Metal Trades Department, and the Railroad Employees Department.

President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany have continued the policy of offering all the services of the American Federation of Labor headquarters to our Department. The American Federation of Labor organizers have been instructed by the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to assist in union label campaigns in every locality.

The *American Federationist*, The A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, and the International Labor News Service have carried announcements, editorials and cartoons in reference to union label campaigns. A large union label display advertisement has appeared on the back cover of the *Federationist* in several issues.

Thousands of manufacturers are now displaying the union label and thousands of industrial and business firms are designating their services by the shop card and service button because they realize that the collective buying power of the millions of trade unionists, their families and friends is a most valuable market. This union label-conscious market has increased the business of firms that have collective bargaining agreements with American Federation of Labor unions by increasing percentages annually for the last six years. The constant aim of the Union Label Trades Department is to prove to employers that the union label is an emblem of mutual benefit. It means a square deal for both the employer who unionizes his plant and the employees who are members of a trade union. Collective bargaining spells higher wages. Higher



wages means more purchasing power for the members of organized labor. Increased purchasing power means greater demand for the raw products of our farming, mining and lumbering industries. It means greater orders for the manufacturers, the processors and for the transportation of these commodities. With the shortening of working hours, millions now idle will obtain employment. This is the program of organized labor. It will create mass purchasing power. It is the only way to absorb mass production.

Since the Federal Government has launched the defense program the Union Label Trades Department has made many efforts to have the various boards, commissions, and administrations of our national government purchase only union label products. We have met with some difficulty because the bids for goods under government contracts are usually let to the lowest bidder. The combination of sweatshop and low-wage employers makes it almost impossible in some cases for union manufacturers to meet this unfair competition. The Union Label Trades Department has been urging that the various branches of our Federal Government, which do the buying, negotiate contracts with manufacturers so that a fair price and a reasonable profit may be obtained for those certain industries in which union members are employed. We are confident that in the end the government would save money through the purchase of only union label products, which are of a better quality and which are produced by high-skilled craftsmen who are members of trade unions.

Among the various activities for the promotion of the union label, shop card and service button formulated by the Union Label Trades Department are local union label exhibits and union label weeks. Local union label committees, in conjunction with the central labor unions, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, have held some very successful union label "shows" in various cities. Several governors and mayors have issued proclamations declaring union label weeks. This six-day period set aside for the sole purpose of promoting the union label, shop card and service button has created great interest among consumers.

The Union Label Trades Department issues an annual union label "buyers' guide." The 1942 Union Label Catalogue-Directory is now in the process of preparation and copies will be mailed to all officials of national and international unions, state federations, central labor unions, women's auxiliaries, union label leagues and local unions throughout the United States and Canada. The 1942 Union Label Catalogue-Directory will contain facsimiles of all union labels, shop cards and service buttons of the affiliated national and international labor unions of the Union Label Trades Department. In connection with each union label is a description of how it is displayed and the names of the officials of the respective national or international union affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department. Under each emblem also appears the names of the manufacturers of union label and union-made products of the respective industry. The guide also contains advertisements of many nationally advertised products which have collective bargaining agreements with their employees.

The Union Label Trades Department regularly issues news releases, editorials and cartoons for the labor weeklies and official monthly labor journals.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Department has made splendid use of the radio by regularly broadcasting the union label message over coast-to-coast networks of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System. Many local broadcasts are made over stations throughout America. Electrical transcriptions of these union label addresses are furnished to central labor bodies and local unions for meetings and local re-broadcasts.

The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor is being sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department. The Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department urges all local unions to form women's auxiliaries with the hope that central auxiliaries will be formed in every city, and state federations in every state in order to form a strong international women's auxiliary. Many temporary certificates have been issued to local auxiliaries, central auxiliaries and some state federations.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons are emblems on the banner of the allied forces which are combatting industrial dictators in America. They are the symbols of democracy. These trade marks of unions are the very antithesis of industrial totalitarianism. This great army of union label-conscious consumers are pitted against the axis forces composed of sweatshop employers and low-wage chiselers. These official insignia which are displayed on union label goods and designate union services represent the mobilized consumers, who, with union-earned money, patronize only those firms that display the union label, shop card and service button.

Union-earned money is the greatest weapon for the defense of American labor union standards. Members of trade unions, their families and friends form these union label-conscious battalions. Like bombs in an air raid, union labels, shop cards and service buttons are the greatest weapons to drive out unfair bosses and open-shoppers from the consumer market.

Loyal labor editors are now sending forth voluntary columns of union label publicity to reinforce the oral barrage of union label boosters. When the engagement is over the field will be cleared for only American-made and union label merchandise. The women's auxiliary units are also in the front line trenches of this great conflict between unionized industries and unfair manufacturers.

The most urgent problem before America today is preparedness for the defense of our beloved land. The best economic defense of America is for its citizens to buy only American-made goods. However, when they buy union label products they are adding even greater stability to our economic welfare. Union made articles are made under American labor standards—the highest standards in the world—and thereby the consumer protects not only the American market but also the American worker against slave wages. The collective buying of union label goods is the best weapon for the defense of our labor union standards.

The American Federation of Labor has no quarrel with unionized manufacturers and fair merchandisers. It believes that nine out of every ten employers are glad to unionize and desire to cooperate with organized labor. The criticism that is directed at manufacturers and merchandizers is always

centered on the "10%" who refuse to accept collective bargaining agreements with their workers.

In our future program we recommend that the present policy of the Union Label Trades Department be continued. We urge that central labor bodies, in cooperation with union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, hold union label weeks and union label exhibits. We recommend the continuation of our editorial, news release and cartoon service. We also recommend that all national and international officials urge their respective affiliated unions to encourage the formation of women's auxiliaries to their local unions. We recommend the hearty cooperation of all national and international unions in the distribution of the 1942 Union Label Catalogue-Directory. We recommend that our affiliated unions, together with all the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, encourage the use of the local radio broadcasting stations for talks on the subject of the union label, shop card and service button. And finally, we recommend that the affiliated unions of the Union Label Trades Department, all affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor, and the unaffiliated railway labor unions urge their members to cooperate in all union label activities in their communities to increase the union label-conscious market for union label goods and the patronage of union services. We shall appreciate the continuance of the loyal support and intelligent cooperation that the Union Label Trades Department has received from all officials of national and international trade unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues, women's auxiliaries, and associated organizations in our current campaign to promote and publicize the union label, shop card and service button.

#### RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have been unusually active during the past year. Following an intensive organizing campaign which resulted in the establishment of representation on substantially all railroads in the country, the efforts of the Department have been directed toward consolidating these gains by negotiating improved agreements covering wages and working conditions. A national movement to secure vacations with pay and an increase in wages for railroad workers has been inaugurated and is now in progress. In Canada, a wage increase in the form of a cost-of-living bonus has been secured for all railroad workers. Like many other organizations, the Department has also handled numerous other problems, particularly those growing out of the national defense program.

#### Progress of Organization

For a number of years, the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have directed their efforts toward securing representation for the various crafts coming under their jurisdiction in the railroad industry. This campaign has been highly successful, since representation has been established on substantially all railroads. In order to consolidate

these gains, however, negotiations have been carried on with the railway managements during the past several years for the purpose of securing new or improved agreements covering wages and working conditions. In addition to establishing representation for one or more crafts on sixteen new railroads, eighteen new or improved agreements have been negotiated during the past year. These efforts will be continued until the railroad industry is completely organized, and substantially uniform wages and working conditions have been secured for the employees represented by the Railway Employees' Department.

### Railroad Employment

The general improvement in business conditions and the national defense program have given rise to a substantial increase in railroad traffic, and this has served to stimulate railroad employment. In order to meet anticipated traffic needs, considerable work has been done in bringing up deferred maintenance, which is now at the lowest level in years, consequently, the maintenance of equipment forces particularly have been increased during the past year. It is interesting to note, however, that while traffic has increased beyond the level of 1937, employment has not yet reached that level. This indicates that the productivity of railroad employees is rising and also that there is a sufficient supply of skilled labor in the railroad industry to meet the anticipated rise in traffic.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average number of employees on Class I Railroads in the United States (excluding switching and terminal companies) increased from 987,943 in 1939 to 1,026,956 in 1940 or 3.9 per cent, while the total compensation increased from \$1,863,502,823 to \$1,964,480,706 or 5.4 per cent. During the first four months of 1941, for which reports are available, the average number of employees increased to 1,045,506 or 5.7 per cent over the 989,004 employees reported for the first four months of 1940, while the total compensation increased from \$629,733,931 during the first four months of 1940 to \$679,433,658 during the same period in 1941, or 7.9 per cent.

The average number of maintenance of equipment employees increased from 264,160 in 1939 to 280,719 in 1940 or 6.3 per cent, while the total compensation of these employees increased from \$458,604,805 to \$493,430,770 or 7.6 per cent during the same period. During the first four months of 1941 the average number of employees in the maintenance of equipment department reached 295,690 which is an increase of 6.9 per cent over the 276,500 employees reported for the first four months of 1940, while the total compensation of these employees increased 9.8 per cent from \$160,319,004 during the first four months of 1940 to \$176,106,157 during the same period 1941. It will be observed that maintenance of equipment employment has increased more sharply than employment in the industry generally.

Railroad carloadings, which have been increasing for some time, are rising at an accelerated rate and are expected to reach record levels during the next few years. The number of cars loaded increased from 33,911,498 in 1939 to 36,353,609 in 1940 or 7.2 per cent. During the first twenty-nine (29) weeks of

1941, for which data are available, 22,362,456 cars were loaded, which is an increase of 17.6 per cent over the 19,018,947 cars loaded during the same period in 1940. This fall, it is anticipated that carloadings will reach a million cars per week and the Association of American Railroads has estimated that the total carloadings for the year will be in excess of 41,000,000.

In order to handle the tremendous increase in traffic of recent months, the bad-order situation has been vastly improved, so that it is now the lowest in many years. The number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line as of July 1, 1940 was 9.5 per cent, while on July 1, 1941 the number of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line declined to 5.2 per cent. The number of locomotives unserviceable of the total on line as of July 1, 1940 was 16.5 per cent, declining to 14.3 per cent as of July 1, 1941. The maintenance program is being continued, but in addition the railroads are buying large numbers of new cars and locomotives to meet anticipated traffic needs and thus insure an adequate supply of transportation during the present emergency.

There is every indication that the opportunities for employment in the railroad industry, particularly for the highly skilled workers, will continue to increase, but it should be emphasized that no shortage of these workers is apparent in the railroad industry and consequently there is no need to break down apprenticeship standards which have been established after many years of effort.

#### **Wages and Working Conditions**

With the improvement in business conditions and the increasing prosperity of the railroad industry, a national movement has been inaugurated to secure vacations with pay and an increase in wages for railroad workers.

Early last year, fourteen Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, served notice on the railway managements requesting that existing agreements be supplemented to provide for a two-weeks vacation with pay. In keeping with the previous policy followed by the railroads and the organizations in connection with other national movements, the various managements were also requested to form a National Conference Committee to deal with this subject in the event an agreement was not reached in local conferences.

The carriers in the Eastern and Southeastern Regions acknowledged the notice and set a date for conference with the General Chairmen on each railroad, but the carriers in the Western Region, in acknowledging the notice, made a counter proposal by serving a notice of a request for a 10 per cent reduction in wages and that the negotiations be conducted on a regional basis.

Conferences were conducted locally on each property, as required by the Railway Labor Act, but by September 5, 1940 it became apparent that it was not the intention of the railway managements to cooperate with the organizations in handling the matter through national negotiations. An effort was then made to secure national handling through the National Mediation Board, which was unsuccessful. In view of the unwillingness of the carriers to form a national conference committee to negotiate the dispute to a conclusion, the

matter was referred to the membership on February 15, 1941 in the form of a ballot. An overwhelming majority voted to suspend work unless a satisfactory agreement could be secured.

On March 14, 1941 the National Mediation Board proffered its services, which were accepted by the representatives of both the railroads and the organizations. Mediation proceedings were begun on March 19, 1941 and carried on almost continuously until May 31, 1941, when mediation was terminated, because no satisfactory settlement of the matters in dispute could be reached.

On May 31, 1941 the National Mediation Board advised the parties to the dispute of its inability to bring about a settlement and in accordance with the Railway Labor Act requested that the matter be submitted to arbitration. The organizations advised the Board on June 1, 1941 that they were willing to submit the controversy to arbitration, and the carriers did likewise on June 2, 1941. Accordingly, arrangements were made to meet on June 16, 1941 for the purpose of executing an arbitration agreement.

Meanwhile, the insistent demands of the membership for a wage increase prompted the same fourteen Standard Railroad Labor Organizations which were cooperating in the vacation movement to inaugurate a drive to secure an increase in wages.

On June 10, 1941 notice was served on the railway managements requesting an increase in wages of 30 cents an hour and the establishment of a minimum wage of 70 cents an hour. As in the vacation notice, request was also made that the matter be handled in national conferences if an agreement could not be reached locally.

The day before the notices for a wage increase were served, however, the railroad managements in the Western and Southeastern Regions served notices on the organizations of a desire to make drastic changes in their agreements amounting to a virtual nullification of the rules which had been established by voluntary agreement and had been in effect for many years.

With the serving of this notice, it was apparent that the vacation proposal, which involved the question of rules, could not be settled by arbitration, and the Board was advised to this effect on June 16, 1941. The Board terminated its services on June 17, 1941.

While further action on the vacation request was held in abeyance temporarily, negotiations on the employees wage request and the carriers rules proposal were conducted locally on each railroad on which notice was served, as provided by the Railway Labor Act.

On July 10, 1941, arrangements were made to conduct national conferences on the matters in dispute. After securing the necessary authority, the Conference Committee representing the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations and the carriers in the Eastern, Southeastern and Western Regions met in Chicago, Ill., on July 25, 1941 and carried on negotiations until August 5, 1941, when conferences were concluded owing to the refusal of the railway managements to grant any increase in wages or vacations with pay. The matter is consequently being referred to the membership in the form of a strike ballot.



It is the determination of the cooperating fourteen Standard Railroad Labor Organizations to resist the efforts of the carriers to destroy the rules now in effect covering working conditions, by every possible means, and to secure a satisfactory settlement of the requests for a vacation with pay and an increase in wage rates.

#### **Canadian Cost-of-Living Bonus**

Unlike the United States, Canada is an active participant in the war in Europe. The rise in prices brought about by the war prompted the Canadian Government to take steps to control prices so as to prevent a rapid rise, such as occurred in the last war. In this connection it was proposed that wages be pegged to the cost of living in order to prevent a rising spiral in prices, and also to assure workers that they would not suffer because of the increasing cost of the necessities of life. On the other hand, since profits were being controlled, it was urged that in the interest of national defense neither capital nor Labor should take advantage of the emergency to make excessive gains.

Before taking any definite action on this proposal, the Minister of Labour conferred with the representatives of the standard railway labor organizations in Canada for the purpose of securing their views with respect to this policy. He was advised that before the organizations could be committed to such a policy the necessary authority would have to be secured in accordance with the laws of the respective organizations. Accordingly, the matter was referred to the membership on December 9, 1940 with the understanding that the Conference Committee representing the Standard Railway Labor Organizations would meet on January 15, 1941 to give it further consideration.

Upon being advised of this action, the Minister of Labour informed the representatives of the organizations on December 12, 1940 that because of the necessity of dealing with the problem immediately it would be impossible to await the action of the organizations and that the Government would have to assume the responsibility of dealing with the situation. Accordingly, Order in Council P. C. 7440 was issued on December 16, 1940 which was to serve as a guide to Boards of Conciliation and Investigation and provided that the wage rates established during the period from 1926 to 1929, or higher levels established thereafter, would be considered as being generally fair and reasonable, that wage rates in effect on the date of the Order should not be reduced by reason of any of the principles set out therein and that in order to prevent an impairment in the standard of living because of the increased cost of living, a war-time cost-of-living bonus, independent of basic wage rates "may properly be paid."

This Order in Council was applied to all industries falling within the scope of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, i. e., mining, transportation, communication, public service utilities and the production, transportation or storage of war supplies and the construction or demolition of defense projects, although it was hoped that the policy of the Order would be adopted voluntarily by employers and workers in all other industries.

Meanwhile, some of the organizations, particularly the mechanical trades,



had given consideration to the inauguration of a movement to secure an increase in wages, but in view of the attitude of the Government as announced in P. C. 7440, the Standard Railway Labor Organizations, when they met on January 15, 1941 to give consideration to this matter, decided to request a cost-of-living bonus as provided in the Order in Council.

Accordingly, a conference was arranged with the representatives of the railway managements on January 24, 1941. Upon being presented with the request for a cost-of-living bonus, the representatives of the railways indicated that certain ambiguities appeared in P. C. 7440, and that the matter of uniform interpretations to the Order was to be submitted to the National Labour Supply Council on January 27, 1941, so it was suggested that in the meantime the matter be allowed to stand.

When the question of interpretations to P. C. 7440 was submitted to the National Labour Supply Council by the Minister of Labour, the Council indicated that it did not deem it advisable to recommend the issuance of specific interpretations to the Order. Later, the Minister of Labour attempted to clarify the meaning of the Order by issuing a statement of "Suggestions" for the application of the Order in Council, on February 17, 1941.

Although the policy of the Government was clear, the railway managements, after some further delay, advised the Conference Committee on March 18, 1941 that a cost-of-living bonus could not be granted, so the dispute was referred to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

The board was established on April 18, 1941 and consisted of Mr. Arthur W. Roebuck, appointed on the nomination of the employees, Mr. Isaac Pitblade, appointed on the nomination of the railways and the Honourable Mr. Justice Patrick Kerwin of the Supreme Court of Canada, chairman, appointed in the absence of a joint recommendation from the other two members. Hearings were held in Montreal on May 8th, 13th and 14th, at which the representatives of both the railways and the organizations appeared. The majority report, which was filed on June 11, 1941 by the chairman and the railroad member of the board, recommended that a cost-of-living bonus be granted only to employees earning \$25 per week or less, while the minority report filed by the employee member of the board on June 6, 1941 recommended that a cost-of-living bonus be granted to all railroad employees.

On June 30, 1941 the Minister of Labour advised the Conference Committee that he had declined to approve the recommendations of the majority report because they did not conform with the provisions of P. C. 7440. Meanwhile, on June 27, 1941, P. C. 7440 was amended by the Dominion Cabinet so as to make the payment of a cost-of-living bonus mandatory to all employees covered by the Order in Council, and accordingly, the railways were directed to pay a cost-of-living bonus to all railway employees, thus rejecting the recommendation of the majority report of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation and giving effect to the minority report filed by the employee member of the board.

As the result of negotiations between the Conference Committee and the railways, a master agreement was entered into on July 29, 1941, providing for a cost-of-living bonus of \$1.93 per week effective June 1, 1941. Based on this agreement, supplementary agreements will be negotiated providing detailed methods of applying the bonus to individual groups.

This marks a two-fold victory for the Standard Railway Labor Organizations in Canada because in addition to securing a cost-of-living bonus for all railway workers, they were successful in bringing about the revision of the Order in Council so that it now provides that a cost-of-living bonus shall be paid to the employees covered by the Order, thus assuring other employees that the cost-of-living bonus will be granted without delay.

### Railroad Labor and National Defense

The railroad industry has been described as our second line of national defense because of its importance not only to the armed forces, but also to all industries engaged in the production of materials for national defense. The job of the railroad industry in our national defense effort, therefore, is a tremendously important one.

The responsibility of meeting the increasing transportation needs of the country growing out of the improvement in business conditions and the national defense program is being met by the railroad industry to a large extent as the result of the loyalty and the cooperation of the railroad workers. The railroad is a service industry, and is dependent for the most part on the highly coordinated skill of each and every employee for safe and efficient operation, and this in turn requires a high degree of morale and *esprit de corps*.

For the past year the railroad workers have sought to secure a vacation with pay, and in recent months have requested an increase in wages. In making these requests, the railroad workers have asked for no more than has been granted to the workers in other industries. Since the railroad industry, like other industries, is enjoying increasing prosperity, these requests are not unreasonable, but the refusal of the railroad industry to deal fairly with its employees is likely to result in an impairment of their morale with a consequent reduction in efficiency which the industry can ill afford in the present emergency. Also, it should be recognized that although no shortage of skilled labor is apparent in the railroad industry at the present time, there is likely to be a movement of such skilled workers to other industries where higher wages and better working conditions are in effect.

If the railroad industry is to meet the demands which will be made upon it by the country during the present emergency, it is necessary that the railroad workers be treated fairly in order to prevent a collapse in morale such as occurred in the last war and also prevent a depletion of the skilled labor supply which is necessary for the efficient operation of the railroads.

**METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT**

The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has been particularly affected by the program for national defense, because the great bulk of defense material lies in the field of the metal manufacturing industries.

The first major industry to feel the impact of defense work was shipbuilding. Not only were new yards constructed during the year to build ships for the Navy and the Maritime Commission, but the British Government also placed contracts which have already led to the building of three large shipyards.

Conditions of employment in the shipbuilding industry have been widely influenced through the policy of the Federal Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee. As a result shipbuilding was divided into four zones—the Great Lakes, Atlantic Seaboard, the Gulf Coast, and the Pacific Coast.

As the Government was the purchaser for all ships to be built, except those for the British Government, representatives of our Government participated in the conferences held by the metal trades unions and the shipyards, in the negotiations which led to the establishing of so-called zone agreements covering the wage scale, the payment for overtime, and the premium to be paid on shift work.

The zone agreements, with the exception of that on the Pacific Coast, did not cover the employer-employee relationship, this being provided for in supplementary agreements.

On the Pacific Coast a Master Agreement was entered into covering the terms of employment, and also the employer-employee relationship.

The number of shipyard employees has already increased to hundreds of thousands, and this number will be added to before shipyard production reaches its fullest capacity.

In the manufacturing industries there has been a great increase in the number of metal workers employed. All of this has led to a great increase in the membership of the Department's affiliated international unions.

After the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee had begun its work, a determined effort was made by some of the Government representatives to have wage rates, overtime provisions, and payment for shifts determined within the committee itself, the argument advanced being that the stabilization committee personnel included representatives of the Navy Department, the Maritime Commission, the Shipbuilding Industry, the American Federation of Labor, and the C. I. O., and was therefore an appropriate body for collective bargaining.

The representatives of the Metal Trades Department held that any such fixing of wage rates by a committee sitting in Washington, without conferring with employees in the shipyards and their representatives, would be the very opposite from collective bargaining and in effect would result in the destruction of collective bargaining, and the setting up in its place of a governmental agency exercising the power of determining wages for shipyard employees, and

establishing a precedent which would then be applied by the Government representatives to other national defense industries.

It is gratifying to report that in the end the position of the Metal Trades Department was successful, and in the zone conferences which were held afterwards the shipbuilding industry was represented by shipbuilders, and organized labor by its chosen representatives.

In the early part of January, 1941, the presidents of the affiliated international unions met in the Department's headquarters to consider what policy should be adopted in connection with the program for national defense. In the policy finally adopted was incorporated the provision that there should be no stoppage of work on national defense production, until the methods of Federal conciliation and mediation had been exhausted.

In many industrial centers the membership of the Department encountered the various and devious methods applied by the C. I. O. to supplant trade unionism as advocated and practiced by the American Federation of Labor.

It is gratifying to report that these efforts proved unsuccessful, and that in many instances successful organization and recognition by employers was established in territories where the C. I. O. believed themselves to be impregnable.

#### AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The *American Federationist*, which is regarded as the official publication of the American Federation of Labor, is widely read by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and by an increasingly large number of people outside the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. This publication seeks to achieve a double purpose: first, to acquaint affiliated members regarding the status and progress of the American Federation of Labor; and second, to serve as an educational medium to the many thousands of people who read the *American Federationist* each month.

In keeping with modern tendencies associated with literary publications, we have sought to promote education through a wider use of photographs and illustrations. We have continued our efforts to improve the *American Federationist* in style, character and appearance as experience seems to warrant.

We are confident that this progressive policy which is being followed in the preparation and publication of the *American Federationist* will meet with universal approval and general satisfaction.

#### PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS

The increasing importance of Labor's role in the national defense program has made the activities of labor organizations of wider interest to the public than ever before.

The Publicity and Information Service of the American Federation of

Labor has constantly emphasized the fact that the workers of America, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, are 100 per cent for the national defense program. The patriotic policies adopted by the American Federation of Labor were stressed in every possible way. The constructive aid given to the defense program by members and officers of the American Federation of Labor was brought to public notice at every opportunity. Nevertheless, efforts to convey the true picture of the American Federation of Labor's policy and performance in the defense program were handicapped by a deliberate "smear" campaign against Labor in portions of the daily press and by Communist-inspired attempts by the C. I. O. unions to embarrass the defense program.

The most glaring instance of newspaper distortion of the facts was the headline emphasis placed on scattered strikes in defense industries whereas the fact that more than 99 per cent of the members of the American Federation of Labor had refrained from striking at any time for any cause was largely ignored.

Despite the flood of anti-Labor propaganda unloosed during the year, there is ample evidence that these "smear" campaigns were far less effective than the enemies of Labor hoped. This evidence is contained in the constantly growing membership rolls of American Federation of Labor unions and in the significant circumstance that the "no union" vote in National Labor Relations Board elections has been infinitesimally small. This is proof that the confidence of the workers in the American Federation of Labor has not been weakened by false propaganda.

It is essential however, that this vicious propaganda should be counteracted with the truth in a more comprehensive way than ever before. To this end, the Executive Council recommends the expansion of the publicity and informational facilities of the American Federation of Labor. This can best be accomplished by the establishment of publicity bureaus in conjunction with central labor unions in the larger cities. These bureaus can aid not only in presenting the facts with regard to labor activities in each city but can also assist in disseminating information on American Federation of Labor news activities distributed from Washington.

The Executive Council also recommends that studies be made to determine how the use of radio programs may be more widely employed to inform the workers and the public generally of labor happenings. At present the broadcasting chains provide time on request for labor spokesmen at irregular intervals for speeches and programs of special importance. It should also be possible to schedule broadcasts at regular periods for the dissemination of labor news of interest to the public.

Again it is gratifying to call attention to the fine service rendered by the bona fide labor press which embraces the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. These publications have given generous space to the constructive accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor and have

defended it loyally against assaults by hostile forces. We trust that the membership of the American Federation of Labor unions and their friends will reward this loyalty by giving increased support to bona fide labor newspapers in every locality where they are published.

The Executive Council expresses its deep appreciation to the bona fide labor press for its support and pledges to it the continued assistance of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations.

The Executive Council respectfully calls attention to the publication of papers and periodicals in some localities which profess to be labor publications, but which are in no way bona fide labor papers or labor publications. They sail under false colors. They attempt to use the name and prestige of the American Federation of Labor for selfish and material purposes. We warn Labor and the friends of Labor against such publications. We urge central bodies, state federations of labor and local American Federation of Labor organizations to disavow and disown alleged labor publications which are known to operate under false pretenses and which cannot under any circumstances be classified as a part of the bona fide, real American Federation of Labor publications.

#### RESEARCH AND INFORMATION

As Labor makes progress in extending and perfecting organization and in advancing standards of work and living, it finds facts and information correspondingly necessary. The case for new gains must be convincing whether it is presented in a government hearing or in collective bargaining. Requests for wage data, information on company earnings, price information conditioning standards of living, industrial trends have greatly increased during the past year. Although our service is primarily for directly affiliated unions, requests from internationals have steadily increased. Supplementing this trend is the steady increase in the number of internationals providing a research service for their affiliated unions.

**Defense**—As the Federal Defense Administration developed and began to make priority orders effective in assuring supplies for defense production, many small companies and producers of consumers durable goods found drastic production cuts inevitable. Priority and production-cuts conferences with representatives of the industries affected are held by defense agencies. These hearings consider the implications of orders for employment. Employment data for the use of union representatives are assembled for these hearings. The orders and developments of the Defense Administration are followed closely to advise unions in advance on hearings and to serve the American Federation of Labor Committee on Defense.

**Wages and Hours**—Special surveys have been made through the directly affiliated unions and the cooperating national and international unions in con-

nection with the minimum wage orders under the industry committee procedures of the Wage and Hour Law, and the prevailing minimum wage determinations under the Public Contracts Act. Notable among such studies covering entire trades and industries have been those prepared for the following: leather; textiles; pulp and primary paper; converted paper products; drugs, medicines and toilet preparations; jewelry; lumber and timber products; furniture; brick and clay products; enamel utensils; paint and varnishing manufacturing; electrical and radio products; aircraft parts and accessories; boiler shop products; scientific instruments; dental goods and equipment; cooking and heating appliances; fans and blowers manufacturing; clocks and watches manufacturing; and silverware manufacturing. The results of each one of the surveys have not only helped strengthen the union case at the minimum wage hearings, but have also yielded most valuable material for wage negotiations in each industry.

**Notification of N. L. R. B. Hearings**—The facilities of our Research and Information Service have also made it possible to maintain a system of advance notification in all cases before the National Labor Relations Board in which the American Federation of Labor unions were involved either directly or indirectly. On the basis of advance reports on all cases filed, it was possible to advise international unions concerned of every case in which its local union had interest. This service enabled our organizations to make sure that the cases were properly handled and that the required procedures were complied with.

**Contracts Notification**—Weekly reports have been sent to all national and international unions concerned, and to organizers, on all government contracts in excess of \$10,000, giving the name and the location of the contracting company, the sub-contractor, the kind of product covered by the contract, and its value. This service has become especially important with the development of the defense program and provided useful guidance to our unions.

**Housing Studies**—Three basic studies of housing conditions have been made for the use of our local housing committees and the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor. Two of these studies dealt with defense housing needs and were embodied in reports submitted by the American Federation of Labor to the President and in statements presented to the Congress. In addition to these surveys and studies, all current information on building and construction activities of the Government has been kept readily available for the use of our affiliated unions.

**Information on Social Security Legislation**—The Research and Information Service has furnished a number of state federations with comparative analyses of proposed unemployment compensation amendments, giving them a basis for supporting or opposing such legislation by comparing their laws with those of other states. Whenever state legislatures are in session the American Federation of Labor's Research Division will be glad to give this type of assistance, and to receive copies of proposed amendments before they are acted on.



The Research Service also furnishes central labor unions with information on the old age and survivors' insurance act and the rights of individual workers under its operation.

### Facts for Collective Bargaining

Union progress in winning just wages and conditions is depending more and more on having the facts when we go into negotiations. We need to know what profits our employers are making, their outlook for future business and profits, the wages being paid by competing firms. We must show the worker's rising cost of living, and have ready to hand the Government studies which tell what a family needs for adequate nourishment, the dangers of fatigue from high speed work for long hours, and the results of unjust working and living conditions throughout the country.

Facts for collective bargaining are vitally important today, for as government controls place a ceiling on prices and other regulations limit profits, pressure for a limitation on wages gathers tremendous force. We know that thousands of employers, many of whom join in the outcry for a "ceiling on wages" are well able to raise their workers' pay because of the profits they are making on increased business volumes and defense orders. This is borne out by the fact that although factory wages in the second quarter of 1941 averaged 8 per cent above last year, after the increases affecting several million workers, profits of two hundred and fifty-one leading industrial corporations were 24 per cent above last year, even after laying aside huge reserves for increased taxes.

The Federation maintains that collective bargaining based on facts is the answer to this outcry for freezing of wages. Clear cut presentation of facts as a basis of wage determination is the way to justice for all concerned. It is the democratic way of wage adjustment and the only way which assures that the proceeds of increased business shall mean advance for workers instead of profiteering for a few wealthy individuals.

Significant progress has been made this year in our Facts for Collective Bargaining Service. We have filled an increasing demand for reports on the financial condition of employing companies, industrial outlook, changes in cost of living, wages paid by competing firms and government information on working and living conditions. Our records show the following:

### Reports Furnished to Local Unions

	<i>Year ending August 31, 1941</i>	<i>Period from Jan. 1 to Aug. 31 1941</i>	
Financial and industrial outlook,			1940
cost of living, etc.....	1,538	1,175	822
Wages scales in competing firms..	1,105	645	Not available

A count of wage scale reports was not kept in 1939-40, but this service has increased greatly this year.

Sources for this information are two-fold: (1) The experience and re-

sources of our own union officers and organizers; (2) Government and other published studies and reports.

The growth of our central clearing house for union information from the field this year has been particularly important. Literally hundreds of reports from organizers, central labor unions, officers of internationals both central and regional, and officers of directly affiliated unions have given us vital information which could not be secured from any other source. The splendid cooperation of these organizers and officers has given us facts on wages, organization status, over-crowding and health conditions, rents, and much other information of immeasurable value in our struggle to lift working and living conditions on all fronts. We want to comment particularly on the value of this information from our own movement. It is not collected by the usual Government agencies which collect wage and other information from employers. It is particularly vital today, when our members are faced with lay-off due to priorities and other difficult adjustments due to the national emergency. Information from employers cannot meet our needs. We feel that the gathering of information from our own membership should be continued and increased.

The other source of information has also been improved. For financial reports on companies we depend on published reports from the Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, private investors' services and other research organizations. Government and private sources for this information have been improved this year so that it is possible to give unions better service. Information in this field is still far from adequate to give all the facts needed for fair and just wage determination.

It has seemed advisable to develop this service providing facts for collective bargaining at headquarters and to make it available to locals of internationals as well as to directly affiliated locals. Private investors' services cover the entire field of American industry and it is much more economical to keep this service at the central office and make it available to the entire movement. Internationals having their own research staff are securing basic information from Federation headquarters and interpreting it for their own locals, and those not yet doing their own research secure complete reports for their member locals. All are handled in strict compliance with instructions from international offices. We have had many expressions of appreciation for this service from international officers.

### **Labor's Monthly Survey**

Labor's Monthly Survey has been the means of gathering together information on wages, labor cost, profits, industrial conditions, cost of living, the National Defense Program and its effect on workers, and making valuable data available to workers throughout the country each month. We have published wage increases won by unions each month, and this feature has

proved of great service to locals seeking increases. The Survey is widely used by the labor press and quoted in the general press, and we have received many statements from union officers that they find it filling an important need in their work.

### Employment and Unemployment

Discussion of employment and unemployment in recent months has often centered around labor shortages, the cut in unemployment, or the tremendous number of men required to carry the defense program to a successful conclusion. Concentration on these points alone, however, gives a distorted view of the real labor supply situation. It is necessary to speak as well of the new labor force coming into existence, of the limitation of defense work to particular areas, and of defense unemployment—a phenomena just now appearing as a serious problem.

It is true that unemployment in June 1941 was down to 5,333,000, a drop of almost 4,000,000 from the 9,273,000 on June, 1940. About one and a quarter million of this unemployment can be attributed to the extension of the armed forces, leaving 2,750,000 to be accounted for by expanding industry. It is obvious now, though, that this rate will not be maintained over the coming year. In fact, it is possible that other factors will nullify any considerable gains to be made in the immediate future.

It is true, also, that there are shortages of certain very highly trained skills, such as tool and die designers and makers, loftsmen in shipyards, and airplane woodworkers. These concern only a small portion of the working men and women of this country, and the solution of the situation is clear. Besides a well organized and supervised training program to provide additional skilled men, there must be some system of routing men already trained to defense jobs. American Federation of Labor unions, by themselves and in cooperation with the United States Employment Service, have already been markedly successful in this field.

The Building Trades Department, the Machinists and many other affiliated unions have supplied men to build Army cantonments and munitions plants, and to work in airplane plants, navy yards, arsenals and wherever skilled men have been needed. Union offices recruited all the labor for the construction of the huge smokeless powder plant in Charlestown, Indiana, where 23,000 workers were needed. Building the Army cantonments can be compared with construction in 46 cities with populations of from 20,000 to 60,000 men each, a job completed within six months. Men for these jobs have often been brought hundreds, and even thousands, of miles because properly trained men were not available in that area. This labor recruiting has been done at no cost to the Government, and many of these jobs have been completed ahead of schedule.

The extremely unfavorable living conditions found today in numerous defense centers is an additional obstacle in the way of getting the unemployed

back to work. Men cannot be expected willingly to leave their homes and move to defense jobs when it means living under sub-standard conditions, with living costs abnormally high, with no adequate health, housing or recreation provisions for themselves or for their families, and no security for the future. Many prefer to stay in their own home towns, or in trades other than their own, even with inadequate employment, rather than to work and live under such conditions.

Despite the shortage of particular skills in certain locations and under a given set of conditions, there is no general labor shortage now, and there is no such prospect for the near future. The Work Projects Administration predicts that unemployment will remain between 5,000,000 and 5,500,000 over the coming year. This sounds incredible at first, when the size of the defense program is considered, but the explanation is simple.

Every year normal population growth increases the working population of the country by 500,000 to 600,000, but when there is an extraordinary demand for labor, the work force increases by much more than this. It has been estimated that in the first World War 3,000,000 men and women were drawn into the labor force who, under ordinary circumstances, would not have been looking for work. Young people leave school ahead of time to take a good job; married women decide to add a little to the family income; older men remain on the job instead of retiring because their skill and experience is needed; and many men and women on farms find that a job in the city is much more profitable. The Department of Agriculture estimates that there are 3,000,000 workers on farms who could take jobs in industry without cutting down the nation's supply of farm products. Many of these new workers will get defense jobs in preference to others who have been unemployed for a long time.

It should be emphasized more often, too, that defense work is concentrated in a relatively few areas of the country, while other sections have felt very little of the industrial upswing. The Office of Production Management released figures in July showing six corporations held one-third of War and Navy Department supply contracts awarded up to the end of May, and 56 companies held nearly three-quarters of all defense supply contracts. Distribution of contracts by states, through the end of June, shows four states (New York, California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) with almost 40 per cent of the total, and nine states holding 65 per cent of the total. This leads to a shortage of labor in some localities while there is still a great deal of unemployment in others.

Some of the additional work is going to men who have been working on a part-time basis. There are still many working less than 40 hours a week (8,000,000 by one Government estimate). A work week of 40 hours for them will increase production without increasing the number of employed. Some defense industries are working their men more than 40 hours a week, with overtime pay; in machine tools, the average number of hours worked a week in June was 52; in engine manufacturing, 47; in aircraft, 44½; shipbuilding,

45; and aluminum manufacturing, 42. In this manner, industrial production is being pushed to new highs without a corresponding stimulus to employment.

Industrial expansion itself, however, is limited not by labor shortages so much as by shortages of equipment of plant and of materials. At present many firms are working at capacity levels. Until capacity is expanded, their production cannot expand, and it takes time and material to build plants. A few defense plants went into operation in the summer of 1941, more are starting production this fall, and there are plans for the construction of many others, but the big lag between blueprints of desired production and the production itself creates a lag in employment. The construction as well as the operation of plants requires man-power, but with the completion of such plants construction workers are laid off as the production men are taken on without necessarily any great gain in the total number employed.

It is a scarcity of raw materials, however, that is now resulting in "defense unemployment." A recent National Industrial Conference Board chart shows that there will be only enough aluminum to meet 7 per cent of usual civilian demand, and that only 10 per cent of the civilian demand for cork, 40 per cent of the demand for copper, 67 per cent of the tin demand and 70 per cent of the rubber demand, can be met. This shortage of materials made the priorities system a necessity. The inevitable consequences of the situation are now becoming evident to everyone. The Office of Production Management has predicted that one-third of American industry may be affected by the cutting off of materials. A rough estimate indicates that between two and four million persons will be affected by the change over from civilian to defense production.

A few examples will show the effect on different industries. The proposed 50 per cent cut in automobile production will affect some 215,000 production workers. In the silk textile industries, approximately 175,000 jobs are threatened by the lack of raw silk. Aluminum priorities have already affected about 16,000. The section of this report dealing with national defense describes the steps that are being taken now and that must be taken in the near future to combat this growing menace to the security of American workers.

#### TRADE UNION BENEFITS

In pursuance of our policy of the past several years questionnaires were submitted to all affiliated national and international unions requesting information relative to amounts paid out by them in out-of-work, disability, pension, death, and sick benefits during the past year. Reports were received from many of these affiliates but some of our larger organizations were unable to furnish us with the information requested. On the other hand some national and international unions which failed to report in previous years have been able to cooperate with us in this report.

The vast sums indicated in the following tables do not cover the total amount paid by all national and international organizations and local unions but represent only the sums paid by those unions reporting to headquarters in response to our questionnaire. In addition, many local unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor have funds from which benefits

are paid locally and no attempt has been made to assemble this data. Strike benefits also are paid by many local unions but these are not included in the accompanying compilation.

The following table shows a total of \$23,129,705.11 paid out by affiliated National and International Unions which reported. It will also be noted that there were 1,697,557 members working the 5-day week, and 1,184,061 enjoying vacations with pay.

We most heartily recommend that all efforts possible be extended to secure a 5-day week and vacations with pay for all, and the inclusion of these features in collective bargaining agreements whenever and wherever possible.

The benefit features of our trade unions are important and the cooperation of all affiliated national and international unions in assembling and transmitting requested data on the several matters included in this section of our report is earnestly requested for the future.

# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vaca- tions With Pay	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America Assn.	NO	INTER- NATIONAL	BENE- FITS	BENE- FITS	PAID	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Air Line Pilots Associa- tion	NO	INTER- NATIONAL	BENE- FITS	BENE- FITS	PAID	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,250	.....
Asbeston Workers, Inter- national Association of	NO	INTER- NATIONAL	BENE- FITS	BENE- FITS	PAID	PAID	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Heat and Frost Insula- tors and Workers of America	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
American Workers of America International Union United	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bakery and Confection- ery Workers' Interna- tional Union of America	\$ 57,425.00	\$274,272.48	.....	.....	.....	\$4,104.00	\$335,801.48	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Barbers International Union, Journeymen	107,107.84	48,024.90	.....	.....	.....	.....	155,132.74	8.8 hours	53 hrs., 6 days	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Blacksmiths, Drop For- gers and Helpers, Inter- national Brotherhood of	10,700.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,700.00	8 hours	40 hours	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 to 2 wks.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	515,000.00	.....	.....	.....	15,000.00	.....	530,000.00	8 hours	40 hours with 5 and 5½ day week	25,000	40,000	5,000	30,000	1 wk. for 1 yr's ser- vice, 2 wks. for more than 1 yr's ser- vice
Bookbinders, Internation- al Brotherhood of	79,700.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,849.97	84,549.97	8 hours	40 hours	22,000	22,000	.....	5,000	1 to 2 wk
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	31,100.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	30,850	30,850	.....	4,500	1 week
Bread Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Work- ers of America, Inter- national Union of the United	8,375.00	7,800.00	14,325.00	.....	.....	79,500.00	110,003.00	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	42,000	41,799	201	33,520	1 to 2 wks.



# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacation time With Pay	Vacation Period
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America	250,405.63			633,612.11			884,017.74								
Brick and Clay Workers Union of America	2,200.00						2,200.00	.75 North .46 South	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	8,000	10,000		1,200	1 week
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	35,050.00			105,730.76			140,780.76		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	50,261				
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International															
Building Service Employees International Union	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID		.60 per hr.	8 hours	48 hours	10,000	15,000		60,000	2 weeks
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	234,050.00				4,750.00		238,800.00								
*Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of							1,059,202.39								
Carpenters Association of America, International	2,400.00						2,400.00	Furniture .75 Architectural \$1.25 hr. .76 per hr.	7 hours 33 hrs., 5 days 20 hrs., 5 days	40 hrs., 5 days					
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United							12,670.00								
Cigar-makers' International Union of America	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID									
Circus, Carnival, Fairs and Rodeo International Union															
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International															
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	66,500.00	20,648.80					87,148.80	2,100 per yr.	8 hours	40 hours	45,000	50,000		50,000	15 days
Clerks, Brotherhood of															
Clerks International Protective Association, Retail	10,575.00						29,932.71	Women 22.50 per week Men 30.00 195.00 per month	8 hours	48 hours					1 to 2 wks.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS	BENE FITS	PAID									

# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Coopers' International Union of North America	6,375.00					910.00	7,285.00	.75 to 1.20 per hour	8 hours	40 hours	4,200	4,200		100	1 week
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	1,200.00						1,200.00	\$90.00	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days	400			400	1 week
Diapillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union															
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Engineers of America, International Brotherhood of America	619,002.34			530,461.92	BENE FITS	PAID	1,149,464.26	30.00 to 80.00 week						3,053	1 week to 26 days
Elevator Constructors, International Union of Engineers, International Union of Operating	NO				BENE FITS	PAID		\$1.38	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	200,000	186,000	14,000	100,000	5 days to 3 weeks
	76,325.00					3,075.00	79,400.00	1.25 per hr. stationary engineer, 1.50 per hr. portable engineer.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	60,000	60,000			
Engravers' Union, International Metal Union of North America, International Association of Fire Fighters, International Association of Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	NO				BENE FITS	PAID		55.00	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	350	350		70	1 to 2 wks.
	204,279.12					21,584.25	1,073,991.89	\$1.79	7½ hours	36½ hrs., 5 days	10,000	500	7,900	4,200	1 to 2 wks.
	NO				BENE FITS	PAID		\$1,800 per yr.	12 hours	78 hrs., 6½ days	300			40,000	2 to 3 wks.
	29,109.00					2,000.00	31,100.00	40.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	20,000	20,000	5,000	15,000	1 to 2 wks.
Garment Workers of America, United Garment Workers Union, International Ladies' Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	30,925.00						30,925.00		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000				
	86,685.00						608,294.00	.45 to \$1.65 per hour	7 and 8 hrs.	35, 37½ or 40 hrs. in 5 days	250,000	57,500	192,500	34,000	1 to 2 wks.
	57,440.55						57,440.55	8.00 per day	6 and 8 hrs.	36 and 40 hrs.	8,000				
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window Glass Workers Union															
	21,601.00						21,601.00	39.37 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	25,357	24,357	1,000	10,000	4 days to 2 weeks

# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	.....	Men 25.00 to 30.00 per wk Women 16.00 to 18.00 per wk	8 hours	40 hours	.....	2,000	.....	240	3 1/2 to 1 wk.
Government Employees, Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	.....	1,700 per yr.	7 plus hrs.	39 plus hours	5,000	5,000	17,834	27,834	20 days
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	2,360.00	.....	14,050.00	.....	.....	44,822.00	61,332.00	9.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	5,000	4,200	800	.....	.....
Hotel Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International	105,072.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	105,072.00	.50 to 2.75 per hour	Millinery 7 hours, Hat and Cap 8 hours	Millinery 35 hrs., 5 days Hat and Cap 40 hrs., 5 days	35,000	15,000	20,000	.....	.....
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	.....	10.00 per day	8 hours	44 hrs., 6 days	25	25	15	.....	.....
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	167,025.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	118,864.50	285,889.50	.....	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days	50,000	50,000	.....	150,000	1 week
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,152.42	1,152.42	.85 per hour	7 to 8 hours	35 and 40 hrs.	7,820	5,000	2,500	6,000	3 1/2 days to 2 weeks
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	39,926.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39,926.22	1.45 per hr., 11.20 per day	6, 7, 8 hours	30, 35, 40 hrs., 5 days	8,100	5,371	2,729	.....	.....
Laundry Workers' International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	.....	25.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,000	3,000	.....	3,000	1 week
Letter Carriers' International Union, United	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	.....	2,080.25 per year	8 hours	40 hours	.....	60,000	.....	60,000	15 days
Letter Carriers, National Association of	235,225.17	192,807.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	428,032.42	.....	8 hours	40 hours	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Federation of Rural Librarians' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	71,000.00	15,000.00	80,000.00	6,000.00	.....	10,000.00	182,000.00	42.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	13,136	13,136	.....	9,867	1 week



**BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)**

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, Brotherhood of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, National Union of Plumbers and Steam Fitters	208,650.00	18,260.00				450.00	227,360.00	11.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	50,000	50,000			
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, National Association of Carpenters and Joiners of America, National Union of Carpenters and Joiners of America	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		20.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	10,000	8,500	2,000	3,000	1 to 2 wks
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, National Union of Women Workers, National Union of Women Workers, National Union of Women Workers	10,800.00					25,000.00	35,800.00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7,000	7,000		5,200	1 to 2 wks
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, National Union of Sleeping Car Porters, National Union of Sleeping Car Porters, National Union of Sleeping Car Porters	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID			240 hrs. per month						
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Union of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Union of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Union of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers	27,755.00	7,255.42				23,888.53	35,899.27		8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	20,000	20,000	3,000	4,000	1 to 2 wks
Brotherhood of Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United States Brotherhood of Powder and High Explosive Workers of America, United States Brotherhood of Powder and High Explosive Workers of America	NO	INTER NATIONAL		BENE FITS		PAID		45.00	8 hours	40 hours	778	119		458	30 days
Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Union of Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Union of Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America	306,708.90	60,807.45	430,736.94	274,673.90	23,412.48	145.00	796,484.67							22,000	1 to 2 wks
Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada						6,637.81	6,637.81			40 hours		50,000	20,000	50,000	1 to 2 wks
Brotherhood of Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Brotherhood of Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Brotherhood of Railway Employees of America	4,075,046.43	88,177.55		438,725.00	3,750.00	7,683.00	4,133,351.98								
Brotherhood of Street and Electric Railway Mail Association	22,462.50			1,200.00	135,211.50		158,874.00		8 hours	40 hours	6,000	22,865		22,865	15 days
Brotherhood of Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United States, Tile and Composition	7,400.00						7,400.00	1.40 per hr.	8 hours	40 hours	7,000	7,000	1,000		

**BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)**

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Seafarers' International Union of North America	8,052.84	6,964.00				3,131.00	18,147.84	A.B. Seamen \$90. Fish Cannery Men .75 Women .65	Cannery workers 8 hours Seamen: Deepwater vessels: 9 hrs. Steam-ship workers 14 hours					1,500	
Sheep Shearers Union of North America	640.00			2,000.00		782.50	3,422.50	.15 per sheep	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	39	39		13	26 days
Siderographers, International Association of			350.00				350.00	75.00 per wk.	8 hours						
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID									
Spinnery Union, International															
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of															
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of															
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	\$124,852.90	\$14,618.09	\$214,009.34	\$10,400.00	2,000.00		367,262.83				3,680	3,330	2,710	38,185	1 to 3 wks.
Stonemasons' Association of North America, Journeymen	14,450.00							1.25 per hr.	6 to 8 hrs.		6,300	6,300		1,275	1 to 2 wks.
Stove Mounters' International Union	10,625.00														
Switchmen's Union of North America	202,100.00					8,334.40	18,959.40	.5375 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	8,000	8,000		3,500	1 week
Teachers, American Federation of						2,560.00	224,200.00	7.58	8 hours	48 hrs., 6 days					
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of		INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID									
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	234,192.86						234,192.86	.75 per hr.	8 hours	51 hrs., 6 1/4 dys.				7,500	12 to 18 days

# BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1940—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	40-Hour Week	Less Than 40-Hour Week	Vacations With Pay	Vacation Period
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The	1,165.93						1,165.93		8 hours	45 hrs., 5½ days.	1,000		1,000	5,000	2 to 3 wks.
Textile Workers of America, United															
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1,900.00	34,132.00				2,303.50	35,555.50	.55 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	15,000	16,000	2,000	17,000	1 to 2 wks.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID			8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	50,000	50,000		30,000	1 week
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United															
Weavers' Protective Association, American															
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers	1,605,619.52	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE	FITS	PAID	Piece work 1.00 per hr. minimum	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	365	368			
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,323,335.52			5,253.12	405,986.00	623,330.75	2,445,125.39	\$239. per mo.	5 hr. pass. service						
					20,750.00	164,428.95	1,790,798.47		8 hr. road ft. service						
									8 hr. yard ft. service						
									switching						
									8 hrs. or less					750	1 or more wks. depending on service
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	2,221,404.13	165,469.03	59,792.67	258.60	625,395.46	337,855.41	3,410,175.30	5.45 to 7.64 per day pass. train serv.							
								5.59 to 7.62 per day ft. train service							
								3.51 to 8.38 yard service							
Order of Railway Conductors of America	933,317.56					76,338.89	1,009,856.45								
Total	13,090,351.62	1,553,368.76	2,365,292.05	1,712,597.40	1,362,930.44	3,045,164.84	23,129,705.11				1,097,557	1,408,769	384,662	1,184,061	

1 Includes disability benefits  
 2 Includes old age pensions  
 3 Includes local union benefits  
 4 Paid by local unions  
 5 Includes sick benefits  
 6 Includes unemployment benefits  
 \* Carpenters benefits represent Death and Disability Claims and Pensions

Recapitulation:  
 Death Benefits.....\$13,090,351.62  
 Sick Benefits.....1,553,368.76  
 Unemployment Benefits.....2,365,292.05  
 Old Age Benefits.....1,712,597.40  
 Disability Benefits.....1,362,930.44  
 Miscellaneous.....3,045,164.84  
 Total.....\$23,129,705.11



## LEGAL ACTIVITIES

An unusually busy year was experienced by the Federation in matters requiring legal attention. Among these were the rendering of numerous opinions on legal problems, opinions on various types of legislation, presentation and trial of a number of court cases, briefing and arguing appellate court cases, trials of numerous Labor Board cases, appearing at hearings before administrative boards and tribunals, the handling of matters involving the Walsh-Healey Act, the Bacon-Davis Act and the Social Security Act, and other miscellaneous activities under the direction of President Green.

### Court Cases

There was presented to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, by brief and oral argument, the case of the *A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. v. National Labor Relations Board*, on behalf of United Grain Processors, Federal Labor Union No. 21490. The case involved a question of whether an inside union, successor to a previous company-dominated union, was itself a company-dominated union by reason of the successorship.

The Board had upheld our contention that the last union was company-dominated. The company appealed the case to the Seventh Circuit and that court, by a two to one decision, overturned the decision of the Board. However, the decision in the *Link-Belt* case in the United States Supreme Court, involving the same question, was handed down a few weeks later, and this decision reverses the principles pronounced by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals,—thus sustaining the contentions of the American Federation of Labor in the *Staley* case.

As a result of the foregoing decision of the United States Supreme Court, a case of extreme significance and importance was just decided by the Labor Board. The case involves the National Federated Independent Unions which is a federation consisting of various independent unions located throughout the country. This federation had obtained most of its membership by taking over unions which were company-dominated and controlled. In most cases, it was difficult to prove company assistance to the independent union. In this particular case, involving the *Hicks Body Company*, in order to put the issues squarely before the Board, it was expressly stipulated that the Board could prove no acts of assistance to the independent. The Board, therefore, would be obliged to find company domination and assistance on the theory of successorship alone. Although the officers of the independent were different persons from the officers of the company union and a different attorney was employed by the two unions, the Board, nevertheless, held that since the company had done nothing to remove the effects of the previous company union, and that there was no sharp line of cleavage between the two organizations—so that the employees could be assured the one union had no connection with the other—the independent union must likewise be held to be company-dominated and controlled. This decision may very well constitute a death blow to independent labor organizations, most of which are mere successors of company unions.

An important case, involving an injunction suit, was filed at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, against the *Lawrenceburg Roller Mills Co.*, by Flour Mill and Grain Elevator Employees Union No. 21840, restraining peaceful picketing. This case was tried in March, and to date the court has not rendered a decision, although we have repeatedly requested an early disposition of the case. In the meantime, however, we have been permitted to picket peacefully in groups of as many pickets as we desire.

The case of *Zuck v. American Federation of Labor and Distillery Workers, Federal Labor Union No. 20270* was tried in the Circuit Court of Baltimore. Suit was instituted by discharged employees against the American Federation of Labor union for \$10,000. These employees had been expelled from the Federal Labor Union for C. I. O. activities and had then been discharged by the company at the request of the Federal Labor Union under the closed-shop contract. Two important principles were involved. They were, (1) was the union justified in expelling the members and securing their discharge because they engaged in dual unionism, and (2) were the discharged employees given a proper hearing before the Federal Labor Union.

The court, after hearing the evidence, issued a decision from the bench upholding us in both of these contentions and dismissing the C. I. O. complaint. This case involved only two of eleven discharged employees and was brought as a test suit. If these employees had been successful, the suit would have been brought by the nine other employees for similar sums.

The Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice instituted criminal prosecutions against seventeen American Federation of Labor unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council, at New Orleans. In association with the General Counsel of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, representing the Carpenters Union at New Orleans, our General Counsel presented motions for dismissal and argued the same before United States District Judge Caillouet.

The Department of Justice contended that the *Hutcheson* decision, derided by the United States Supreme Court, did not absolve the New Orleans unions for their refusal to handle material shipped in interstate commerce because the same was delivered by C. I. O. drivers. At the conclusion of the argument presented by our General Counsel and by the General Counsel for the Brotherhood of Carpenters, Judge Caillouet dismissed the indictments.

The Department of Justice thereupon petitioned the United States Supreme Court to take jurisdiction. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhood of Carpenters opposed the petition. Briefs were filed in opposition to the briefs of the Anti-Trust Division. The United States Supreme Court dismissed the appeal of the Anti-Trust Division, thus terminating these indictments in favor of the American Federation of Labor unions.

An injunction suit commenced by the *Blue Ridge Glass Corporation* against *Federal Labor Union No. 22618, Blue Ridge Glass Workers*, to restrain the union from engaging in strike activities, was argued by our counsel some

months ago. The court permitted a temporary injunction to stand, pending trial.

*Pichett v. Local Union No. 21824 (A. F. L.)*, Providence, Rhode Island. This case was not handled by our counsel on the trial, but legal aid has been requested for the appeal and our counsel has been instructed to handle the appeal. Nine discharged employees had secured a judgment for \$20,000 against the Federal Local and against the United Textile Workers for damages resulting from their discharge under a closed-shop contract. The case involved the very important question of whether closed-shop contracts are legal in the State of Rhode Island. The trial court found that the closed-shop contracts were no justification for the union procuring the discharge of these employees for dual unionism, and found that the union could not compel anyone to remain members at the peril of losing their jobs—contract or no contract.

The case will probably not be reached in the Supreme Court until fall and, in the meantime, briefs are being prepared, and oral argument will be presented to the Appellate Court.

In the case of *F. F. East Co., Inc., v. United Oystermen's Union No. 19600, et al.*, the employer had entered into a closed-shop contract with the union. Thereafter, the employer sought to have the contract invalidated on the basis that a closed-shop contract was illegal in New Jersey. The lower court so held and issued an injunction against the union picketing or otherwise advertising the labor dispute. The case was appealed. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor requested the Federation to aid and assist in the appeal, which was granted. The case is pending on appeal to the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals and is now awaiting decision by the court.

*LeBarge v. Malone Aluminum Corporation and Aluminum and Bronze Powder Workers Union No. 21211*, Malone, New York. This case involved the question of whether the National Labor Relations Board had paramount or exclusive jurisdiction over questions of representation, even though contracts were involved.

A New York State judge in Northern New York had issued an injunction against the Aluminum Workers Federal Labor Union enjoining it from interfering with a contract which the company had with an inside labor organization. However, the court limited the injunction to the twenty-day period in which the contract with the inside union had still to run and the injunction expired automatically at the end of that time.

*Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company* case. Since the report on this case a year ago, the case was reached and argued on appeal before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati. The National Labor Relations Board had invalidated a number of contracts entered into between the Electric Vacuum Cleaner Co. and a number of unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Council affecting about 1200 employees. The Metal Trades Department requested legal aid and assistance of the American Federation of Labor, which was granted.

In May of this year the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, by unanimous decision, and in a brilliant and precedent-making decision written by Justice Florence Allen, reversed the order of the National Labor Relations Board. The contracts with the American Federation of Labor unions were ordered reinstated, and the company directed to continue to recognize their validity and recognize the American Federation of Labor unions as the sole bargaining medium for the employees. The order of the Board for reinstatement of a number of employees with back pay of approximately \$100,000 was also reversed. The case is extremely important because it supplements the principle established in the *Consolidated Edison company* case denying to the Board the power arbitrarily to invalidate American Federation of Labor contracts when lawfully entered into between the employer and the American Federation of Labor unions.

*Pacific Coast Longshoremen's* case. We reported last year that Justice Bailey of the United States District Court had sustained the contentions made by the counsel of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the United States District Court had jurisdiction to entertain a suit brought by the American Federation of Labor to reverse the arbitrary action of the National Labor Relations Board in holding the entire West Coast to constitute one bargaining unit for longshoremen. The National Labor Relations Board appealed the decision to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. While the case was pending, the National Labor Relations Board re-heard the case and reconsidered the contentions of the American Federation of Labor that an entire coast-wide unit was improper as it denied to workers in entire ports the right to choose the American Federation of Labor as their bargaining representative.

On the 18th day of June, 1941, the Board reversed its ruling and sustained the contentions of the American Federation of Labor that the separate ports were to be considered separate units. Elections were held in Anacortes, Port Angeles and Tacoma. In all three of these ports the American Federation of Labor sustained overwhelming victories. This reversal by the Board of its former decision makes unnecessary the continuance of the appeal in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and puts an end to this litigation, with a victory for the American Federation of Labor.

The Wisconsin Anti-Picketing Law—which was held constitutional by the Wisconsin Supreme Court—has been appealed to the United States Supreme Court by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers International. The principles involved are whether a state may pass a law requiring a majority vote on the part of employees in order to legalize a strike and whether a minority group of workers may picket in furtherance of a labor dispute. The case is extremely important because the holding of the Wisconsin Supreme Court is contrary to the principles pronounced in the case of *Thornhill v. Alabama*, which was presented by the counsel of the American Federation of Labor and in which the court sustained our contentions to the effect that picketing is an exercise of the right of freedom of speech and thus cannot be abridged or denied under the Constitution of the United

States. It is expected that the United States Supreme Court will pass upon the pending writ for certiorari some time in October or November of this year.

There were a number of other American Federation of Labor court cases involving injunction suits, contracts and other rights, which were handled by the Legal Department, but because they do not involve any unusual or outstandingly important precedent, a detailed report respecting them is omitted.

#### National Labor Relations Board Cases

The past year has required a good deal of legal attention to National Labor Relations Board cases. This may be accounted for by the forceful organizational campaign of the American Federation of Labor. There has also been a greater effort put forth this year than in previous years by the C. I. O. to raid American Federation of Labor unions. Usually, these raids culminated in proceedings before the Labor Board. It would carry this report to undue length to detail and set forth the principles involved in each case and the decisions made in them. Many of the cases involved weeks of effort, both at hearings, briefing of the law, presentation of motions, and oral argument before the Board.

Among the most important cases thus presented was that of the *Calvert Distilling Company*, in which the C. I. O. sought to invalidate a nation-wide contract with distilleries. The case was bitterly contested. After prolonged hearings the Board repudiated the C. I. O. and sustained the validity of the American Federation of Labor contract.

A number of Board cases arose in connection with complaints alleging unfair labor practices against life insurance companies which refused to recognize the American Federation of Labor, although selected as the bargaining representative by the employees of such companies. In most every instance the contentions of the American Federation of Labor were sustained and the insurance companies ordered to bargain with the American Federation of Labor as the exclusive representative of the employees.

An important and prolonged case was heard by the Board involving the employees of the *New York Times*. The editorial staff petitioned for a unit consisting of the editorial staff and news writers. The C. I. O. asked for an all-inclusive unit mingling all of the employees into one. The position of the American Federation of Labor was that news writing was a distinct and separate craft. Chairman Millis and Board Member Smith held that the news writers were not a separate craft. Board Member Leiserson vigorously dissented. He said:

I regret that I cannot agree with the decision in this case in so far as it finds a unit consisting of professional employees to be inappropriate and holds that combination of the professional writers-copyreaders, cartoonists, reporters, news and editorial writers, together with office boys, messengers, stenographers and clerks is the only appropriate unit.

I am of the opinion that two separate ballots should be taken, (1) among the professional employees and (2) among non-professional employees, such as office boys, messengers, stenographers, clerks and secretaries. If the same organization is chosen to represent both groups of

employees, then the two could be combined into a single bargaining unit; if each group should choose a different representative, then the two would constitute separate bargaining units.

Election was ordered and held. The results of the election showed that an overwhelming majority of the editorial staff and news writers selected the American Federation of Labor. However, the combining of other departments with the news writing staff gave a majority of the combined votes to the C. I. O. Petitions for rehearing are pending.

Although a number of the matters handled before administrative boards and tribunals, particularly before the Wage and Hour Division, are of considerable importance and sustained contentions of the American Federation of Labor, it is deemed unnecessary to report on these cases until the rulings are contested in court. At present, the outstanding court contest respecting a ruling of the Wage and Hour Division involves the question of whether tips constitute wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Thus far, a United States Circuit Court of Appeals and a United States District Court have held that tips do constitute wages and may be computed in arriving at the minimum wage required to be paid employees. The United States Supreme Court denied certiorari. However, there are several other cases now pending before the courts, which will be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. It is hoped that in one of these cases the Supreme Court will take jurisdiction and thus pass upon this all-important question.

Another important case presented by the Legal Department is the *Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company* (Local No. 1, National Flat Glass Workers Union). Previously, the Board had held that all of the plants of the Libbey-Owens-Ford Company constitute a single unit. By this holding the Parkersburg, West Virginia, plant, which was overwhelmingly American Federation of Labor, was turned over to the C. I. O. During the past year the Board has reconsidered its former decision and has held that the Parkersburg plant is a separate unit, and directed an election at this plant. The members voted overwhelmingly in favor of the American Federation of Labor and selected the American Federation of Labor as its bargaining unit. The Board accordingly certified the American Federation of Labor.

Several large and important Board cases involved complex issues of representation. Considerable time and effort were devoted to these cases, some of which have been concluded and others are still pending. These are the *Bethlehem Steel Company* case, at Buffalo, New York; the *Ford Company* plants, at Detroit, Michigan; *Western Union* cases in various regions; *International Harvester Company* plants in various parts of the country.

Other cases which have been handled by our counsel before the Board during the past year are:

*Eaton Manufacturing Company* (United Automobile Workers), Saginaw, Michigan.

*Wortendyke Manufacturing Company* and *Federal Labor Union No. 20492*, Richmond, Virginia.

*General Motors Corporation* and Local 723, United Automobile Workers, Kansas City Chevrolet Division.

*Progressive Quaker City Insurance Co.* (Industrial and Ordinary Insurance Agents Council No. 21623), Baltimore, Maryland.

*General Motors Corporation* (Local 110, United Automobile Workers), Meriden, Connecticut.

*Motor Products Co.* (United Automobile Workers), Detroit, Michigan.

*Pacific American Fisheries* (Office Employees Union No. 21486), Bellingham, Washington.

*Lacey Manufacturing Co.* (Local No. 92, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers), Los Angeles, California.

*General Seafoods Corporation v. Atlantic Fishermen's Union, Local No. 21455, et al.*, Boston, Massachusetts.

*Aluminum Ore Co.* and *Aluminum Workers Local No. 22438*, Mobile, Alabama.

*Greene, Tweed & Co.*, (Federal Labor Union No. 22532), Newark, New Jersey.

*Eagle-Ottawa Leather Co.* (United Automobile Workers), Grand Haven, Michigan.

*Reynolds Metal Co.* (Aluminum & Tinfoil Workers Union No. 20440), Louisville, Kentucky.

*Western Printing Co.* (Int. Bro. of Bookbinders, Local No. 63, and Int. Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union No. 78), Los Angeles, California.

*Electro Metallurgical Company* (Local No. 12089, United Mine Workers), Alloy, West Virginia.

*Hicks Body Company* (Federal Labor Union No. 22207), Indianapolis, Indiana.

*National Distillers Products Corporation* (Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers Int. Union), Louisville, Kentucky.

*Hudson Motor Car Company* (United Automobile Workers), Detroit, Michigan.

*Pillsbury Flour Mills Co.* (Flour, Feed & Cereal Workers Union No. 19252), Atchison, Kansas.

A number of additional cases were handled before the Board on behalf of the United Textile Workers.

In addition to the foregoing, legal assistance was given a number of international unions whose cases were tried by their own counsel in the various regions over the country, but which were transmitted to Washington and assistance was requested for presentation of briefs, oral argument, or the making of motions. These requests were granted and our counsel directed to render the services.

It is well to point out in connection with this report on legal matters handled before the Labor Board that important decisions have been handed down by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and by the Supreme Court of the United States, construing the National Labor Relations Act and pronouncing principles of great consequence affecting the administration of the Act.

It is now the law that unions can insist that, once wages, hours and working conditions have been mutually agreed upon, the same shall be reduced to writing and signed by the employer. (*Heinz v. National Labor Relations Board*, decided by the United States Supreme Court, January 6, 1941).



It is an unfair labor practice for an employer to refuse to hire a potential employee because of his union affiliations; for such refusal to hire, the employer may be ordered to offer such employee the job which had been refused him, together with back pay from the time of the refusal. (*Phelps-Dodge Corporation v. National Labor Relations Board*, decided by the United States Supreme Court, April 28, 1941).

The court decided that a succession of inside or so-called independent unions cannot overcome the effects of a previously company-dominated union to which the inside union has succeeded, unless there is some clear and unequivocal separation effected by the act of the employer between the company-dominated union and the successor independent union. (*National Labor Relations Board v. Link-Belt Company*, decided by the United States Supreme Court, January 6, 1941.)

The court held that individual contracts are invalid where an employer obtained them as part of a plan to thwart collective bargaining. Likewise, such contracts are illegal if they contain clauses which in any way impair the right to engage in concerted activities, to strike or to bargain collectively through representatives chosen by the majority of the employees in a particular unit. (*National Licorice Co. v. National Labor Relations Board*, decided by the United States Supreme Court, March 4, 1940.)

The court held that a majority of those voting in an election can be certified, even though such majority constitutes only a minority of those entitled to vote. (This principle had never been definitely passed upon before. Many employers contended that it was necessary that a majority of all the employees employed in the particular unit had to affirmatively designate a representative before such representative could be certified.) (*New York Handkerchief Mfg. Co. v. National Labor Relations Board*, decided by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, July 11, 1940.)

### Opinions on Legislation

Analyses and legal opinions were rendered in connection with important legislation introduced in the various states and in the Congress of the United States. Widespread publicity has been given to the more important of these measures. It is, therefore, unnecessary to discuss them separately or in detail. A committee designated as the Federal State Conference on Law Enforcement Problems of National Defense early in the year started out with proposals for model bills, known as the Model Sabotage Prevention Act, the Model Explosives Act, Model Interstate Public Property Act and Model State Guard Act. The most objectionable of these bills was the one entitled the Model Sabotage Prevention Act. Under the guise of preventing sabotage, it really sought to impose heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment for normal strike activities. Three or four states have passed this bill. However, it was defeated in most state legislatures through the efforts of state federations of labor. In some instances, the state federations requested legal opinions from the American Federation of Labor, which were rendered. Other state federations of labor requested the presence of our counsel before the committee of the legislature to present argument in opposition to the bills. Our counsel was assigned to present such argument.

### THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT

In our report of last year the war in Europe was referred to as a conflict; it can now be properly classified as the European conflagration. Like spreading flame it has extended to the Balkan countries, Greece and Soviet Russia. Practically every nation in Europe is now involved. All except those who are actually engaged in the war with the totalitarian states are dominated and controlled by Dictator Hitler.

When the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor met in New Orleans last November, Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany were closely allied by a non-aggression pact and trade alliance. These two countries had collaborated in dividing up Poland and Romania. Soviet leaders denounced British imperialism and proudly defended the Soviet-Nazi alliance. Suddenly a change took place; Dictator Hitler, flushed with the victories he had won in the Balkan states and Greece, turned against his Russian ally and without warning, invaded Soviet Russia. Now, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, former allies, are bitter enemies and are at war with each other.

This sudden shifting of war activities is naturally advantageous to the democracies of Great Britain and her allies who are fighting, sacrificing and suffering for the preservation of democracy, freedom and liberty. The resistance which the armies of Dictator Hitler met when they encountered the Russian forces has served to lift the pressure from the heroic British people and her allies. This fateful development in the distressing war situation in Europe can be properly interpreted as advantageous to the democracies who have heroically challenged the power and authority of totalitarian nations.

Soviet Russia has now been placed in about the same category as Great Britain; she is fighting to save her own national life and her own territory. A different picture might be now presented if Soviet Russia had allied herself with Great Britain and the democracies of the world before she became an ally of Hitler and joined with him in the invasion of Poland. The Executive Council is apprehensive lest the change in the war picture may give rise to a tendency among some enthusiasts to clasp the hand of Soviet Russia as a friend and ally in the defense of democracy. Already the Communists in this country are trying to propel America into close alliance with Soviet Russia. This is unthinkable. The teachings and practices of Communism are just as noxious and unprincipled as the teachings and practices of Nazism. Soviet Russia is not the willing ally of the forces of democracy in this war. She was forced into the war and her present friendly gestures to Great Britain and America are dictated by desperation and hypocrisy. The Communists are pretending to be the friends of democracy because they need the help of democratic nations. Basically, however, Communism is a form of totalitarianism which is inimical to democracy.

With this understood, our nation can proceed to weigh the question of whether and to what extent we should render aid to Soviet Russia. Frankly,

even though we may regard the Communist regime in Russia as the enemy of democracy, we cannot escape the fact that Russia is now also the enemy of Nazi Germany. Our whole defense program is based upon the threat of aggression from Nazi Germany. Therefore, if Russia can defeat Germany or even delay the Nazi program of world domination, America would gain thereby. Practical considerations consequently make it expedient that we extend such assistance as we can to help Soviet Russia fight the Nazi war machine.

Our government should do this for practical reasons alone, and without the slightest pretense that the United States and Soviet Russia are friends or can be friends. At the same time our Government should guard against the possibility that closer ties with Soviet Russia may give her agents and adherents in this country wider opportunities to undermine American democracy from within.

Time and opportunity have made it possible for the working men and women of America to understand more clearly the real issues at stake in the European conflict. Now we can all see as never before the real purpose of Hitler and his determination to subdue the nations of Europe and through such action establish totalitarian control. He conquered France by force of arms. He has made Italy a vassal state. Sweden is no longer free. Spain is Nazi controlled. Free democratic trade unions have been destroyed in all nations conquered and controlled by the armies of Hitler. Freedom and liberty have been destroyed wherever the German armies control the administrative affairs of nations. A tragic result of the domination and control of Hitler and his armies is that the minorities are persecuted now as never before. Dictator Hitler and his associates seem to be inspired by racial hate. Their persecution and destruction of racial minorities will stand out on the pages of history as the most cruel and indefensible of all their savage acts.

Because of the deep consciousness of the working people of our country of the issues involved in the European conflict, the Executive Council recommends that the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor renew its pledge of support and cooperation with our Government in the completion of its national defense program, and in its policy of extending full and complete aid to Great Britain and her allies. We are in thorough accord with the Lend-Lease Bill and with the policy of the Government in the production and shipment of supplies for Great Britain and her allies. We urge our Government to give to Great Britain all support and assistance possible and to continue to do so until Hitler and his allies are decisively defeated.

We extend to British Labor and to the working men and women of other nations associated with Great Britain in the heroic struggle she is making to defend democracy and freedom throughout the world, the full sympathy and support of the American Federation of Labor. We know that if Hitler and his armies are defeated, totalitarianism is dead, and that if Great Britain and her allies win, democracy and freedom live.

### JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA

The war in the Far East still continues. Japan has carried forward its campaign of aggression and invasion of China. The Executive Council has denounced Japan as an aggressor, in previous reports. We repeat our condemnation of the aggressor policies of Japan.

We maintain that China should be permitted to work out her own destiny, and that her territorial integrity should be respected and maintained.

The Executive Council expresses sympathy with the Chinese people in the struggle in which they are engaged, and we observe with deep interest the heroic defense which the Chinese people have made against the invading Japanese armies. We are in accord with the national and community movements which have been formed in our country for the purpose of extending relief and assistance to the Chinese people.

### BOYCOTT ON GERMAN AND JAPANESE GOODS

The American Federation of Labor was the first among organizations in the United States to declare a boycott against the purchase of goods manufactured in Germany and Japan. This action was taken because the facts showed that both Germany and Japan were unjustifiable aggressors, each of them originating and carrying forward a cruel war against free people who sought only to live in peace with their neighbors and to enjoy liberty, freedom and democracy.

### POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

We must not permit our deep concern with the issues of the war which now engulfs most of the world to blind us to the vital problems that will press for solution after the war is over. These problems are stupendous in scope and implications. Unless we are able to solve them, we may again "win the war but lose the peace."

Among the problems that will need to be considered at the close of the present war is the transfer of society from a war-time to a peace-time economy. This will involve major dislocations that will seriously affect labor and industry. Other problems which are of definite interest to Labor include the following: the substitution of constructive work for war industries; securing employment for demobilized soldiers; provision of employment for women replaced by demobilized men; vocational training for those who have been demobilized and special programs for those who have lost their vocational skill through physical injury or otherwise, and the planning of useful employment to prevent unemployment.

One of the most vital of the post-war problems will be the prevention of wide scale unemployment. Unless steps are taken in advance to cope with the situation, the unemployment which will follow the present war is likely to exceed by far even the staggering unemployment in the wake of the first World War.

Other problems world-wide in character are: the physical reconstruction to repair the devastation of war; the problem of nutrition; and the problem of

feeding undernourished peoples and caring for those orphaned by the war. Above and beyond these specific problems is the larger one of planning for a democratic world society in which social justice will prevail and in which men can live in peace.

President William Green, in his recent broadcast to the people of Norway, promised that "the American Federation of Labor will aid in bringing just peace and social justice throughout the world at the close of the war." To do this and to meet specific problems it is essential that we should plan in advance and have definite machinery ready. We must not wait until we are overwhelmed by the vast problem that will confront us at the end of the war.

In his address before the American Federation of Labor in November, 1940, John G. Winant, then Director of the International Labor Office, pointed out that "the task of the trade union movement as well as that of the International Labor Organization is concerned with working out a democratic pattern for the world of tomorrow." He asked for Labor's continued support of the I. L. O. and that we act "as an agency for the reconstruction of a peaceful world and for the shaping of a human democracy."

Labor has a vital stake in peace. It must help in planning for a democratic post-war world in which peace must be combined with social justice. The International Labor Organization, through its tri-partite set-up in which government, management and Labor are represented, suggests a democratic way of dealing with the reconstruction problems at both the domestic and international levels which will affect our entire social order.

In connection with the preparation of a program for post-war reconstruction, it is the recommendation of the Executive Council that the United States should establish a tri-partite commission representing government, management and Labor. This commission should have the assistance of whatever technical staff and advisory committees are necessary and it should draw upon the experience and information of such agencies as are studying post-war labor and social problems and transition from a war economy to a peacetime economy.

We, therefore, urge that a tri-partite commission, representing government, management and Labor be created and authorized to study and report upon post-war labor and social problems and to recommend methods of dealing with these problems. Such a commission should be empowered to draw upon the Government and private agencies for assistance in its work.

## DEFENSE

Since our report of a year ago a number of major changes have been made in our administrative structure for defense. On January 6, 1941, by Executive Order, the Office of Production Management was organized with William S. Knudsen as Director General, Sidney Hillman, Associate Director General, and the Secretaries of War and Navy constituting the other two members of the agency.

OPM is attached to the Office of Emergency Management, authorized by Executive Order No. 8284 which placed within the Executive Office, (1) the

White House Office, (2) the Bureau of Budget, (3) National Resources Planning Board, (4) the Liaison Office of Personnel Management, (5) the Office of Government Reports, and (6) "in the event of a national emergency or threat of national emergency such office of emergency management as the President may devise." The Administrative Order of May 25, 1940, created this office to serve as the division through which the President coordinates, supervises and directs activities of agencies, private or public, in discharge of his emergency duties. Through this office the President coordinates and supervises the Council of National Defense, the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense and other subordinate bodies; Defense Communications Board; Office of Production Management; and added later the Coordinator of Defense Housing, the Production Planning Board, the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, the National Defense Mediation Board, the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the Office of Agricultural Defense Relations, the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supplies, and the Office of Coordinator of Health, Welfare and Related Activities, the Office of Civilian Defense and Cooperating Agencies, and the Transportation Division.

OPM was organized into four divisions: Purchases, Production, Priorities and Labor. There is in addition a Bureau of Research and Planning.

The fundamental object of OPM is authoritative leadership to hasten and increase production of war materials. The Selective Service and Training Act authorized the President to conscript industries and to place orders for products and materials required for war or an emergency situation. Contracts for such orders have preference over other work. War contracts are let by the Army and Navy. Procurement in the Navy is centralized but decentralized in the Army. Army and Navy Procurement agents designate preference ratings for contracts let which determine relative ability to get the necessary materials.

The Priorities Committee of the Army and Navy Munitions Board has developed a priorities Critical List which contains the items and materials required under their contracts and decide priorities on such items related to their contracts. The Priority Division of OPM may review ratings assigned by the Army and Navy Board, decide priorities for articles not on the Critical List for civilian defense and for all items handled on an industry-wide basis. The Division also issues blanket ratings for companies on defense contracts. When there are shortages of materials allocations may be made determining the proportion of the total supply needed for defense. The remainder, which formerly came under OPACS, recently was transferred to OPM as the Division of Civilian Allocation.

This action occurred simultaneously with the establishment of the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board which is the super-board to serve as the coordinating center for the various defense agencies. The Board consists of the Vice-President, Henry Wallace, Chairman; the Director General and Associate Director General of the Office of Production Management, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Special Assistant to the President

supervising the Defense Aid Program, the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration, and the Chairman of the Economic Defense Board. Donald Nelson is Executive Director of the Board.

The duties of the Board are as follows:

Determine the total requirements of materials and commodities needed respectively for defense, civilian, and all other purposes; establish policies for the fulfillment of such requirements, and where necessary, make recommendations to the President relative thereto.

Determine policies and make regulations governing allocations and priorities with respect to the procurement, production, transmission, or transportation of materials, articles, power, fuel, and other commodities among military, economic defense, defense aid, civilian, and other major demands of the total defense program.

The President also created a Division of Contract Distribution headed by Floyd B. Odium. The duties of this Division are:

To break up Army and Navy orders into smaller units, promote reforms in Federal buying practices, develop programs for converting nondefense factories to the manufacture of arms, stimulate pooling of productive facilities to permit small companies to share large orders, provide Federal engineering assistance for nondefense business men in all sections of the country desiring defense orders and stimulate sub-contracting by holders of large prime contracts.

The Priority Division is organized on a commodity basis and utilizes industry committees in the determination of policies. This Division makes and enforces the orders by which civilian orders are displaced by war orders and the necessary materials and equipment are supplied to the holders of defense contracts. The process of converting a peace economy into a war economy means corresponding dislocation in civilian industries and unemployment for the workers attached to them unless effective provisions are made to provide companies with contracts and sub-contracts and to advise on conversion of plants to other purposes. An effective and decentralized defense contract service is indispensable. To this end technical services and advice should be provided so that transitions can be made with the least loss to all concerned.

Priorities take the following forms: (1) blanket ratings of a limited type, (2) individual certification for producers engaged in both civilian and defense production, and (3) industry-wide control involving the allocation of materials.

Inventory control is applied to metals to prevent excess stocks and supplies. Such metals are added to the Critical List.

It is obvious that priorities will supplement the Selective Military Draft in bringing home to all of our citizens the gravity of the situation which confronts our nation. The rate of change from civilian to defense production determines the seriousness of the problem and what we can do about it. If the rate is slow there is time to expand basic industries and accumulate supplies of scarcer materials and thus have supplies for both defense and civilian production. If the rate is slow we can have all normal civilian requirements as well as munitions, but if the rate is fast we must do without some of our normal civilian necessities. The rate of conversion is becoming



rapid. Already we have steel and power inadequate to maintain both a defense and a civilian economy. Consequently civilian uses of steel, aluminum, copper, et cetera, are curtailed. The first case which made plain the devastating consequences of priority orders was the industry-wide order reserving aluminum for defense production.

In connection with that case the American Federation of Labor made the following presentation which constituted a program of action:

The American Federation of Labor urged that consideration should be given to the conversion of plants to other work before priority orders were issued.

That an effective defense contract service with competent technicians should be available to help companies through such transitions.

That community resources should be conserved.

That workers losing their jobs should be given opportunities for retraining.

This statement on the rights of displaced workers was later defined more concretely by the American Federation of Labor Committee on National Defense as follows:

When workers formerly employed by a plant on previous production are retained on new contracts they shall be assured at least their former pay without loss of seniority or other rights such as vacations with pay, pension, et cetera. If experienced workers must go through a period of retraining it must be without reduction in pay. Workers making sacrifices for national defense are citizens whom the Government should indemnify for losses and not persons of relief status.

If workers are displaced by any defense order and must find employment with the help of the Clearance Division of the U. S. Employment Service, the expense of transportation for such workers and their families should be paid by the Government and every assistance given if it is necessary for them to sell their property.

That committee also urged:

That union officials urge employers to get defense contracts or sub-contracts in order to assure jobs for their members. That local defense committees, especially those in small communities, get information on sub-contracting, farming out, defense contract associates, and such provisions as are suggested for smaller factories and plants.

That union officials for this purpose keep in touch with Defense Contract Services which have been organized cooperatively by OPM and Federal Reserve Banks and their branch banks. These services are intended to advise Army and Navy Purchasing Agents of the production facilities of the region and to advise business men in the region on getting contracts by sending technical advisors to plants to advise on converting them to defense production. The service is not yet completely set up in all areas but energy and pressure from those needing the service is the best way to results.

#### A. F. OF L. COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

When defense activities under the Government reached the stage of regional organization and it became clear that local labor organizations would have to meet and act upon defense situations and problems, President Green created a national committee and asked central labor unions and state fed-

erations of labor to create cooperating defense committees for the purpose of providing unified organizational activity in order to conserve Labor's interests and welfare. The Federation's Committee consists of the following: Matthew Woll, Chairman; John Coyne, Building Trades, and Herbert Rivers, alternate; John P. Frey, Metal Trades, and Joseph McDonagh, alternate; I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades; B. M. Jewell, Railroad Employees, and C. J. MacGowan, alternate; George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Edward J. Brown, Electrical Workers, and G. M. Bugniazet, alternate; Robert J. Watt, Executive Secretary.

The Federation's Committee was asked to recommend to President Green principles and procedures to be followed locally in meeting defense labor problems. Their recommendations are being issued in bulletin form.

#### LABOR'S DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATION IN DEFENSE POLICIES

Defense production and restrictions will dominate our economic life to an increasing extent in the months ahead. The American Federation of Labor has pledged its full support to the national effort of defense. No section of the population has more interest in maintaining a strong and free democratic nation, none is more capable of contributing to that end, than the workers of the country. We want to share fully in the responsibility of making defense policies through our chosen representatives.

In 1917 when our country was gearing itself for war, the American Federation of Labor Convention at Buffalo said: "In order to safeguard all the interests of the wage earners, organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense." This principle was recognized as a sound one by the nation. President Gompers was asked to serve on the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense and to designate labor representatives for service on draft boards and other boards and commissions formulating policies. State federations and local unions were asked to submit nominations for representatives on local boards. When the War Labor Conference Board was created the labor members were chosen by the American Federation of Labor, and employers by the employers' associations.

The War Cabinet in England got complete cooperation in its production program only when it asked the Federation of British Industry and the Trades Union Congress to designate representatives to serve as advisors to the Ministry of Supplies and advisors were similarly designated by Labor and industry for labor supply. Representatives to act with confidence and the assurance of cooperation of those whom they represent must have been chosen voluntarily by labor and industry groups. The democratic method of free choice of representatives is an important heritage of the citizens of our country. Its preservation is essential to good morale and a high degree of efficiency in the cooperation of all groups.

There are many parts of the defense program of immediate concern to Labor, not only as citizens but more intimately as wage earners. We are directly concerned with the standards for deferment from selective service for

workers having special skills in essential occupations. We want representation on the Boards setting standards for such deferment.

We are immediately affected by priority ratings, military and civilian, which can assign all available material of a certain sort to a particular use, closing factories dependent on that material and throwing workers out of jobs. We want a voice in determining priority policies not to obstruct military preparations but to help foresee the dislocations and plan to minimize them by retraining workers and converting affected plants to defense uses.

We are vitally concerned with training programs, the dilution of skills and upgrading which may make specialists for certain jobs but unless wisely directed may permanently handicap such specialists for adjustment to other work. We want to serve, through our own representatives, on policy committees determining the amount, kinds and methods of training.

If our nation should go into war and we are faced with the question of rationing labor more directly or are obliged to sacrifice any part of the rights which the American Federation of Labor has with the effort of sixty years established as part of the wage earner's heritage, we must make those sacrifices voluntarily, acting through our own representatives, and with assurance that we shall resume those rights when the emergency is over. Full participation of chosen representatives of Labor and industry in the defense program and in planning for post-defense adjustments is the effective, democratic method of assuring an all-out effort for national defense.

Labor unions are voluntary associations of the workers upon whose skills all our production depends. They want to take their full share in this emergency. Their experience and discipline of organization is available. Let us put it to use through the channels of actual representation.

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE MEDIATION BOARD

The National Defense Mediation Board was established by Presidential Executive Order on March 19, 1941, because President Roosevelt stated in the Executive Order, "it is essential in the present emergency that employers and employees engaged in production or transportation of materials necessary to national defense shall exert every possible effort to assure that all work necessary for national defense shall proceed without interruption and with all possible speed."

The Board was authorized in the Executive Order to:

(a) Make every reasonable effort to adjust and settle any such controversy or dispute by assisting the parties thereto to negotiate agreements for that purpose;

(b) Afford means for voluntary arbitration with an agreement by the parties thereto to abide by the decision arrived at upon such arbitration, and, when requested by both parties, to designate a person or persons to act as impartial arbitrator or arbitrators of such controversy or dispute;

(c) Assist in establishing, when desired by the parties, methods for resolving future controversies or disputes between the parties; and to deal with matters of interest to both parties which may thereafter arise;

(d) Investigate issues between employers and employees, and prac-

tices and activities thereof, with respect to such controversy or dispute; conduct hearings, take testimony, make findings of fact, and formulate recommendations for the settlement of any such controversy or dispute; and make public such findings and recommendations whenever in the judgment of the Board the interests of industrial peace so require;

(e) Request the National Labor Relations Board, in any controversy or dispute relating to the appropriate unit or appropriate representatives to be designated for purposes of collective bargaining, to expedite as much as possible the determination of the appropriate unit or appropriate representatives of the workers.

The National Defense Mediation Board was originally composed of four representatives of Labor, four representatives of management, and three public representatives. Later ten additional Labor, five management and three public representatives were added by President Roosevelt as alternate members.

Out of fifty-one cases certified prior to August 1 to the National Defense Mediation Board by the United States Secretary of Labor, American Federation of Labor unions have been involved in only twelve. In four of the twelve, both American Federation of Labor and C. I. O. unions were involved. Three of the four cases in which both organizations were involved were referred to the National Labor Relations Board. A fifth case involving the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the International Association of Machinists was returned to the Secretary of Labor since the Executive Order of the President specifically excluded from the jurisdiction of the Board disputes between two unions, both of whom were affiliated with the same parent organization.

The main provision of the Executive Order and the major activity of the Board is the promotion of collective bargaining. If agreement is not reached by these means, the Board offers voluntary arbitration to the parties to the dispute. If voluntary arbitration is not accepted by both parties, the Board makes findings and recommendations on the issues not settled by collective bargaining.

The American Federation has long advocated the establishment of democratic machinery for settling industrial disputes in a voluntary way. The American Federation of Labor has demonstrated on the basis of the record of the National Defense Mediation Board a measure of responsibility unequalled in this nation's industrial history.

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor who are now serving on the National Defense Mediation Board are: George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor; George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks; Edward J. Brown, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; George Q. Lynch, President of the Pattern Makers League of North America; Robert J. Watt, International Representative of the American Federation of Labor; Herbert Woods, Director of Research, International Union of Operating Engineers, and James Wilson, Labor Counselor, International Labor Office.

**DEFENSE TRAINING**

We reported to the 1940 convention the confusion in defense training due to lack of coordination and planning. Separate organizations assumed self-appointed missions for the training of special groups and secured Congressional appropriation. The efforts of the National Defense Advisory Commission to secure order and purpose through a coordinating committee failed. After OPM replaced the NDAC, the Labor Division set up a committee on total labor supply with Dr. Arthur S. Flemming of the Civil Service Commission as Chairman. Federal agencies concerned with labor were given representation on this committee.

Meanwhile certain fundamental decisions had been made. The Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defense designated occupations for which defense training could be given. More than five hundred occupations have been designated.

The following agreement covers the functions of educational authorities and employment services in national defense training programs related to refresher and pre-employment courses:

March 8, 1941

**FUNCTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE TRAINING PROGRAM RELATED TO REFRESHER AND PRE-EMPLOYMENT COURSES**

*Introduction*

The following policies and procedures concerning the relationship of employment services and educational authorities in the states and local communities will be followed by the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board and the United States Office of Education, and by the State Employment Services and educational authorities. These policies and procedures rest upon certain fundamental principles respecting the authority for the management of schools in the states and local communities.

1. It is recognized that the authority for the operation of vocational schools in each state is vested in a state board for vocational education and in local boards of education respectively.

2. Operating under and within the limits of the authorities delegated by the respective boards of education indicated under paragraph 1 above, there are in the states and local communities representative advisory committees established by education authorities for the purpose of making available in relation to the defense training program the judgments and decisions of persons representing both labor and employer organizations which have definite interests in the training program.

*Policies and Procedures*

The policies and procedures which will be followed are as follows:

1. All training projects shall be conducted for occupations approved by the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense.

2. Each state board for vocational education and each local board of education engaged in defense training shall establish and utilize a representative advisory committee, together with consultants, one of whom in each case shall be a representative of the Employment Service.

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

This Service shall be represented at all meetings of the Advisory Committee.

3. The Employment Service shall be responsible for making recommendations to educational authorities in each community and in each state with respect to the numbers to be trained and the occupations in which training is to be offered for defense workers.

4. All proposals to establish defense training in particular occupations shall be submitted to the Advisory Committee for consideration and decision. Such proposals shall be submitted by the appropriate educational executive. This does not preclude individual members of the Advisory Committee or consultants from making additional proposals at meetings of the committee.

5. In preparing proposals for the consideration of the Advisory Committee, the educational executive should secure from the Employment Service and other consultants or organizations their respective recommendations concerning occupations for which training is needed, numbers to be trained, etc. Such proposals, together with any others which the educational executive believes should be brought to the attention of the Advisory Committee, should be submitted to all members of the Advisory Committee and to the consultants concerned, always including the Employment Service consultant, sufficiently in advance of each meeting of the Advisory Committee to permit a study of the proposals.

6. Each Advisory Committee established to deal with problems involved in the inauguration and operation of defense-training pre-employment and refresher courses (included in Program "No. 1") shall include in its voting membership an equal number of representatives of Labor and of industrial management. These representatives shall be selected by the educational authorities from among persons nominated by labor and employer organizations. (See Misc. 2801 entitled "Representative Advisory Committees" issued by the United States Office of Education, January 18, 1941.)

7. Regular, or at least frequent meetings of the Advisory Committee shall be held, to consider the various aspects of the defense training program. Minutes of the proceedings of each meeting shall be kept and records of any action taken by the Advisory Committee or confirmed by it shall be made and approved in the usual manner.

8. To the extent that authority for decision has been given to advisory committees, subject to veto only by the regular constituted State Boards of Vocational Education, or local Boards of Education, all decisions respecting general arrangements for the entire program, occupations for which defense-training should be given, the numbers to be trained, length of training period, equipment needs, and other related matters, shall be made by the respective advisory committees on state and local levels. Among other factors, the Advisory Committee must of necessity take into consideration existing training facilities, possibilities for modifying or expanding the training facilities and numbers being trained in the regular programs of vocational education, both day-school programs and part-time or extension courses.

9. *Proposals to train for various types of defense occupations together with estimated numbers to be trained, as recommended by the Employment Service, shall be given prior claim by the Advisory Committees and educational authorities.*

10. The decision with respect to training proposed for one local area and designed to meet the needs of another area shall be made by the state vocational education authorities in consultation with the State



Advisory Committee and the State Employment Service. Such decision shall be made prior to the initiation of the course.

11. The United States Employment Service and the United States Office of Education respectively shall be obliged to initiate such measures or reports as may be necessary to effectuate the successful operation of the policies and procedures announced herein. In any case where the Advisory Committee decides to offer training in a field in which the Employment Service has made an adverse report as to need, or decides not to offer training to meet needs certified by the Employment Service, explanations concerning such decisions by the Advisory Committee shall be reported to the Office of Education and to the Bureau of Employment Security in Washington with appropriate explanation by the state representatives of these two agencies. Similar reports will be made to the United States Office of Education by local and state educational executives concerning decisions by the advisory committees to give training contrary to the recommendations of such school executives or decisions not to provide training which was recommended by such educational executives.

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER,  
*United States Commissioner of Education,*  
EWAN CLAGUE, *Director,*  
*Bureau of Employment Security.*

The Federation has repeatedly declared that all advisory committees on vocational education should consist of an equal number of representatives of Labor, employees and the public. Employers and union organizations should be asked to designate their representatives. Such labor representatives should carefully follow policies approved by the Federation and should ascertain the views of representative union officials on new problems. Advisory committees are expected to serve as policy committees deciding upon vocational projects. These committees should receive regular progress reports so that they may know the results of their recommendations. If their recommendations are not followed, they should have reports explaining why recommendations were not followed and what course was approved.

Vocational education whether as pre-vocational in schools or as apprentice-training in the shop is of vital importance to unions because it determines training of future members and control over entrance into occupations. Maintenance of craft and production standards cannot be assured without union participation in training.

Service on advisory committees on vocational education requires technical information and information such as representative service in collective bargaining will provide. Experienced and able persons should be selected who should make regular reports to the group they represent, keeping them advised of progress and new problems.

The important place given the Employment Service in defense training indicates that the agency placing workers should have a similar relationship in all groups deciding on vocational training. The broader the experience that goes into vocational planning the better rounded will be the plans.

The following table shows the extent of defense training for the coming year and agencies involved:



July 30, 1941

FEDERAL AGENCIES DOING DEFENSE TRAINING  
APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1941-1942

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Defense</i>
Federal Committee on Apprenticeship	\$ 835,000	Included in regular appropriation
Civil Aeronautics Authority	25,000,000	Included in regular appropriation
Civilian Conservation Corps	1,100,000	\$1,640,000 Not including salaries of camp supervisors and work expense in camps
Office of Education—total	4,250,000	\$98,700,000
1. Pre-employment and supplementary		72,400,000
2. Out of school, rural and non-rural		15,000,000
3. Vocational education	4,250,000	10,000,000
4. Airport attendants		1,300,000
Maritime Commission	500,000	5,000,000
N. Y. A.	92,000,000	56,000,000
Navy Department—No separate appropriations for training		
T. W. I.—OPM		330,000
		This does not represent the true value of the work done, because many employees are dollar a year men, and the expense of the training is borne by the employers
War Department—No separate appropriations for training		
W. P. A.	27,603,000	Included in regular appropriation

**In-Plant Training**

In accordance with the instructions of the New Orleans (1940) convention President Green sent to the President of the United States our recommendations on in-plant training in which we approved whole-heartedly the principle of work-training in the shop and asked that the Committee on Apprentice Training of the U. S. Department of Labor be made the agency of the Defense Administration for all in-plant training.

Our proposal did not receive favorable consideration and action by the President or the Defense Administration. The Training Within Industry Division of OPM made real progress in setting up an organization to contact managements and to persuade them of the importance of training as a management function. The Federation has continued its efforts to have the Apprentice Training Committee made the field agency of Training Within Industry for all in-plant training of workers. As a first step toward clarifying this field, Assistant Secretary of Labor Tracy proposed to the Assistant Director of OPM that a policy committee be set up for its Committee on Total Labor Supply on which Labor and employers should have equal representation. With a policy committee consisting of practical persons with work experience, the Federation feels that practical guidance can be put into the program.

In the meanwhile, acting upon the advice of the American Federation of

Labor Committee on National Defense, President Green recommended that plant committees on apprentice training be made responsible for all in-plant training whether for the full apprenticeship course or shorter courses designed for single processes or single machine training. Short-time training is promoted by the Within Industry Section of the Labor Division of OPM. These courses aim immediately at dilution and can be safeguarded against the worst phases of dilution by what the Division calls upgrading—that is progressively learning the different jobs that together constitute the whole craft. The Federation believes that only an agency that has experience in apprentice training can wisely plan short-time training. The deficiency which the program seeks to remedy is lack of skilled workers. Single operation workers do not meet this lack. That can only be done by systematically learning the whole series and only the workers through their unions can bring pressure toward this end.

The American Federation of Labor contends that we of this machine age should plan to train an adequate number of skilled workers to meet all emergencies. Skilled workers more easily find employment and can more easily adjust to industrial changes.

The work of the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, Department of Labor, should be expanded and sustained by substantial increases in appropriations.

State federations of labor should secure state legislation providing for state committees on apprentice training in state departments of labor.

International and national organizations should ask this committee to arrange for joint industry committees to agree upon standards for training apprentices in their crafts. The promulgation of such standards will stimulate and guide apprentice training in all sections.

The Federation in addition asks that the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training draft national standards for all short-time training for the guidance of all local undertakings.

### RAILROAD WAGE NEGOTIATIONS

At the time of the preparation of this report the representatives of railroad organizations were meeting with railroad management for the purpose of securing a substantial increase in wages for the railroad workers of the nation. Railroad management was asked to grant a substantial increase in wages for all crafts and classes of workers employed on the nation's railroads. The railroad management had rejected all the demands made by the representatives of the railroad workers and a strike vote had been taken. The indications were that the strike authorization would be approved by a well-nigh unanimous vote of the railroad workers of the country.

The submission of the matter to the Railroad Mediation Board would be the next step and in the event the Railroad Mediation Board failed to bring about an adjustment the President of the United States would be called upon to appoint an emergency board which would be clothed with authority to make definite recommendations.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the railroad workers of the

nation are entitled to a very substantial increase in wages. The demands they have made for increases in wages are thoroughly justifiable. The Executive Council is in full accord with the demands made by the representatives of the railroad workers and will give to them and their representatives a full measure of support in the efforts they are putting forth to secure an increase in wages and improvement in working conditions for the railroad workers of the nation.

#### FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Acting in accordance with authority conferred upon it by the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council appointed Brother Harry Stevenson, President of the International Molders' Union of North America, to represent the American Federation of Labor as Fraternal Delegate to the convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Brother Stevenson accepted the appointment.

Because of both national and international emergencies which exist, the Executive Council decided that it would be unwise and inadvisable to send Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress this year. The officers of the British Trades Union Congress were advised of this fact in a cablegram sent to Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary, on August 9, 1941. The Executive Council expresses deep regret over the existence of a world situation created by the cruel war which has been raging in Europe during the past year, because of which it seemed both unwise and inadvisable to send Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress this year. We hope and trust, however, that we may find it possible to send Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress next year.

#### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

In our report for 1940 we said that with the major part of Europe under the domination of the dictatorships, no democratic organization of free trade unions like the I. F. T. U. could exist there. That statement was prophetic. Since it was written, Hitler and his satellites have subjugated by military aggression or political control practically all of Europe. France, the Balkan States and Greece are now under the oppressor's heel. Everywhere the dictators go the free trade union movement is the first institution to be destroyed. Fortunately the International Federation of Trade Unions escaped to carry on in a democratic country the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The last meeting of the I. F. T. U. Executive held in Continental Europe was that of May 7, 1940. The swift onrush of the war forced the Organization to leave its headquarters at the Avenue d'Orsay in Paris. On June 9, 1940, just before Paris fell, the I. F. T. U. was transferred to London. From a provisional office at Transport House, the I. F. T. U. is carrying on its work for industrial freedom and trade union solidarity throughout the world.

The I. F. T. U. in cooperation with the various British Trade Unions has assisted in rebuilding the various Trade Secretariats whose offices were in countries under Nazi domination. A conference of these International Trade

Secretariats was held in London on August 29, 1940, with representatives of the I. F. T. U. On September 17 a meeting of the national trade union groups established in Great Britain convened in London by the I. F. T. U. with representatives from the Austrian, Belgian, French, German, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Spanish groups present.

The Bulletin of the I. F. T. U., which was suspended with the issue of June 5, 1940, was resumed on October 15 of last year. It is now published in London where the headquarters of the I. F. T. U. are provisionally established. Sir Walter Citrine, the President of the I. F. T. U., outlined the work of the organization in the Bulletin as follows:

In spite of the recent serious setback which it suffered by the collapse of democratic France, the International Federation of Trade Unions continues its work. But, all the same, its position is different now from what it was in 1914. At the present time the trade unions of the most important extra-European countries, such as the United States of America, Mexico, Canada and the Argentine, belong to the International. Whereas in 1914 the I. F. T. U. was an European organization only, at the present time it is an organization with a scope covering the whole world.

At the invitation of the American Federation of Labor, Sir Walter Citrine attended the 60th Annual Convention held at New Orleans, La. His address which the Executive Council of the Federation had printed in pamphlet form was one of the outstanding features of the convention. Subsequently, on the invitation of the Executive Council of the Federation, Mr. Citrine visited trade unions and business organizations and addressed their meetings throughout the country.

Walter Schevenels, General Secretary of the I. F. T. U. visited the United States in the early part of 1941. A meeting of the I. F. T. U. Executive was held in Washington, D. C., on January 30 and 31 at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. President William Green, recently elected Vice-President of the I. F. T. U., participated in this meeting at which Sir Walter Citrine presided. At this meeting it was reported that in spite of the losses due to the German invasion and the destruction of the free trade unions, the I. F. T. U. still numbers fourteen national centers with a total affiliated membership of approximately twelve and a half million.

Thus in spite of the war, and the terrorism which has crushed freedom in Europe, the I. F. T. U. is carrying on its work. At the end of the war the Federation should be in a position to exert an influence upon the form which the peace treaties will take and to help in bringing about a democratic world in which the interests of all men will be safeguarded.

#### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and international unions have continued their active support of the International Labor Organization and the work being done by that organization.

When the developments of the European War last year made it necessary

to transfer the head office of the International Labor Organization from its seat in Geneva, Switzerland, to America in order to protect the independence of the office and to insure freedom of communication with non-European members, President Green assisted in the arrangements for the transfer, discussing the matter personally with the President of the United States and with the Secretary of State. On the invitation of the Canadian Government and through the cooperation of McGill University, a working center was set up in Montreal, Canada, and a new office opened in November, 1940, in that city.

John G. Winant, then Director of the International Labor Office, who delivered an important address on the International Labor Organization and the effects of the war before the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, resigned his post as Director on February 15, 1941. Mr. Winant, who had been associated with the International Labor Office since 1935, and who was elected Director in 1938, resigned to accept his appointment as United States Ambassador to Great Britain. The office is operating in the meantime under the directorship of Edward J. Phelan, who became Acting Director on February 15, 1941. The Executive Council at a meeting held in Miami, Fla., during the month of February, 1941, unanimously endorsed the candidacy of Acting Director Phelan for election as Director of the International Labor Organization and directed our representative to use his best efforts to bring about Mr. Phelan's election.

The United States is represented on the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization by Carter Goodrich as Chairman of the Governing Body; Henry I. Harriman, representing management, and Robert J. Watt representing Labor. Mr. Watt, the International Representative of the Federation, has continued to represent Labor at the meeting of the International Labor Organization and attended the special meeting of representatives of the Governing Body which was held in Montreal in January, 1941. Our representative also attended the tri-partite meetings of Canadian and United States officials held under the auspices of the International Labor Office in Montreal to discuss problems of labor supply and national defense.

The American Federation of Labor notes with gratification that the International Labor Office is continuing its studies and publications dealing with labor problems throughout the world and that it is preparing to assist with plans for post-war reconstruction. Information on labor conditions today in the warring countries and in countries that are preparing to defend themselves from aggressive warfare is of the utmost importance to Labor in this country. Of particular interest to Labor in the United States are such publications of the I. L. O. as the International Labor Review, Studies in War Economics, The Labor Situation in Great Britain, and Labor policy in Germany Under the Nazi Regime.

The work of the International Labor Organization in promoting social security has been very helpful. Officials from the International Labor Office during the past year have assisted various countries of South America in establishing and developing systems of social security. In December 1940, in Lima, Peru, the Inter-American Committee to forward social security was

established under the auspices of the International Labor Office with representation from the United States on the committee.

It is hoped that the International Labor Conference will meet in the United States this year. Such a conference should be of value not only to Labor in the United States but to organized workers in all parts of the world. The subject for discussion at that conference—Collaboration Between Governments, Employers and Workers—emphasizes the diametric opposition that exists between democracies and dictatorships. It is only in the free countries of the world that real collaboration on a tri-partite basis is possible.

The American Federation of Labor urges continued participation in the International Labor Organization and financial support to make it possible for the organization to successfully carry on its work which is even more important at the present time than in the past and should be of increasing significance in the reconstruction period following the war. The International Labor Organization can perform definite service in promoting inter-American relations in the labor and social welfare fields. Its greatest potential service, however, lies in the contribution it can make to the solution of post-war social-economic problems and to the reconstruction of a peace-time world.

#### PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Today we are more intensely interested and concerned about our neighbors to the south than ever before. The rise of an unscrupulous competitor of democracy who has courted and would, if he could, dominate all Latin America has aroused our great concern and alarm. We realize more than ever that Latin America's independence is essential to our own security. It is equally recognized that the independence of all Latin American nations depends upon our defense. Thus, our mutual and interdependent interests demand the co-operation of all the countries of North, South and Central America in the great task that lies before us.

Conscious of these developments and in order to strengthen friendly relations with Latin American labor organizations, the Executive Council has undertaken a number of activities designed to revitalize the Pan-American Federation of Labor and bring into closer unity, cooperation and collaboration, the various labor movements throughout the Western Hemisphere. Labor's will toward better relations has been manifested in a number of ways, supplemented by a corresponding interest of the labor movement in a number of Latin American countries. Such manifestations of friendship and good will are an effective beginning for the sustained effort necessary to reach that understanding which is basic to an all-time collaboration and cooperation.

We, of organized labor, like other groups on the continent, have experienced difficulties in coming into understanding with organizations of labor in the South and Central American countries. The difficulties encountered are attributable to a large extent to differences between the Anglo-Saxon and Latin backgrounds, cultures, language and climates. Although there is a common strong aspiration to the democratic way of life, this aspiration has not been attained by the Latin American countries to the degree that it has been

achieved in the governments and institutions of the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Then, too, all of the countries of South and Central America vary widely in their economic development.

Here in the United States and Canada our people enjoy the benefits of industry owned mainly by its own nationals and developed to a very high degree. Our agricultural and mineral resources make our nation almost independent of the rest of the world. Then, too, Labor has over many years developed strong organizations among workers, numbering many millions.

In contrast, most countries of Latin America are sparsely populated. Industry in the most advanced of the Latin American countries has only developed along certain lines and most of it is foreign owned. The nations are more or less dependent on their exports of agricultural products, raw materials and minerals for the money with which to import many of the essentials for a comfortable living. The agricultural population is much greater than the industrial population and consequently the labor organizations are comparatively small and not as yet fully developed.

The workers in Latin America have been and are struggling against many of the odds and difficulties that we encountered three or four decades ago, a time when all trade union organizations and demands for better working conditions were looked upon as subversive elements within our community. Engrossed in the struggle to better organization and to better their conditions of work and of life, these trade unions have had little time to present their cause to the public at large or to develop international labor relations such as is much needed and wanted.

It may be thought that within each of these comparatively recently industrialized countries to the south that the labor movement is not likely to be very advanced, and that social legislation for the protection of the workers is not well advanced. Such an assumption is not true. Despite serious difficulties encountered progress has been made. Actually the labor movement in a number of these countries is well developed and is a vital factor for the promotion of the common welfare. It is equally true that in many of these countries there has been enacted social legislation considerably in advance of similar legislation which we adopted in the early years of our industrial development. Necessarily, the degree and form of organization varies from country to country.

Since the first Pan-American Labor Conference was held in Chile in 1936, a number of the Latin American countries have adopted labor laws of far reaching consequence. Laws providing for limitation of hours of work, minimum wage legislation, statutory (and trade union agreement) provisions for paid vacations, dismissal legislation, workmen's compensation, wages and hours regulation, regulation of home work, relief provisions, protective legislation for agricultural workers, rent control, organization of cooperative societies, accident prevention, industrial education and training, regulation and prohibition of child labor, social security laws, regulation of immigration, et cetera, are to be found on the statute books of these countries; better in some instances than in others; better enforced in some than others.

In each of these countries, as in our own, both the type of law and enforce-



ment of the law depends upon the type and strength of the trade union support which the movement enjoys among the other forces for good in the community.

We are intimately and deeply concerned with the well being of our fellow workers throughout the Western Hemisphere. Upon the well being of the workers in South and Central America, the vast majority of the people of each of the nations of this hemisphere, rests ultimately the question of the well being of all.

With reference to the totalitarian threat to the destruction of free enterprise in the Western Hemisphere, we know that by means of propaganda, physical threats, fifth-column activities, bribes, crimes of violence, et cetera, that the anti-democratic forces have labored continuously and persistently to destroy the ideals of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. For a number of years, the Communists, the Nazis and other Fascist groups have worked in close cooperation. To what extent this cooperation between the Third Internationale and Fascist forces in this Hemisphere has actually advanced, we can not as yet state definitely. We do know that the work of each of these anti-democratic forces continues with great intensity in every country on the Western Hemisphere and that it proceeds most actively among the labor forces of the Latin American countries.

It would, therefore, seem unnecessary to point out the necessity and desirability of developing a close relationship between the working people of the Western Hemisphere through their respective trade unions and federations of labor. As previously indicated, international developments, the war across the seas, the ever-growing threat of totalitarianism, its forcibly coordinated economy, primitive barter methods and cruel labor exploitations and last, but not least, the anticipated economic and social consequences of the present conflict—all of these make an understanding and close collaboration between the labor movements of the North American countries and South America imperative.

While the Executive Council has answered affirmatively its readiness to proceed as the urgency of the occasion demands, nevertheless a number of pressing problems and difficulties remain which must be overcome and be adequately solved before Pan-American labor cooperation can be successfully achieved. These problems are concerned with organization, exchange of mutually important and valuable information, subsequently the fostering of an inter-American spirit of friendship and understanding, and finally the effective carrying out of measures designed to safeguard the progress of American Labor and to forestall and repel the encroachments of totalitarianism and its agents in the Americas.

The issue, which has been realized for many years, is one of initiative and organization. From preliminary inquiries made, we are led to believe that the trade unions and labor federations in Latin America are ready for a call to greater solidarity and federation of labor forces in the whole of the Western Hemisphere under guidance and direction of the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

To realize this desire for hemispheric unity, we can and must extend and

develop certain practical evidences of friendship. We can and should exchange official labor information and publications, especially about organizing methods, research to service our unions, methods of collective bargaining, ways of meeting changing technology, labor legislation and the improvement of labor law administration. Data on labor laws, social trends, economic problems and threats to our democratic ideals should be gathered, compiled, analyzed and distributed regularly to our fellow trade unionists in other countries. Then, too, we can work for closer harmonious relations through conferences, exchange of fraternal delegates as well as official and informal invitations. We can sponsor regular broadcasts of labor news in English, Spanish and Portuguese. We can also facilitate the opportunities for Latin American workers to acquire skill in their trades. Last, but not least, we can throw organized labor's influence toward the shaping of an industrial, economic and governmental policy that will be sympathetic and helpful to Labor in all countries on this hemisphere.

In this connection, it is the judgment of the Executive Council that the countries of Central and South America should participate fully and immediately in benefits accruing through any loans which our Government may make to any of these countries under present emergency conditions. Indeed, it is our conviction that any and all loans approved by Congress to any of these countries for industrial, agricultural or cultural advancement should be conditioned in such a way as to assure the workers of such countries a fitting opportunity to share equally in benefits with any other group or groupings.

To further the foregoing purposes and objectives, preparations have been considered and are under way for holding of an early Congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It is most encouraging to note that the President of Mexico, Hon. Manuel Avila Camacho, has evidenced keen interest in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and in the American Federation of Labor and to such an extent that he has sent a most cordial letter of greetings to President Green which was duly acknowledged. In addition, Vice President Woll recently attended the convention of the C. R. O. M. (Mexican Regional Labor Federation) held in Mexico City, as the fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. He was likewise cordially received by President Camacho who expressed to Vice-President Woll the warm greetings of friendship and good will of his Government and of himself personally to our nation and to the American Federation of Labor and all our people.

Reporting more particularly upon Mexican affairs, we are pleased to note that the C. R. O. M. has been consistently gaining strength throughout Mexico notwithstanding the relentless persecution it had suffered by previous governments and Mexican authorities over the last decade. This regaining of power, influence and prestige designates clearly the general trade union character of the C. R. O. M. We are indeed happy to note that the present Mexican government has realized these facts and that it seems willing and ready to give to it the opportunity for further development.

We wish to report also the holding of several conferences during the past year with Mr. Louis Morones, as representative of the C. R. O. M. and of meetings of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of

Labor. At these meetings, all developments which have taken place in the labor movements of Central and South America were thoroughly considered. Steps were also taken to send a fully qualified and competent representative of the American Federation of Labor and of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to visit all of the principal Latin American countries and labor movements at an appropriate time which was previously contemplated in the mission assigned to Santiago Iglesias, but which was unfortunately terminated by his sudden and unexpected passing. Due to his passing, the offices of Secretary and Treasurer of the Pan-American Federation of Labor were merged and Vice-President Woll was selected to fill this office.

In all of these undertakings, organized labor of North America necessarily will have to give much more than it can hope to receive, and rightly so. After all, we have had presented to us greater opportunities for development and progress. We have developed better methods of organization and have had wider and more extensive experience. In most instances the developing labor movements in Central and South America can only give us in return a sympathetic response, and indeed, that is all we seek. Through this exchange of information and through a growing understanding of Latin American labor problems we can and will by a united federation of labor on the Western Hemisphere, through the Pan-American Federation of Labor, promote better labor conditions and relations on the entire continent. Indeed, we can and we will, together with our neighbors and fellow workers in Central and South America, build up a family of Labor and a prosperous hemisphere of free men and women and free nations because there is developing now, more than ever, the common desire and will to do.

#### **PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF LABOR**

Without failing to give a hundred per cent cooperation to the National Defense Program in Puerto Rico which is called the "Gibraltar of the Americas," the Free Federation of Workingmen has conducted its activities with great success with the moral support of the American Federation of Labor.

The following are the most important achievements:

##### **Collective Agreements in the Sugar Industry**

Although hostile groups directed by communists and inspired by politicians tried to destroy the collective agreement that was first negotiated with the Association of Sugar Producers in 1934, the Insular Council of the Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions affiliated with our Federation succeeded in renewing the agreement with these fundamental changes favorable to Labor:

1. Instead of separate scales of wages for the mills in the interior and coast of the Island there was established one minimum wage scale. The minimum wage per day in cultivation and harvesting is \$1 and the highest minimum \$1.70. The minimum wage per day in the work done at the mills and in those occupations not included in cultivation and harvesting, is \$2.40 for eight hours work; the highest minimum is \$3.15.

2. A scale of increases was included in Clause IV to be paid over the basic

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wages every fortnight. The fortnight average price resulting from the sales of Puerto Rican raw sugar at the New York market, shall govern.

Scale of Increases

<i>Price of Sugar</i>	<i>Increase Over Basic Wage</i>
From \$2.75 to \$2.99 Cwt.....	Basic Wage
From \$3.00 to \$3.24 Cwt.....	10c
From \$3.25 to \$3.49 Cwt.....	20c
From \$3.50 to \$3.74 Cwt.....	30c
From \$3.75 to \$3.99 Cwt.....	40c

3. For the first time in the history of this collective agreement the following was introduced:

VII. Agrarian Policy. Considering the unemployment situation in Puerto Rico, especially in the sugar cane zones, as a result of the restriction imposed by the Sugar Act and due to the special economic structure of our Island; and considering that it is urgent and healthy that the Sugar Producers Association adopt a new agrarian policy whereby it will continue to cooperate with laborers employed in the sugar industry, to the end that the latter may further progress and systematically better their living conditions, thereby solving the problems of unemployment and maintenance, it is agreed that since a good part of the Centrals have made arrangements with the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to furnish their laborers with lands not necessary for sugar cane cultivation in order to help them lower the cost of living, it is decided that these facilities shall be extended as far as possible to the workmen covered by this contract.

In the light of the present national emergency and in case of a shortage in the imports facilities and the "dead period" that lasts almost six months, this agrarian policy represents a fundamental measure to Labor. The plan drafted by the Insular Commission of Adjustments (Article XI) provides that the employers will furnish the land and other facilities with the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture that has offered technical assistance and seeds. Workers will be obliged to give back the seeds supplied them. By this time hundreds of applications for lands have been filed.

The collective agreement in the sugar industry covers all the mills throughout the Island and more than 130,000 workers. The application of the scale of increases has given to the workers more than \$2,500,000 over their basic wages which otherwise would have gone to the pockets of the employers of the sugar industry. The agreement has served to maintain industrial peace and a good understanding between employers and organized labor. The establishment of only one minimum wage scale represents a 10 per cent increase in the wage of those employed in the interior of the Island. Wages fixed in the collective agreement of the sugar industry were adopted by the Federal Department of Agriculture in its determination of fair and reasonable wages under the Sugar Law.

This agreement was negotiated by the Insular Council of Agricultural and Factory Labor Unions presided over by Secretary-Treasurer Nicholas Nogueras Rivera.

Longshoremen's Agreement.—The Insular Council of the Longshoremen

Locals signed agreements with the shipping companies representing a 5 per cent increase in previous wages. These have been extended to all the ports and cover more than 7,000 workers.

Brother Manuel Rubio Salinas presided over the Insular Council.

**Agreement for the Bakeries**—For the first time in the history of industrial relations between employers and workers in the bread industry, there was signed a collective agreement with a piece rate for bakers of \$3 based on a 200-pound bag of wheat flour, an advance on an average of \$1 plus agreement and better working conditions. The agreement establishes the union shop and provides the cooperation of employers and workers to prevent unfair competition. The employers at San Juan, the capital of the Island, were the first to sign said agreement with our Local. After that the agreement was negotiated in 40 towns more with a coverage of nearly 1,500 workers. The agreement signed at San Juan served to stimulate the organization of thirty-five bakers' unions throughout the Island.

Negotiations were headed by Secretary-Treasurer Nicolas Nogueras Rivera. Brother Gabriel Blanco, vice-president of the district of San Juan, has given valuable assistance to our movement.

**Drivers' Agreement**—A collective agreement between the White Star Bus Line, Inc., which operates in San Juan as a public service company and our drivers' Local was negotiated June 4, 1941 at the Department of Labor. Acting Commissioner Lopez headed the negotiations, having the assistance of other officials from our Federation. An increase of 15 per cent over previous wages of (\$2.40 daily) was obtained with closed shop. The balloting conducted to determine the strength of the union resulted in 451 in favor of our Local, 15 neutral.

**Hair-Nets Workers' Agreement**—The Hair-Nets Workers' Local at San Juan, affiliated with the Free Federation, under the direction of Brother P. Rivera Martinez and Pedro San Miguel succeeded not only in negotiating an agreement between the union and the Coelette Manufacturing Company but in securing reimbursement for nearly \$4,000 not paid according to the Wage and Hour Law. A union shop was established under the agreement.

**Gas Agreement**—During the month of May, 1941 a collective agreement was signed by our Gas Workers Union and the Gas and Coke Company which serves fluid gas to the capital. The agreement was negotiated by the Mediation and Conciliation Commission. A 10 per cent increase in wages was obtained. It covers sixty-five workers.

**Dr. Tugwell's Group and the 500-Acre Law**—The Organic Act of Puerto Rico in Article 39, limits to five hundred acres the amount of land which may be held by a corporation. In the case of *Rubert Hnos vs. People of Puerto Rico*, both the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico and the Supreme Court of the United States upheld the constitutionality of the law.

The Department of the Interior of the United States sent Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell and a group to hold hearings during April and May, 1941 at San Juan, Puerto Rico "on methods and procedure in obtaining the objectives of the 500-acre law, on land use and social and economic problems."

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Secretary-Treasurer Nicolas Nogueras Rivera in these hearings discussed the points of view of Labor. He demanded:

(a) A loan of \$150,000,000 to develop an agrarian, social and educational plan.

(b) Creation of an Insular Economic Advisory Board with adequate representation of Labor.

(c) Appointment of a Federal Committee to advise and coordinate activities within the plan.

(d) Nationalization of the Sugar Industry to function under a co-operative basis giving reasonable participation to Labor to secure (1) equal distribution of responsibilities and benefits, and (2) to prevent the immediate disappearance of this basic industry.

(e) Distribution of marginal lands to farm laborers so as to balance their incomes.

(f) Development of cooperative agricultural industries.

(g) Development of a promotional and educational plan to explain cooperative objectives, promote efficiency and enhance economic stability.

A memorandum covering all of these points was filed on behalf of Labor.

**Hearings on Tobacco Stripping**—The Special Committee for Industries in Puerto Rico, appointed by Col. Fleming, held hearings at San Juan in May, 1941 after fixing a 20 cents per hour rate. Employers went to the hearing to oppose the measure. President Prudencio Rivera Martinez and Vice-Presidents Francisco Paz Granela and Cirilo Aviles discussed the points of view of Labor, maintaining the tentative wage approved by the committee. Our representatives filed an ample memorandum maintaining the advisability of upholding the decision of the Special Committee.

Brother Rivera Martinez, although a member of the Special Committee, acted as the representative of Labor together with Brothers Paz Granela and Aviles.

The Free Federation of Labor last year signed a collective agreement with employers in the tobacco stripping industry which protects nearly 15,000 women workers.

**Farm Security Administration**—The Free Federation of Workingmen has denounced to federal and local authorities the social problem created for Labor by the Farm Security Administration in the transaction of land in jurisdiction on Rio Piedras, Guaynabo and Trujillo Alto. Four thousand five hundred acres of land were bought and distributed among farmers of Central San Jose who began immediately to displace the organized people, pressing them to abandon their homes. These laborers have been working in this region all their lives and were protected in their salaries and working conditions by the collective agreement of the sugar industry.

The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Free Federation visited the Governor to denounce this situation. A round table conference was called by the Governor to study the problem and find out the proper solution. As the FSA will extend its activities to some other regions of the Island we are afraid that if proper and urgent action is not taken in time, distress will be spread among hundreds of agricultural workers who will be forced into unemployment.

**14th Convention**—The 14th Convention of the Free Federation of Work-



ingmen of Puerto Rico, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 21-23, 1941, with an attendance of 256 delegates representing 200 locals. Due to economic conditions some of the unions could not afford to send their delegates to the convention. Governor Swope and other representatives from the Government, religious and social institutions were present at the inaugural session. Many important resolutions were adopted in connection with national defense, organization campaigns, and offering cooperation to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in the reorganization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. A resolution expressing the gratitude of the Federation to President William Green, the Executive Council and the American Federation in general for the assistance given to the organized movement and in behalf of Puerto Rico, received the unanimous vote of the convention.

On the last day of the convention a motion was approved to adjourn until June 8 to consider the amendments to the constitution and for the election of officials.

On June 8, 1941, the convention met again at San Juan, Puerto Rico, having two points in the call: (1) Amendments to the Constitution and (2) election of the members of the Executive Council.

Important amendments to the constitution were adopted so as to conform our movement to present circumstances as well as the American Federation of Labor constitution and tactics.

The following officials were elected: President, P. Rivera Martinez; Secretary-Treasurer, Nicolas Nogueras Rivera; First Vice-President, Francisco Paz Granela. (These three officials were elected by the unanimous vote of the convention.) Vice-Presidents for each of the seven districts into which the Island is divided: for San Juan, Gabriel Blanco and Manuel Rubio Salinas; Arecibo, Nemesio Morales Cruz and Jose Santos Rodriguez; Aguadilla, Jose D. Soba and Enrique Velez; Mayaguez, Benigno Sorrentini and Jose Cuprill Oliveras; Ponce, Jesus Renta Santiago and Ramon Colon; Guayama, Antonio Arroyo and Augustin de Jesus; Humacao, Ascolatico Cruz and Hipolito Marciano. Vice-Presidents-at-large are: Teresa Anglero, William de Lopez, Sandalio E. Alonso and Epifanio Fiz Jimenez.

The convention elected a Legislative Committee composed of Brothers Francisco Paz Granela, Epifanio Fiz Jimenez and N. Nogueras Rivera.

President Prudencio Rivera Martinez was elected delegate from the Free Federation of Workingmen to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Secretary-Treasurer Nicolas Nogueras Rivera was elected alternate.

**State Legislation**—1. Among the laws approved by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico are: Act No. 8, "To Create a Minimum Wage Board in the Department of Labor; to define the powers thereof; to establish the procedure for determining the minimum wage to be paid in different occupations, the maximum working hours and the labor conditions necessary for the maintenance of the health, safety and well-being of workers; to give a mandatory character to such decrees on minimum wages, working hours, and labor conditions as said board may promulgate in the discharge of its duties; to estab-



lish the procedure for appealing from the decisions of the board; to fix penalties for the violations of the provisions of this Act, and for other purposes."

The Minimum Wage Board created by Section 2 of the Act shall be formed by nine persons, four to represent employers, four labor organizations and one the public, to be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate of Puerto Rico. It shall have the power to fix minimum wage rates; maximum working hours and labor conditions, and to fix the minimum rates of wages to be paid to persons between the ages of 14 and 18 years in cases permitted by law. The Board shall not establish a wage lower or a maximum of working hours greater than that fixed by collective agreements, conciliation and arbitration.

Although this Act will serve some of the objectives of Labor, it does not guarantee a minimum wage or minimum living standards. It does not establish a rock floor in wages, opening the way to industrial confusion and struggle and affording employers and government officials under political influence the opportunity to ignore organized labor.

The Act provides that labor representatives to form a part of the Minimum Wage Board will be selected from the labor organizations of the Island. The only bona fide labor organization in Puerto Rico is the Free Federation of Workingmen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are afraid that the purpose is to give representation and official recognition to those groups organized by politicians to fight our organization. These groups have no locals and consequently no collective agreements. The Governor has not appointed the members of the Minimum Wage Board as yet.

This local Act covers both industrial and agricultural workers and does not conflict with the Wage and Hour Law approved by Congress.

The activities of the Wage and Hour Division are of far-reaching results in the improvement of labor standards in Puerto Rico.

2. *Land Law*—Another Act passed by the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico is Act No. 26 establishing the Land Authority supposed to make effective the law approved by Congress and included in our Organic Act limiting the tenure of land to 500 acres. The law does not include individuals. The Land Authority shall be composed of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Commerce (who shall be the President), Commissioner of Labor, Commissioner of Interior and four citizens who believe in the wisdom and urgent necessity of said law. The Land Authority shall have the power to acquire, expropriate and distribute land. The law does not give representation to Labor in the Land Authority. Without organized labor intervention, the application of the law may degenerate into the establishment of a feudal system in the agricultural fields of the Island. (See the section headed "The 500-Acre Law".)

**Department of Labor**—Since last general elections (November 5, 1940) political parties, especially the Popular Democratic Party, which controls a majority vote in the Senate, have been pressing the Governor to appoint one of their affiliates as Commissioner of Labor. The Department of Labor was organized in 1931 due to the efforts and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. Brother Prudencio Rivera Martinez was appointed as head of

this Department, an office that he served until 1940, when he resigned. Brother Martinez did splendid work as Commissioner of Labor, deserving the recognition of the Federal and local government and of employers and employees. On February 3, 1941, Secretary Nicolas Noguerras Rivera wrote Governor Swope, stating among other things, the following:

The same year (1898) the American forces landed in Puerto Rico, our labor movement was organized under the leadership of Santiago Iglesias. Since then we have helped the Federal Government in propagating democratic principles and American ideals. To this glorious cause we have offered the lives and personal liberty of many leaders and brothers from the rank and file. We have publicly fought reactionary forces and anti-American movements. In this long crusade we have had the support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to which this Free Federation of Workingmen has been affiliated since the year 1901.

To organize the Department of Labor, Col. Roosevelt appointed Brother Prudencio Rivera Martinez, as Commissioner of Labor who received the unanimous vote of the members of Senate. This was understood as a recognition of the capacity of organized labor and its loyalty to American principles. The attitude of the Governor and that of the political parties in power established the policy of maintaining this executive branch out of the political spoils since organized labor is integrated by workers belonging to all political parties, races and religious denominations. Brother Prudencio Rivera Martinez was First Vice-President of the Free Federation of Workingmen when he was appointed Commissioner. He served that office from 1931 up to 1940. Former Governors Gore, Winship and Leahy followed the policy of recognizing organized labor the right and privilege of being represented in the Executive Council by one of its most experienced representatives.

Inspired by the aforementioned facts and with a sentiment of gratitude, faithfulness and with the best spirit of cooperation, good will and understanding the Free Federation of Workingmen, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor since 1901, with 350 locals throughout the Island, with an affiliation of more than 175,000 workers, being the oldest labor organization and a bona fide institution following American principles and ideals, respectfully demands from Your Honor that the Department of Labor be maintained not as a political spoil; that an experienced man from organized labor under the auspices of the Free Federation of Workingmen, State Federation of the American Federation of Labor, be selected as Commissioner of Labor as a ratification once more of the policy creating the best understanding between the Government and the laboring class.

**National Defense**—The Free Federation of Workingmen has given 100 per cent cooperation to the National Defense Program. Our representatives have been serving as members of the Local Boards and Boards of Appeals in the Selective Service; as members of the Insular Advisory Board for the Training of Workers in industries for the National Defense and on the Insular Advisory Board for the re-habilitation of candidates deferred by the local boards but having remediable physical defects. We have prevented strikes. We are doing permanent propaganda through the press and radio for the success of the National Defense Program in Puerto Rico, "The Gibraltar of the Americas."

**Building Trades**—The Insular Council for the Building Trades has conducted with great enthusiasm the organization campaign among painters, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, electricians and auxiliaries. In the last convention held at Arecibo a wage scale was adopted to be submitted to contractors, agents and employers in general. The first agreement signed in the building trades was that negotiated at the City of Fajardo between the building trades local and the Puerto Rico Iron Works, Inc. The agreement fixes a wage of 45 cents per hour for carpenters and bricklayers and 27 cents per hour for auxiliaries. The Insular Council has been demanding from employers of the National Defense Program the same salaries they are paying in continental United States. The Council is presided over by Brother Sandalio E. Alonso.

**Workers' Education Program**—Every Sunday morning and by courtesy of Station WKAQ, the Free Federation of Workingmen conducts a radio program where labor legislation and other topics of social interest are discussed.

Circular letters from the American Federation of Labor and articles from the *American Federationist* and the Weekly News Service are translated for the benefit of our organized labor movement and Puerto Rico in general.

**The Industrial Commission of Puerto Rico**—The Industrial Commission of Puerto Rico, composed of Mr. Manuel Leon Parra, lawyer, as President; Mr. Francisco Paz Granela (vice-president of the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen), and Mr. Juan M. Herrero, (lawyer), is a quasi-judicial body of far-reaching importance, which plays a significant role in the social welfare of the Island. Empowered, as it is, to review the decisions of the Manager of the State Insurance Fund not only with regard to awards made by him in cases of partial and total permanent disability and death cases, but to review the decisions affecting the insurance rates to be paid by employers, its importance cannot be over-estimated. The Industrial Commission is clothed by law with functions which enable it to act as a guardian over the persons of injured laborers or employees and its decisions are reviewable direct by the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico, its record and confirmations being over 95 per cent of the cases taken on appeal to that high tribunal.

The work done by Commissioner F. Paz Granela in behalf of Labor is noteworthy. As his term was to expire July 9, the 14th Convention of the Free Federation approved a resolution by unanimous vote to endorse him for another term. Politicians are pressing the Governor to appoint their candidates and oust labor representatives.

**Final Remarks**—During the year 60 new locals were affiliated through the application of the collective agreement in the bread industry. Although some locals have been suspended, there are still 412 locals with a membership of more than 175,000 workers.

The work done by the Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen has been possible due to the fact that it has never departed from the procedure and tactics of the American Federation of Labor and has ardently adhered to American democratic principles and ideals. The support and assistance given by President William Green and the American Federation of Labor have

exerted a great influence for the recognition by the Government, employers and public opinion, of the strength, responsibility, and seriousness of our organized labor movement and its spirit of cooperation toward the success of all national defense plans.

### ALASKA

During the past year energetic organizing activities have been in progress on the peninsula and island region, extending through Anchorage up to Fairbanks. In the Army and Naval air bases under construction special problems developed because many of the workers came from the states. Living costs are higher in Alaska than in the states and provision for returned transportation were not assured. The Seafarers International Union with jurisdiction over deep sea fishing was concerned for the organization of the fishermen and the salmon cannery workers.

Our representative in Alaska was successful in organizing construction workers on government contracts. Many of the building trades unions extended the jurisdiction of the nearest union in Washington and made its union standards applicable to Alaska. A number of unions were organized for international building and construction trades, culinary and laundry workers, retail clerks, and office workers.

There are six central labor unions in Alaska which have taken on a new strategic importance in the present international crisis.

### HAWAII

At the present time there is no unemployment problem in Hawaii, all available labor having been absorbed by the Army and Navy defense construction and facility expansion of Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, army posts and forts.

Hundreds of mechanics have been brought to these Islands from the mainland for construction work and navy yard employment, and this influx of men—many bringing their families with them—has strained housing accommodations. However, the Army and Navy have large housing projects under construction and some units are now complete and occupied.

Housing and living costs have advanced tremendously in the past several months. Last available figures on these costs, as of January, 1941, show 21 per cent higher than for the average of the entire United States mainland. This has caused much unrest and dissatisfaction with present wage scales in the labor ranks.

While accurate figures are not available at present, approximately 10,000 men are engaged in construction work on government projects. Pearl Harbor Navy Yard alone has about 5,000 men employed in the industrial department and is adding to this number continuously. Other thousands are engaged in private construction and local industries.

Of the 5,000 employees of Pearl Harbor Navy Yard, less than 1,200 are organized; in the construction field less than 1,500, and in other industries, less than 1,500.

Wage scales for Navy Yard workers vary for mechanics from \$1.06 per

hour to \$1.42 per hour; for the construction industry from 60 cents to \$1.50 per hour for mechanics.

While there is general dissatisfaction with wage rates both in the Navy Yard and in the construction field, there are no strikes in progress at present, and very little time has been lost on defense construction through such action. Much has been done to keep our men working while their grievances were ironed out by the few labor men available for this purpose.

Plumbers on construction work went on strike May 15, 1941, over wages and hours. This strike ended May 18 when a temporary agreement was signed and the men returned to work May 19. The time loss was 2½ days and 184 men were involved.

Contracts are now signed between five companies and the Plumbers, Electricians, Operating Engineers, Iron Workers and Painters' Unions. These same agreements are now in process of negotiation with other contractors.

However, while these agreements call for a 44-hour week—this was agreed to by the unions, pending decision on the application of the 40-hour week in Hawaii by the United States Department of Labor.

There seems to be some confliction with regard to the plumbers' and electricians' agreements covering five companies projects, as these locals have recently received notice of another agreement having been signed in San Francisco between the company and union officials, which seems to be at variance with the locally signed agreement.

While full information on this matter is not available at the present time, it does seem that lack of coordination exists between the local unions and their West Coast international representatives.

Early in June a group of workers of various crafts walked off an Army housing project over wage and hour conditions. Varying reports gave their number at 50 to 200. However some settlement was made and these men returned to work the next day.

There is an absence of uniform wage and hour conditions on defense construction, and in addition to organizing these men, we are trying to establish some uniformity of conditions.

Some contractors, hiring mechanics on the mainland, will sign individual contracts with them calling for \$200 per month plus \$75 subsistence allowance and transportation to the Islands and return to the mainland upon completion of their contract, which is usually one year. Other contractors will hire mainland mechanics on a straight hourly basis of \$1 per hour and no subsistence allowance.

The reason for many complaints among the workers causing much unrest is that some contracts call for a 44-hour week while others call for 48 to 56 hours a week.

The "black list" is also used. If a workman on one job can do a little better for himself on another project, and does not receive the approval of his employer for such transfer, he is "black listed" and consequently cannot work for any contractor if he quits without approval.

The "black list" is also used by the Navy Yard. Contractors will assume

no responsibility for this condition and the Navy Department is adamant that it be enforced.

Transportation back to the mainland is another problem facing the workman. The lowest priced accommodation is \$85 and these are reserved months in advance, consequently a man will be forced to pay from \$100 to \$250 for a one-way ticket. Taking living and other costs into consideration, it is readily seen that a grave problem faces the worker who is maintaining a family either here or on the mainland.

Some discrimination does exist between the "white" and the Oriental worker. While this is not rampant on defense construction and does not exist in the Navy Yard with regard to wages and hours, it does exist in private and local industries. While the Navy Yard admits to Civil Service employment Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Hawaiian and other workers, it does not allow the Japanese employment. However, contractors may employ Japanese workmen on Navy and Army projects and Japanese are also employed in other governmental departments and, with one or two exceptions, they are allowed membership in local unions.

Some employers contend that they will not pay the same rates to Oriental workers that are paid to "whites," while the unions contend that if the Oriental is eligible for membership in trade unions, he is entitled to full protection. We also find his skill is comparable to that of the "white" mechanic. Trade unions have done a great amount of good for Hawaii, but a far greater amount must yet be accomplished if comparable conditions, wages and hours of mainland workers are to be attained.

Progressively successful organizing work has been carried on among those who come under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. Local organizations of hotel and restaurant employees have been established in a number of leading hotels in the Islands. Agreements have been worked out and the local organizations are functioning in a very commendable way.

Other organizations chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor have also given special consideration to organizing opportunities in Hawaii. They are engaged in carrying on organizing campaigns and organizing work among workers who come under their respective jurisdictions.

#### **WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA**

The Workers Education Bureau celebrated its Twentieth Anniversary during this year. To appraise the service of this Bureau over the past twenty years a special conference was held at the Town Hall in New York on April 26. The first session considered some recent techniques in workers education. A distinguished group of speakers addressed the banquet session, including a special broadcast to the banquet by President Green from Washington. Other greetings were received from leaders of adult and workers education agencies in this country and abroad. Perhaps the best summary of the work of the Bureau was contained in the address by Thomas E. Burke, Presi-



dent of the Bureau, when he said the Bureau made workers education an accepted part of the educational program of organized labor in this country.

1. **Labor Institutes**—The program of Labor Institutes as sponsored by the state federations of labor, central labor bodies, and national and international unions in cooperation with state universities or local educational authorities has been a helpful service. In view of the world crisis there was a special focus in all institutes on the relation of Labor to the national defense program as well as the larger implications of the world situation. Among the institutes during the year were the following:

**Texas**—The Second Labor Institute held in Dallas during 1940 met on November 30 and December 1, under the auspices of the Dallas Central Labor Council with the cooperation of the Texas State Federation of Labor. This Institute was made particularly notable by the fact that it included an address by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

**Kansas**—The first Labor Institute held in Kansas between the State Federation of Labor and a state educational institution met on December 7-8 at Kansas State College at Manhattan. This Institute disclosed the growing identity of interest between farmers and industrial workers in their approach to many of the current social and economic problems of the day. As a result of the Institute the decision was reached to hold a series of study groups throughout the state during 1941 on the subject of Labor and Defense.

**Pennsylvania**—The first Labor Institute to be set up with the cooperation of the Bureau to consider negro problems was held in Chester, Pa., on January 11, sponsored by a Citizens' Committee. The program on "Education, Labor and National Defense" was prepared by representatives of the American Federation of Teachers, with the advice and cooperation of the Bureau.

On May 3-4 the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor with the cooperation of the Bureau held its second Labor Forum just prior to the opening of its convention at Harrisburg, with "Labor and Defense" and "Labor Legislation" as its main topics.

**Colorado**—An Institute on Employer-Employee Relations and National Defense on the campus of the University of Colorado under the joint sponsorship of the University and the State Federation of Labor was held March 8-9, with an attendance of 160 registered delegates.

**New York**—The first Labor Forum sponsored by the New York State Federation of Labor on "Labor and the Defense Program" was held in Albany, March 12, with an attendance of 250 representatives of state labor organizations. Among other topics discussed were the educational implications of the legislative program of the State Federation.

On March 22 the New York members of the American Federation of Teachers with the cooperation of the Bureau held a one-day Educational Conference on Labor, Education, and the National Defense, at which William H. Kilpatrick, George Counts, Harold Rugg, Reinhold Schairer, Matthew Woll, and Robert J. Watt spoke.

The first Labor Institute this year in Western New York was held at Buffalo



on April 5-6, sponsored by the Buffalo Federation of Labor with the cooperation of the New York State Federation of Labor and the Bureau. There was an average attendance of 75 at each of the general sessions, with 150 present at the dinner. As at most of the other Institutes, the topic was primarily "Labor and the National Defense."

**Indiana**—The third annual educational institute of the Indiana State Federation of Labor was held on the campus of Ball State Teachers College at Muncie, June 6-8, with the cooperation of the Muncie Central Labor Union and Public Schools and the Workers Education Bureau. The meeting, which was the most ambitious yet held in this state, took as its topic "Labor's Function in Promotion of Defense."

**New Jersey**—The eleventh annual Rutgers Institute of Labor held June 9-12 on the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick was one of the most successful sessions ever held. There was an attendance this year of 190 labor delegates, with official observers, faculty members, registered speakers and general public making up a total of 279. The highlight of the Institute was a broadcast direct from England by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Greenwood, Minister Without Portfolio in the Churchill Cabinet.

**Massachusetts**—The second annual Institute of Labor sponsored by the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor with the cooperation of the Bureau was held June 13-15 at Massachusetts State College at Amherst, with over 100 delegates in attendance. A varied program was offered, with emphasis on Labor and the defense program.

**Nebraska**—The second annual labor institute sponsored by the Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the University of Nebraska, with the Bureau's cooperation, was held on the campus of the University at Lincoln, June 14-15. One of the features of the Institute, which was larger and more representative than last year, was a model collective bargaining negotiation between employer and employee representatives of an actual union agreement based upon a hypothetical situation.

**New Hampshire**—On June 21 the Conference on Labor and Industrial Relations held its third session in three years at the University of New Hampshire in Durham in cooperation with the New Hampshire State Federation of Labor. At the luncheon session, attended by 125 persons, Matthew Woll spoke on "American Labor and the Defense Program."

**California**—The third annual labor institute of the summer sessions of the Pacific Coast Labor School was held at Berkeley and Oakland, July 12-13, with a total attendance of 120. The general topic was "Labor and the National Defense," and a representative group of labor men and educators addressed the sessions and took part in the several round table and panel discussions.

**North Carolina**—The first North Carolina labor institute on "Labor and National Defense," sponsored jointly by the State Federation of Labor and the State University, with the co-operation of the Bureau, was held at Charlotte on August 9-10. Following the two-day sessions, a summary of the institute was presented by the Director of the Bureau to the State Federation of Labor convention at its first session on the morning of August 11.

## CONCLUSION

Our report indicates only the outline of the mighty surge of the upheavals which are convulsing our social, economic and political institutions. In all of these phases of our national life we find evidences of the strain on the controls which shift procedures to an emergency basis, bringing suffering and need to many in the economic field.

We realize we face a war situation that will require service and sacrifice of all. We are willing to give in defense of our free institutions and to abolish slavery so that all persons may have the right to control their own lives.

We know that the organized labor movement has the special responsibility of preserving and extending the application of principles of democracy and justice within its own immediate sphere of activity. Upon our ability to meet responsibilities depends a large measure of the preservation of free institutions. We therefore solemnly urge all affiliated unions to renew their dedication to the cause of Labor and human freedom so that our sacrifices and hardships may be made to serve the cause of humanity.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
*President.*  
WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
*First Vice-President.*  
MATTHEW WOLL,  
*Second Vice-President.*  
JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
*Third Vice-President.*  
G. M. BUGNIAZET,  
*Fourth Vice-President.*  
GEO. M. HARRISON,  
*Fifth Vice-President.*  
DANIEL J. TOBIN,  
*Sixth Vice-President.*  
HARRY C. BATES,  
*Seventh Vice-President.*  
EDWARD J. GAINOR,  
*Eighth Vice-President.*  
W. D. MAHON,  
*Ninth Vice-President.*  
FELIX H. KNIGHT,  
*Tenth Vice-President.*  
GEORGE E. BROWNE,  
*Eleventh Vice-President.*  
EDWARD FLORE,  
*Twelfth Vice-President.*  
HARVEY W. BROWN,  
*Thirteenth Vice-President.*  
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,  
*Fourteenth Vice-President.*  
GEORGE MEANY,  
*Secretary-Treasurer.*

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The Chair will now call upon the Secretary to make the announcement of the appointment of convention committees—Secretary Meany.

### Convention Committees

Secretary Meany announced the following appointments:

#### Convention Officers

Assistant Secretary.....George D. Early  
Sergeant-at-Arms.....N. M. McLeod  
Messenger.....R. Loewe  
Messenger.....Paul Ornburn

### Executive Council's Report

Harry C. Bates, Robert Byron, F. A. Fitzgerald, Henry F. Schmal, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch, Charles M. Rau, William Campbell, M. F. Heater, Irvin Barney, Arthur Huggins, A. C. D'Andrea, A. O. Wharton, Selma Borchardt, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, M. J. Sexton, Luigi Antonini, Wm. Schoenberg, Harry C. Hatch, Frank W. Anderson,

### Resolutions

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John M. Gillespie, William E. Maloney, P. J. Morrin, Isidore Nagler, John B. Haggerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, Henry Strickland, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold Zander, John E. Rooney, Joseph P. Ryan, Frank Kasten, J. Scott Milne.

### Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Dennis Lane, Harry J. Ames, J. J. Farnan, James E. Rickets, Frank Hull, James Killen, William Tracy, William J. Gorman, Edward J. Volz, Ray O. Shuster, J. J. Fitzgerald, Herbert Rivers, Jasper N. Davis, Morris Blumberg, William McCarthy, John J. Egan, James L. Kelley, Sol Ciento.

### Organization

Harvey W. Brown, Frank Duffy, H. G. Brown, John P. Burke, Frank Gilmore, Patrick H. Reagan, Jess Fletcher, Vincent Castronovo, Wm. J. Riehl, James Bove, Charles F. May, John B. Prewitt, Earl W. Jimerson, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, J. W. Buzzell, J. Belton Warren, T. J. Finneran, Frank Smith, Sam J. Byers, Lester Washburn.

### Labels

Edward Flore, Joseph Obergfell, Charles Hansen, Peter Belsel, Anthony Merlino, M. S. Maxwell, Martin Lawlor, George C. Slater, Melvin Ferron, Joseph Addy, James A. Taylor, Joseph C. Orr, Joshua Chadwick, John Zitello, Anastasia Becker, Robert L. Frey, R. E. Van Horn, Charles A. Sumner, Abraham Plotkin, Robert Lester, W. G. Desepte.

### Adjustment

Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, Arthur Seward, C. E. Crook, Frank Brewster, E. J. Brown, D. J. Mahoney, L. A. Hutchison, James Edgar, George W. Lawson, David Sullivan, Arthur Wallace, Harry Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, Albert E. Fischer, Joseph O'Neill, Joseph P. McCurdy.

### Local and Federated Bodies

W. C. Birthright, C. C. Coulter, Joseph M. Marshall, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, R. E. Woodmansee, J. B. Boscoe, Wm. J. Moran, Alfred Rota, Lawrence Foley, Forrest H. Amo, Wm. McGuern, A. E. Martin, Nat Messing, P. J. Cullen, Thomas C. Cashen, Arthur J. Strunk, Herman Finkelstein, Bert Swain, David Levine, Bernard Shane, O. M. Jacobson.

### Education

George M. Harrison, E. E. Milliman, Joseph F. Clarke, Thomas E. Burke, Max Zaritsky, George A. Bang, William I. Horner, Kenneth I. Taylor, A. Rex Riccardi, Andrew Wigstrom, Leslie L. Myers, William L. McFetridge, Harry H. Cook, Joseph Breslaw, Irvin Kuenzli, L. C. Macomber, Irvin Cary, Harry Lundberg, Robert Bruck, Hugo Ernst, James J. Doyle.

### State Organizations

G. M. Bugnizet, Wm. E. Walter, Joseph D. Shaughnessy, Carl H. Mullen, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Rudolph Heini, Berniece B. Heffner, Thomas Donnelly, Charles T. Crane, W. S. Gross, Thomas J. Lyons, Clifford B. Noxon, Thos. E. Hinton, Gust Anderson, Roy Brewer, Louis Koenig, O. C. Moore, Bernard Quinn, James D. Graham, Claude O'Reilly.

### Industrial Relations

Wm. L. Hutcheson, Gordon Chapman, Everett W. Cox, Joseph S. Fay, Walter Matthews, Harry Milton, E. E. Henrik-

sen, John O'Rourke, Joseph J. Kehoe, John Clayton, Charles N. Paulson, W. W. Britton, John R. Owers, Wm. Donovan, Thos. Cairns, Samuel Reinlib, George L. Warfel, E. J. Brock, James W. Close, John England, Edward Coester, Peter G. Noll.

### Building Trades

John P. Coyne, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Oliver W. Carter, John H. Lyons, George Masterton, Edw. L. Nolan, Paul A. Givens, John Oliver, H. H. Hudson, J. M. Gavlak, M. J. McDonough, John J. Conway, George Wilson, James L. McDevitt, D. E. Nickerson, C. A. Fink, Raleigh Rajoppi, Nicholas Russo.

### Shorter Workday

Harry Stevenson, Joseph Tremblay, James Meehan, Chris Lane, Eduardo Mollisani, John Pelkofer, William Cooper, Joseph Hauser, Louis P. Marciano, Sal B. Hoffman, C. F. Strickland, Milton P. Webster, John F. McCann, Harry J. Hagen, Samuel Ashton, Ira S. Turley, Patrick E. Gorman, Walter J. Kenefick, Fred A. Moore, C. J. Haggerty, Herman Seide.

### Legislation

I. M. Ornburn, Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, C. L. Rosemund, Ray Dickey, Richard Gray, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, James B. Burns, Thomas V. Green, George S. Counts, William C. Doherty, Nathaniel Spector, Don M. Burrows, Christian Madson, David Behncke, John F. Hogan, James Waugh, Eppa Honey, Samuel Laderman, Julius Madison, Leo A. McCormick.

### International Labor Relations

Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, Wm. J. McSorley, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, P. J. Morrin, Felix H. Knight, James Maloney, Harry Stevenson.

**President Green:** Do the chairmen of any of the committees desire to make any announcements at this time? The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll, of the Committee on Resolutions.

**Vice-President Woll:** The Committee on Resolutions will meet in Parlors E and F, at 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning, Olympic Hotel. The Committee will immediately consider Resolutions Nos. 14, 15 and 16, and the delegates interested in those three resolutions will please appear before the committee.

Resolution No. 14 deals with the controversy between the Machinists and the Carpenters, Resolution No. 15 with the controversy between the Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, and Resolution No. 16 with the controversy between the Machinists and the Building Trades Department.

Hearings will commence at 10:00 o'clock on these three resolutions.

In the afternoon the committee will be willing to hear any delegation interested in any of the resolutions presented to the Resolutions Committee.

**President Green:** The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for further announcements.

**Secretary Meany:** The sections of the Executive Council's Report which has been summarized here this afternoon and distributed to the delegates, have been referred by President Green to the following committees:

## SECTIONS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

### Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

#### Official Changes

Death of Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert

#### International Typographical Union

Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists

Masters, Mates and Pilots-Longshoremen

Boilermakers-Plumbers and Steamfitters

Elimination of Communists and Communist Influences from American Federation of Teachers

Railway Employees Department

Metal Trades Department

Trade Union Benefits

National Defense Mediation Board

Railroad Wage Negotiations

Fraternal Delegates

Conclusion

## Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Introduction

Peace Negotiations with the C. I. O.

Compliance with Law and Lawful Procedure

Wages

National Legislation:

National Defense

The Lend-Lease Bill

Appropriation for Section Bases

Appropriation for Operating Bases

Appropriation for Naval Aviation

Appropriation for Coast Guard

Sanitary Areas Near Army Camps

Protection of Navy Yards

Qualifications for Military Service

War Department

Anti-Labor Legislation

Wire Tapping

Federal Employees Legislation:

Ordered to Military or Naval Duty

Rural Letter Carriers

Overtime for Certain Government Employees

Extension of Civil Service

Civil Service Classification

Disability or Death Compensation

Immigration, Naturalization, etc.

Detention of Deportable Aliens

Naturalization Papers

Retaliation against Certain Nations

Limiting Admission of Aliens held in Detention Camps

Refusal of Visas

Proposed Importation of Mexican Labor.

Wage and Hour Division Appropriation

W. P. A. Appropriation

Federal Aid for Highways

Transportation for Released Prisoners

Tennessee Valley Hydro-Electric Projects

Settlement of Disputes with United States

Coal Mine Inspection

Forest Lands.

Wage-Hour Law Administration

Maximum Hours

Minimum Wages

Child Labor

Home Work

Deductions

Exemptions

Enforcement

Litigation

Puerto Rico

Labor Standards and Defense.

National Labor Relations Board

Removal of Biased Personnel

Lessening of Delay by Administrative and Procedural Changes

Principle of Self-Determination in Unit Questions Respected

Contracts Protected.

Social Security

Old Age Provisions

Employment Security

Disability Problems

Defense Production and Social Security Rights

Committee on Social Security.

Works Progress Administration

Labor Standards on Public Contracts

Representation before Administrative Agencies

Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive

American Federationist

Publicity and the Labor Press

Research and Information Service

Legal Activities

The European Conflict

Japanese War on China

Boycott on German and Japanese Goods

Post-War Reconstruction

Defense

A. F. of L. Committee on National Defense

Labor's Representation in Defense Policies

Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor

Alaska

Hawaii.

## Referred to Committee on Laws

Proposed Change in Number of Vice-Presidents

Per Capita Tax to American Federation of Labor.

## Referred to Committee on Organization

Organizing Activities

Chemical Workers

American Editorial Association

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers  
 Aluminum Workers Unions  
 Distillery Workers Unions  
 Grain Processors Council  
 Fabricated Metal Council  
 Office Workers  
 Rubber Workers Union  
 Textile Workers  
 Telegraph Workers  
 Railway Patrolmen  
 Miscellaneous Unions.

### **Referred to Committee on Labels**

Union Label Trades Department.

### **Referred to Committee on Adjustment**

Printing Trades-Lithographers  
 Engineers-Firemen and Oilers

### **Referred to Committee on Education**

Education  
 Defense Training  
 Workers Education Bureau.

### **Referred to Committee on State Organizations**

Report on State Labor Legislation, 1941  
 State Departments of Labor  
 Wages and Hours Legislation  
 Child Labor  
 Workmen's Compensation  
 Industrial Safety and Health  
 Industrial Relations  
 Apprenticeship  
 Anti-Union Bills  
 Summary of State Anti-Sabotage Bills  
 Reports by Individual States  
 Affiliation to State Federations of Labor.

### **Referred to Committee on Building Trades**

Housing (Legislation)  
 National Housing Act  
 Defense Public Works  
 Alaska Slums  
 National Defense Housing  
 Housing Funds  
 Housing Appropriation Bills Pending.  
 Housing for Workers  
 Building and Construction Trades Department.

### **Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day**

Shorter Work Day and Shorter Work Week.

### **Referred to Committee on Legislation**

#### **National Legislation:**

Requisition of Property (National Defense)  
 Post-War Readjustments (National Defense)  
 Social Security  
 Amendments to Anti-Trust Law  
 Canal Zone  
 Longevity Pay for Postal Employees  
 Night Work in Custodial Service  
 Eight-Hour Day in Custodial Service  
 Special Delivery Messengers  
 Laborers in Railway Mail Service  
 Post Office Substitute Driver-Mechanics  
 Holiday Pay  
 Postal Service Custodial Employees  
 Retirement  
 District of Columbia Legislation  
 Maritime Legislation  
 Prohibition  
 Revenue Act for 1941  
 Appropriation for National Labor Relations Board  
 Amendments to Fair Labor Standards Act  
 Aid for the Blind  
 Federal Regulation of Employment Agencies  
 Migratory Labor  
 Payment of Poll Tax as Prerequisite for Voting  
 Census of Industry and Business  
 Merging of Telegraph Companies  
 Price Control  
 St. Lawrence Waterways Project  
 Amendment to Copyright Act  
 Registration of Trade Marks  
 Amendment to National Labor Relations Act.

### **Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations**

International Federation of Trade Unions  
 The International Labor Organization  
 Pan-American Federation of Labor.

## ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Subject	Committee
Introduction .....	Resolutions
Official Changes .....	Executive Council Report
Death of Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert .....	
Proposed Change in Number of Vice-Presidents .....	Laws
Organizing Activities .....	Organizations
Chemical Workers .....	Organizations
American Editorial Association .....	Organizations
Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers .....	Organizations
Aluminum Workers Unions .....	Organizations
Distillery Workers .....	Organizations
Grain Processors Council .....	Organizations
Fabricated Metal Workers Council .....	Organizations
Office Workers Unions .....	Organizations
Rubber Workers Unions .....	Organizations
Textile Workers .....	Organizations
Telegraph .....	Organizations
Railway Patrolmen .....	Organizations
Miscellaneous Unions .....	Organizations
International Typographical Union .....	Executive Council Report
Peace Negotiations with the C.I.O. ....	Resolutions
Printing Trades-Lithographers .....	Adjustment
Engineers-Firemen and Oilers .....	Adjustment
Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists .....	Executive Council Report
Boilermakers-Plumbers and Steamfitters .....	Executive Council Report
Per Capita Tax to American Federation of Labor .....	Laws
Compliance with Law and Lawful Procedure .....	Resolutions
Elimination of Communists and Communistic Influences from American Federation of Teachers .....	Executive Council Report
Wages .....	Resolutions
National Legislation .....	Legislation
National Defense .....	Resolutions
Lend-Lease Bill .....	Resolutions
Requisition of Property .....	Legislation
Appropriation for Section Bases .....	Resolutions
Appropriation for Operating Bases .....	Resolutions
Appropriation for Naval Aviation .....	Resolutions
Appropriation for Coast Guard .....	Resolutions
Sanitary Areas Near Army Camps .....	Resolutions
Qualification for Military Service .....	Resolutions
Protection for Navy Yards, etc. ....	Resolutions
Post-War Readjustments .....	Legislation
War Department .....	Resolutions
Housing .....	Building Trades
Social Security .....	Legislation
Anti-Labor Legislation .....	Resolutions
Wire Tapping .....	Resolutions
Amendments to Anti-Trust Law .....	Legislation
Canal Zone .....	Legislation
Federal Employees Legislation .....	
Ordered to Military or Naval Duty .....	Resolutions
Longevity Pay for Postal Employees .....	Legislation
Rural Letter Carriers .....	Resolutions



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Night Work in Custodial Service.....	Legislation
Eight-Hour Day in Custodial Service.....	Legislation
Special Delivery Messengers.....	Legislation
Laborers in Railway Mail Service.....	Legislation
Overtime for Certain Government Employees.....	Resolutions
Extension of Civil Service.....	Resolutions
Civil Service Classification.....	Resolutions
Disability or Death Compensation.....	Resolutions
P. O. Substitute driver-mechanics.....	Legislation
Holiday Pay .....	Legislation
P. O. Service Custodial Employees.....	Legislation
Retirement .....	Legislation
District of Columbia.....	Legislation
Immigration, Naturalization, etc.....	Resolutions
Maritime Legislation .....	Legislation
Prohibition .....	Legislation
Revenue Act for 1941.....	Legislation
National Labor Relations Board Appropriation.....	Legislation
Wage and Hour Division Appropriation.....	Resolutions
Amendment to Fair Labor Standards Act.....	Legislation
W. P. A. Appropriation.....	Resolutions
Federal Aid for Highways, etc.....	Resolutions
Aid for the Blind.....	Legislation
Transportation for Released Prisoners.....	Resolutions
Federal Regulation of Employment Agencies.....	Legislation
Tennessee Valley Hydro-electric Projects.....	Resolutions
Migratory Labor .....	Legislation
Payment of Poll Tax as Prerequisite for Voting.....	Legislation
Census of Industry and Business.....	Legislation
Merging of Telegraph Companies.....	Legislation
Settlement of Disputes with United States.....	Resolutions
Price Control .....	Legislation
St. Lawrence Waterways Project.....	Legislation
Amendment to Copyright Act.....	Legislation
Coal Mine Inspection.....	Resolutions
Registration of Trade Marks.....	Legislation
Amendment to National Labor Relations Act.....	Legislation
Forest Lands .....	Resolutions
Shorter Work Day and Shorter Work Week.....	Shorter Workday
Wage-Hour Law Administration.....	Resolutions
National Labor Relations Board.....	Resolutions
Social Security .....	Resolutions
Old Age Provisions.....	Resolutions
Employment Security .....	Resolutions
Disability Problems .....	Resolutions
Defense Production and Social Security Rights.....	Resolutions
Committee on Social Security.....	Resolutions
Works Projects Administration.....	Resolutions
Housing for Workers.....	Building Trades
Labor Standards on Public Contracts.....	Resolutions
Representation Before Administrative Agencies.....	Resolutions
Labor and the Anti-Trust Drive.....	Resolutions
Education .....	Education
State Labor Legislation, 1941.....	State Organizations
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	Building Trades

Union Label Trades Department.....	Labels
Railway Employees Department.....	Executive Council Report
Metal Trades Department.....	Executive Council Report
American Federationist .....	Resolutions
Publicity and the Labor Press.....	Resolutions
Research and Information Service .....	Resolutions
Trade Union Benefits.....	Executive Council Report
Legal Activities .....	Resolutions
The European Conflict.....	Resolutions
Japanese War on China.....	Resolutions
Boycott on German and Japanese Goods.....	Resolutions
Post-War Reconstruction .....	Resolutions
Defense .....	Resolutions
A. F. of L. Committee on National Defense.....	Resolutions
Labor's Representation in Defense Policies.....	Resolutions
National Defense Mediation Board.....	Executive Council Report
Defense Training .....	Education
Railroad Wage Negotiations.....	Executive Council Report
Fraternal Delegates .....	Executive Council Report
International Federation of Trade Unions.....	International Labor Relations
International Labor Organization.....	International Labor Relations
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	International Labor Relations
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Labor.....	Resolutions
Alaska .....	Resolutions
Hawaii .....	Resolutions
Workers Education Bureau of America.....	Education
Conclusion.....	Executive Council Report

### Committee Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Brother Ashton, Delegate from the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers to serve on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business in place of H. W. Sullivan, of the same organization, who is not here.

### Notice to State Federations of Labor

The officers and delegates representing State Federations of Labor are requested to meet on Tuesday evening, October 7, at 8:00 o'clock, in the Junior Ball Room of the Olympic Hotel, with Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers Education Bureau, to discuss the educational programs of the State Federations.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Brother R. E. Woodmansee, Springfield, Illinois, for announcement.

### Meeting of Labor Press

Delegate Woodmansee: The Labor Press holds its meeting each year at the same time as the American Federation of Labor. Our meeting is scheduled for tonight at 7:30 o'clock in Parlors E and F of the Olympic Hotel. We realize that the delegates are being asked by their various local unions to attend this, that and the other affair, and this is the only night we could get on which we felt we might have a full attendance.

We hope every member of the Labor Press and those who are publishing labor papers will come. I think we have a very interesting report to make of the progress during the past year, during which we have tried to revolutionize the Labor Press along the lines of the American Federation of Labor policies. I hope that those who believe that the Labor Press should uphold the American Federation of Labor will be there and hear this report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes

Delegate Nagler, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union on a matter of personal privilege.

### **Tribute to Justice Louis D. Brandeis**

Delegate Nagler, Ladies Garment Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates to this convention—We were deeply touched and very much affected by the sad news that was brought to us of the passing of one of America's great citizens. I refer to Justice Louis D. Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court. Justice Brandeis was not only a great jurist, he was a great liberal and a great statesman, a great American and a great humanitarian with a progressive mind. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing him personally and those who followed his deeds can appreciate the great contribution that he has made to the welfare of our nation. He was one of the first to preach the right of labor to bargain collectively. In our own industry, the Ladies garment trade, away back in 1910 he was the first umpire, the Chairman of the Protocol of Peace that in later years brought peace and tranquility in this particular industry.

And at this time, when we think of the name of Justice Louis D. Brandeis, we are grieved, because when that personality entered the Supreme Court of the United States not only did he bring with him a great judicial mind but greater vision, greater enlightenment, more liberal and progressive thinking, which has brought great happiness to the masses of our nation.

In this moment of grief, Mr. Chairman

and delegates, I am sure we are all anxious to express our sympathy. I therefore move that the delegates rise in respect to his memory, and I further move that a message of condolence be sent to the family of Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

President Green: You have heard the motion offered by Delegate Nagler. I am sure we are all in hearty accord with the motion. We are all deeply touched because of the passing of a great soul and a great man.

All in favor of the adoption of the motion will please say "aye." Those opposed "no." The motion is carried. Now let us rise for a moment and pay our tribute to his memory.

In accordance with the motion the delegates rose and remained standing for a brief time.

President Green: And in conformity with your action a message will be prepared and sent to the bereaved family of Justice Brandeis expressing our sorrow and extending our sympathy because of his death.

Please bear in mind that tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock Governor Stassen, of Minnesota, will address the delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention. Tomorrow afternoon Secretary of Labor Perkins will address the convention.

Inasmuch as there is no further business to come before the convention, we will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 5:15 o'clock, p. m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 7, 1941.



## RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

### Anti-Strike Legislation

**Resolution No. 1**—By Delegates Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, Nat Messing, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The representatives of big business and of the radio and the press are carrying on a campaign of hysteria, and

WHEREAS, These same employers and representatives of big business have launched a broad campaign which has as its purpose the wiping out of the first trade union principle, that is, "the right to strike," and

WHEREAS, Under the guise of aiding the national defense program they are trying to legislate the trade union move-

ment into compulsory arbitration, compulsory mediation, and so-called "cooling off periods"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as opposing any restrictions of our legal right to strike, whether such restriction be attempted through overt legislation or through subterfuges such as "compulsory arbitration" or cooling off periods."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 2**—By Delegate D. E. Nickerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may

supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights and encountering similar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Salaries—A. F. of L. Organizers

**Resolution No. 3**—By Delegate Dewey L. Johnson, Georgia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide good salaries for organizers and representatives in the field, and

WHEREAS, It seems to have been the practice in some communities to place organizers in the field at a much lower wage than that, and called for in the laws of the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, Such practice has resulted in failure to accomplish the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, namely organization, increased membership and proper agreements, and

WHEREAS, In this time of national emergency, we know that the labor movement is essential to American freedom and democracy and if the program of the labor movement, and the principle of collective bargaining are fully accepted, they must be presented by the best possible leadership that can be secured and placed in the field, and

WHEREAS, The position of organized labor in many instances is being misunderstood and judged unfairly and the issues confused; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled call upon the American Federation of Labor to abandon the practice of placing representatives in the field at low salaries since it results only in sporadic efforts and a failure to carry out the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the salaries of organizers and representatives in the field in all communities be raised to the level called for in the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### "Good Neighbor" Policy

**Resolution No. 4**—By Delegate Harry W. Acreman, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has frequently expressed, in no uncertain terms, the favorable attitude of this organization toward President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his foreign policy, and

WHEREAS, The "Good Neighbor" policy is an integral part of this foreign policy of our great President, working toward the integration of the entire Western Hemisphere in a combined economic and social front against the infiltration of Nazism and of other "isms" originating in war-torn countries abroad, and

WHEREAS, Labor realizes that its stake in this horrific conflict is greater than that of any other single group, and

WHEREAS, It is our opinion that in spirit, in practice, and in conviction, the "Good Neighbor" policy is the only policy that should be adopted and followed between all nations of the world, as involving the fundamental and unassailable principles of charity, justice, comity and humanity, and

WHEREAS, There is forcibly realized the great need that exists today of cementing the bonds of mutual understanding and cooperation that should weld the nations of the Western Hemisphere as if in a confederation of states, for mutual protection, welfare and happiness, and

WHEREAS, The forces of labor can play an inestimable part in making most effective the finest tenets of the "Good Neighbor" policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested and instructed by this convention to invite the presidents of all labor organizations of the United States and Canada to hold a joint meeting, to consider a proposal to invite the leaders of labor organizations of all crafts, in all countries of the Western Hemisphere, whose principles are not subversive of good government, or dual to unions of the American Federation of Labor in their fields of jurisdiction, to meet at such time and place as might be convenient, and at a time as early as prac-

ticable, for the purpose of promoting and effectuating the ideals and the philosophy underlying the "Good Neighbor" policy; and in order further to consider and adopt such measures as might provide for the coordination of effort and cooperation of all nations of the Western Hemisphere for their joint and several welfare.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Tax on Labor and Non-Profit Radio Stations

**Resolution No. 5**—By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," is the only radio broadcasting station in the United States owned and operated by and for organized labor, and

WHEREAS, WCFL serves the labor movement by providing time on the air, and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement would not be able to buy this time to disseminate the objects and purposes of the American Federation of Labor to the American people were it not for the fact that labor owns and operates this station, and

WHEREAS, Many of the broadcasts donated free of charge to the labor organizations which use WCFL are put on the air solely and specifically for the purpose of bringing about unity in labor and unity between management and labor, both of which factors are recognized to be vital and necessary for the national defense and welfare, and

WHEREAS, WCFL donates great amounts of valuable time each month to broadcasts bringing information, culture and entertainment to that part of the nation within its range of hearing, and

WHEREAS, The American people have taken this radio station into their homes and lives in ever-increasing numbers and the station has strikingly grown in popularity in recent years, as has been proven by countless surveys made by impartial and disinterested surveying organizations, and

WHEREAS, The new proposed U. S. Revenue Law now pending before the U. S. Congress and already passed overwhelmingly by the U. S. House of Representatives, places a most burdensome tax on the gross business of all radio broadcasting, including that done by stations owned and operated by non-profit organizations, such as the Chicago Federation of Labor and its Station WCFL, and

WHEREAS, This proposed tax, if it finally becomes law, will be a terrific burden on the Chicago Federation of Labor, to the extent of forcing it to curtail many of the activities of its radio broadcast Station WCFL, and

WHEREAS, These facts have been or will be presented to the Finance Committee of the U. S. Senate, by the duly constituted and authorized officers and representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor on or about August 18, 1941, in as clear and a factual manner as possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled does hereby reaffirm its faith and pride in WCFL, the "Voice of Labor", and does declare its belief that WCFL is the only labor station in the United States and one of the few great stations in the United States operated not for profit, be given the whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliates and members and that the American Federation of Labor believes it to be in the public interest for the U. S. Tax Laws to continue to abide by the long established principle of relieving non-profit organizations and Labor Unions from all forms of Federal Income Taxation as has always been done throughout the entire history of the Federal Tax Laws, and that it be moved that this resolution be spread on the minutes of this Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Federal Social Security for Public Employees

**Resolution No. 6**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Employees of the States and their political subdivisions do not receive benefits under the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Many of the States and their political subdivisions have no provisions whatsoever to provide pensions for their aged employees, and

WHEREAS, The State of Washington has adopted legislation intended to provide Social Security benefits for the employees of this State and its political subdivisions wherever such employees do not have other more adequate old age pensions, and

WHEREAS, In addition to the law which has been passed by the State of Washington it is also necessary that certain amendments to the Federal Social Security Act be adopted by Congress before the public employees of this State can receive any benefits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of the necessary amendments by Congress to Federal Legislation which will enable public employees of the State of Washington to receive Social Security benefits such as are now being provided for employees of private industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 7**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights an encountering similar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Consumer Goods Prices

**Resolution No. 8**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The moderate wage increases which have been gained by organized labor during the past few years are constantly threatened and often destroyed by rising prices on the necessities of life, and

WHEREAS, For example, the month of April of this year showed a price increase of 4½ per cent on basic consumer goods, and

WHEREAS, The unrestricted rise of prices during the last war constituted a

wage cut through reduced buying power of more than 50 per cent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention protest the unwarranted rise of prices in all consumer goods and that the officers be instructed to support legislation which would prevent profiteering at the expense of American wage earners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Subversive Activities and Attacks on the Public Schools

**Resolution No. 9**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The teaching of subversive doctrines in the public schools of the United States is dangerous to the welfare of our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, Regimentation of the public school systems has occurred simultaneously with the destruction of free trade unions in the nations under totalitarian control, and

WHEREAS, False charges of subversive activities are sometimes used as a camouflage for attacking the financial support of the schools, and

WHEREAS, The best possible protection for real fifth columnists in the public schools is a false attack on loyal liberals and honest union members, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is the first large educational organization of the nation to exclude Communists, Fascists and Nazis from membership—by adopting an amendment to the constitution of the international union providing that "no applicant for membership whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control—such as Communist, Nazi, or Fascist—shall be admitted to membership"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, October, 1941, that full support be given to agencies of government in eliminating actual fifth columnism in the public schools but that every effort be made to protect the financial support of the schools and to defend the civil rights of loyal teachers and the freedoms which are essential to education in a democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified approval of the patriotic stand of the American Federation of Teachers and urge all affiliated bodies to cooperate in organizing public school teachers under the flag of the United States and the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



## Labor Representation on All National Defense Boards and Agencies

**Resolution No. 10**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, We recognize that in a period of unlimited national emergency it is imperative that all the constructive and creative elements of the national life be called into full action, and

WHEREAS, The morale, cooperation and enthusiasm of labor, in every form and manifestation, are primary conditions of achievement and success in the all-embracing defense effort, and

WHEREAS, The example of England, where the trade union movement is participating in all phases of the national struggle for survival with genuine representation on all planning boards, on industry councils, in the cabinet, and on cost-of-living committees, proves beyond peradventure that only such form of participation is capable of yielding a maximum of result and security for the democracy on the home front; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 61st convention at Seattle, Wash., continue to adhere to its policy of insistence on greater, wider and deeper labor representation on all boards, agencies and councils associated with the productive and regulative functions of national defense.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Amendment of Unemployment Compensation Provisions of Social Security Act

**Resolution No. 11**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Widening defense production with the application of priority systems depriving many non-defense industries of adequate supplies of raw materials is bound to cause unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The future shifts from war economy to peacetime production at the conclusion of the current emergency will create an unprecedented unemployment situation, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment compensation benefits in most states are inadequate

as to amount and length of payment periods and exclude large groups of the working population, and

WHEREAS, Merit rating plans and other attempts on the part of certain classes of employers to reduce benefits constantly endanger unemployment compensation funds in many states; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Seattle, Wash., urgently requests Congress to properly amend the Social Security Act so that it will provide adequate minimum standards of unemployment compensation, a longer period of benefit payments, a shorter waiting period, wider coverage and a sound federal system of reinsurance for state unemployment trust funds

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Support to American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor

**Resolution No. 12**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The free and democratic labor movement of the world and the free and democratic way of life are indivisible, and

WHEREAS, The ruthless Nazi gangster government of Germany, advancing behind a military machine of unexampled brutality, has crushed the free labor movement of fourteen independent nations as part of its openly announced plan to dominate the world, and

WHEREAS, The free labor movement of Great Britain is giving of its utmost in strength, skill, heart and mind in the struggle of Democracy and Freedom against Nazi barbarism and economic slavery, and

WHEREAS, The ideals of the free British labor movement and the ideals of the American labor movement are both rooted in heartfelt devotion to decency and humanity as a way of life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its 61st annual convention at Seattle, Wash., pledge its full spiritual and material support to the American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its admiration for and its determination to aid the embattled British labor movement in its crucial struggle to halt the onrush and finally destroy the Nazi tyranny.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Priority Unemployment

**Resolution No. 13**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Abrupt and arbitrary imposition of priorities is endangering the jobs of millions of workers engaged in civilian production, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment undermines morale in a period when the defense effort calls for the united support of the nation as a whole, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment is largely unnecessary in a nation with resources as great as ours and can be avoided with the timely expansion of raw material sources and production facilities, and

WHEREAS, The failure to expand productive capacity has risen in large measure from adherence to the idea of a scarcity economy on the part of monopolistic and semi-monopolistic industries fearing over-capacity and reduced profits in the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, At a time when millions of our citizens may be called upon to sacrifice their lives, such concern for future profits at the expense of national strength and defense borders on disloyalty; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a Civilian Supply Board, on which labor shall be fully represented, shall be set up by the government with full powers to accomplish the following:

a. To afford workers affected by priorities time in which to seek new employment by arranging for adequate warnings to industry before imposition of priorities, by advance planning for substitute materials, by arranging for a tapering off rather than sudden elimination of raw material supplies.

b. To cooperate with the United States Employment Service in special efforts to find employment for workers made jobless by the imposition of priorities.

c. To cooperate with government education services for the retraining of workers made jobless by the imposition of priorities.

d. To cooperate with all government agencies in fostering private plant expansion for the production of materials in which shortages are apt to occur, and, in the event that sections of private industry prove uncooperative in the expansion of production, to press for publicly owned and operated plants.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Machinists vs. Carpenters

**Resolution No. 14**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor assembled in convention during 1914 adopted by unanimous vote the following resolution:

"Whereas, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

"Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

"Whereas, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

"Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

"Resolved, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution."

WHEREAS, In an effort to carry out very definite instructions to the President and Executive Council as set forth in the concluding "Resolve" of the above quoted resolution, President Wm. Green, on advice and approval of the Executive Council, addressed a telegram reading as follows:

"February 8, 1938.  
"Miami, Florida.

"H. S. Boughton, Business Agent,  
Building Trades Council,  
122 N. San Joaquin St.,  
Stockton, California.

"Decisions of American Federation of Labor and Building Trades Department as set forth in printed pamphlet issued by Executive Council sets forth the jurisdiction of the International Asso-

ciation of Machinists over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used. Stop This information is sent you in accordance with action of Executive Council.

"WILLIAM GREEN."

President Green addressed similar telegrams to employers who inquired whether the Machinists' or the Carpenters' Unions had jurisdiction over the erecting and installation of machinery.

WHEREAS, President Wm. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, protested the issuance of above quoted telegrams and announced that if any additional such telegrams were issued, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners would pay no further per capita tax to the A. F. of L.; thereupon the Executive Council in April, 1938, directed President Wm. Green to refrain from announcing information relative to machinists' work as announced by the 1914 convention, and requested the Presidents of both the Machinists' and the Carpenters' Unions to hold a conference, and

WHEREAS, For more than three years, pursuant to request of the Executive Council, conferences have been held but no settlement has been arrived at, for the reason that the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are insisting that their members must be permitted to perform work which the American Federation of Labor declared was work that came within the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Association of Machinists, not succeeding in having the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners conform to the A. F. of L. decision in the matter of erecting and installing machinery, so reported to the Executive Council and then requested that President Wm. Green, pursuant to the 1914 convention instructions to the Federation officers, renew the practice of notifying, on request, employers and other interested parties that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used; but to all these efforts and requests the Executive Council, possibly still influenced by the threat of the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, declined permission to President Wm. Green to carry out the very definite instructions to the Federation officers by the 1914 convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President (in his absence, the Secretary) on request by an employer or an interested party, shall notify that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling

and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. notify the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and of the Building and Construction Trades Department to refrain from issuing any statement, written or otherwise, or take action in any way, for interfering with the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists as set forth in Resolution No. 152 adopted by unanimous vote at the 1914 A. F. of L. Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President notify the subordinate councils of both the Building and Metal Trades Departments that pursuant to Resolution No. 152 adopted by the 1914 convention, the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Machinists vs. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees**

**Resolution No. 15**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, During the 1940 American Federation of Labor Convention, officers and delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, answering a complaint by the International Association of Machinists, promised that they and their associates would respect the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists and cooperate for fulfillment of the following agreement:

Washington, D. C.

October 25, 1928.

It is hereby agreed between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, will release at the expiration of their present Agreements all claims to men working strictly at machinists' work, or men who are devoting a majority of their time to machinists' work of the various street and electric railways of America where the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America makes contracts, and in the future, the Amalgamated Association will not insert or cover in any manner

in their agreements, the wages and working conditions of machinists, and at the next meeting of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, which will be held in February of 1929, the General Executive Board, at this meeting will send out a circular letter to all local divisions of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, informing the membership of this agreement reached with the International Association of Machinists, and will advise in compliance with this agreement that all members who are working at machinists' work for street and electric railway companies, that they become members of the International Association of Machinists.

It is understood and agreed that men working in barns, stations, garages and at all other classes of work, except as herein provided, including men doing temporary repair work, are still eligible and will remain members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

In any locality where a dispute may arise over the provisions of this agreement which cannot be adjusted by the local representatives of the two organizations, there shall be sent by the International Presidents of the two organizations, a man from each of the International organizations to bring about a satisfactory understanding, and if they cannot agree then the two representatives shall lay all the facts in connection with this dispute before the President of the American Federation of Labor and both organizations agree to abide by his decision.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

(Signed) W. D. MAHON, President.  
International Association of Machinists.

(Signed) A. O. Wharton, President.  
Attest: WM. GREEN,

President, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have broken the promise they gave during the 1940 convention, in that they refused to cooperate for investigating and adjusting complaints referred to them pursuant to the above mentioned agreement; and officers and members of said offending union have for the benefit of the employer interfered when the International Association of Machinists filed petition with a Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Council, during a session held May 15, 1929, made the following declaration:

"The Executive Council grants jurisdiction over interurban and long distance passenger bus operators to the

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

"Workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations or garages, come under the jurisdiction of the International Unions already granted to them by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, By reason of the action taken by the 1940 convention and the fact that the A. F. of L. President attested the agreement herein quoted, we petitioned President Wm. Green to intervene, but he too did not succeed in having the officers of the Amalgamated keep the promise they gave the 1940 convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America be hereby reprimanded for breaking their promise given to the 1940 convention, for their refusal to comply with an agreement they supposedly entered into in good faith with the Machinists Union, and for their unwarranted trespassing upon the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President at the earliest date circularize every city and state branch of the American Federation of Labor for advising that employees of Electric Railways, Local, Interurban and Long Distance Bus Companies who perform work commonly recognized as machinists' or auto mechanics' work, come under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists. That the President be further directed to notify (when called upon by the International Association of Machinists), Local, Interurban and Long Distance Transportation Companies, that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over their employees performing work commonly recognized as machinists' or auto mechanics' work, and that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America do not have jurisdiction over workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations and garages, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the city and state branches of the A. F. of L. be requested to cooperate in every way possible for carrying out the intent and purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Machinists vs. Building Trades Department

**Resolution No. 16**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department is chartered by and subordinate to the American Fed-

eration of Labor and therefore the said Department or any of its officers are without authority to issue orders or make awards that attempt to set aside decisions rendered by an A. F. of L. convention, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled has very definitely announced that "the International Association of Machinists shall have jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used," (see final action on Resolution No. 152, 1914 convention proceedings), and

WHEREAS, The following are quoted decisions or orders by the President of the Building and Construction Trades Department and are in conflict with an A. F. of L. convention decision:

"October 25, 1940.

"Mr. James G. Larkin, Secretary, Hudson County Building and Construction Trades Council, 583 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In a dispute between the Millwrights, affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Machinists, affiliated with the International Association of Machinists, a request for decision has been made to the Department over the setting and installation of Steam Turbines, Pumps, Preheaters, Motors, Forced Draft Fans, Induced Draft Fans, Scales, Coal Pulverizers, Conveyors, Automatic Stokers, Automatic Oilers and such machinery and equipment necessary in a power plant, on the Public Service Power House, Marion Plant, Jersey City, New Jersey, the following decision is hereby rendered:

#### "DECISION

"THE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT RECOGNIZES THE MILLWRIGHTS AFFILIATED WITH THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA AS HAVING JURISDICTION OVER THE WORK INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTE MENTIONED ABOVE.

"The above mentioned decision shall apply on the above project only and your Council will be guided accordingly.

"Fraternally yours,

"John P. Coyne."

We now quote an exchange of telegrams involving a job at Oakland, California. President John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, was telegraphed as follows:

"Jurisdictional dispute between Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Association of Machinists over the erection and installation of machinery on new construction job for Loose-Wiles

Biscuit Company at 81st Ave. and San Leandro Blvd., Oakland. Please wire decision immediately as all but Machinists are off the job over the dispute. (Signed) Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council. C. R. Gurney, Secretary." This wire sent January 2, 1941.

Under date January 3, 1941, President Coyne replied:

"Retel jurisdiction dispute Carpenters and Machinists on Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company project. Be advised Machinists are not affiliated with Building and Construction Trades Dept. and should not do any building or construction work. The work involved therefore should be done by proper members of Building and Construction Trades Unions. (Signed) John P. Coyne."

On July 8, 1941, the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council received an additional so-called decision from John P. Coyne, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department, as follows:

"I wish to advise you that the Building and Construction Trades Department recognizes the work of repairing rigs and machinery operated by engineers on building and construction projects as coming under the jurisdiction of the members of the International Union of Operating Engineers."

WHEREAS, It is presumed that the Unions comprising the Building and Construction Trades Department have resolved among themselves to authorize the officers of the said Department to render decisions under certain conditions and affecting Unions affiliated with the said Department, but such decisions cannot take precedence over a decision which an A. F. of L. convention rendered for the benefit of a Union not affiliated with and denied admission to the Building and Construction Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, During the 1936 convention, in response to a request of the then Building Trades Department to change its title or name to read "Building and Construction Trades Department," the committee dealing with the subject matter submitted the following report, which was adopted:

"The Committee recommends approval of change of the title with the distinct understanding that any substantial attempt on the part of organizations now affiliated with the Building Trades Department to extend their jurisdiction because of the change in title, such action shall automatically restore the original name and title of the Department."

It is our contention that the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department, in response to the desires of certain Unions to gain control of machinists' work, did by their decision, herein quoted, act contrary to and in violation of the understanding agreed to by the 1936

convention for changing the name of the said Department; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention declare null and void any and all decisions, orders or awards by the Building and Construction Trades Department or its officers, which aim to interfere, and are in conflict with, the trade rights and jurisdiction the American Federation of Labor granted the members of the International Association of Machinists over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used, and that no additional such decisions, orders or awards which interfere with the herein stated trade rights of the members of the International Association of Machinists shall be rendered by the Building and Construction Trades Department or officers thereof, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this decision.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Support for U. S. Defense Policies

**Resolution No. 17**—By Delegate Otto F. Nelsson, Trades and Labor Council of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor in Poughkeepsie and Dutchess County, N. Y., have followed with keen interest the expressions and plans formed in the interest and welfare of the organized worker in America by our officers of the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, We, not only as members of the A. F. of L., but also as Americans, are most fearful and anxious that because of the spread of aggression and disregard for human life and liberties by Nazi Germany and her Allies, we will be affected more and more if these aggressors are not stopped now, and

WHEREAS, We feel that greater vigilance and more effective action by the American people will be necessary to preserve their liberties and well-being in the future; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the representatives of the Labor movement in Poughkeepsie and Dutchess County, through the Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council, respectfully request the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to exercise greater vigilance and more aggressiveness in reference to the part our country should assume in world affairs; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we wish to express our gratitude to the present officers of the American Federation of Labor for their skillful handling of matters pertaining to our part in the present crisis during the past year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Trade Union Committee to Abolish Discriminations on Account of Race, Color, Religion or National Origin

**Resolution No. 18**—By Delegates A. Phillip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin is undemocratic, un-American and opposed to sound and progressive trade union principles, and

WHEREAS, Discriminations because of race, color, religion or national origin are practiced by certain trade unions, constitutional provision, ritualistic practice and other devious and subtle methods, which divide the workers, thereby playing into the hands of anti-union employers, while seriously limiting employment opportunities to those victims of discriminations, and weakens the American Federation of Labor and the entire labor movement, and

WHEREAS, These discriminations result very largely from ignorance, false and demagogic propaganda and illusions about race, color, religion and national origin; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in its 61st Convention in Seattle, Washington, assembled, go on record for the establishment of a trade union committee on discriminations based upon race, color, religion or national origin, composed of seven (7) members of trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. in consultation with the Executive Council, for the purpose of hearing and investigating cases of discriminations concerning membership in unions or employment opportunities due to race, color, religion or national origin, report findings of hearings and investigations, together with recommendations to the President and the Convention of the A. F. of L. for decision and action, and that the expenses of the above mentioned committee entailed in the conducting of said hearings and investigations concerning discriminations because of race, color, religion or national origin, be paid by the Secretary-Treasurer by order of the President, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a campaign of education in the form of lectures, leaflets, forums, study classes, seminars under the direction of the Trade Union Committee on Discriminations in cooperation with the President of the A. F. of L. in the interest of and to the end of abolishing discriminations resulting from race, color, religion or national origin be carried on.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.



### Auxiliary Locals

**Resolution No. 19**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary locals organized by some international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L. is a grave violation and nullification of American democracy and sound trade union principles, since they are a notorious specie of taxation without representation and creates a separation and division of the workers which makes for weakness; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. at Seattle, Washington, go on record as condemning the auxiliary form of organization, since it denies workers, because of race, color, religion or national origin, the privileges of full fledged membership, in the national or international union, enjoyed by the other workers, and that this Convention, in harmony with sound trade union principles, calls upon the national and international unions that have auxiliary local unions to disestablish said auxiliary local unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Lend-Lease Aid to Ethiopia

**Resolution No. 20**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia has played and is now playing an heroic role in the struggle against the Axis powers, having been the battleground of some of the fiercest and bloodiest encounters of the democratic forces against sinister totalitarian states; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in its 61st Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse and support lend-lease aid by the United States to Ethiopia, since lend-lease aid is intended for all countries allied with the democratic nations in the fight against Nazism and that a military and scientific and economic commission be sent to Ethiopia to help in her defensive and offensive struggles.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Poll Tax

**Resolution No. 21**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Poll Tax is a pernicious device of a small oligarchy to disfranchise the great mass of black and white workers in eight states of the South; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing and supporting anti-Poll Tax legislation and court action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Fair Employment Practice Committee

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, A Fair Employment Practice Committee has been set up by President Roosevelt under an Executive Order to abolish discriminations in national defense on account of race, creed, color, religion or national origin, for the purpose of utilizing the skill and labor of every available worker and to practice the principles of democracy we preach that coincides with the repeated declarations of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Anti-Lynching Legislation

**Resolution No. 23**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Thousands of black and white workers have been lynched in the United States and constitute a stigma and disgrace upon American democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. at Seattle, Washington, go on record as definitely and sharply expressing its opposition to lynching and mob law and reaffirm its stand endorsing and supporting a federal anti-lynching law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### All-Out Aid to Britain, China, Russia and Allies Against Hitlerism

**Resolution No. 24**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Hitler, Hitlerism and the Axis powers are a menace to democracy and freedom, oppressed minorities, trade unions and the American way of life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled at Seattle, Washington, go on record as saluting the heroism and bravery of the British workers and people in their death grapple with the barbarism of Nazi Germany to safeguard the jewels of liberty and humanity and pledge them and their constant allies



all-out aid—material, financial and moral—to the end that Hitler and Hitlerism may be completely destroyed and swept from the face of the earth.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Equal Pay for Women on Government Contracts**

**Resolution No. 25**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Defense Program requires many American men to leave their homes and jobs for military training, and

WHEREAS, The burden of keeping the homes of American families from breaking up falls more and more upon our women, and

WHEREAS, The leaving of men from factories for military training and the increasing tempo of our defense production creates vacancies and openings for employment of women, and

WHEREAS, Unpatriotic, unscrupulous, profit-seeking employers often fill these vacancies and openings with women and pay them a much lower rate of wages than were formerly paid to the men whom they replace, and

WHEREAS, This practice of exploiting the women will ultimately reduce the American standard of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to enact laws that would prohibit the awarding of government contracts to employers of both men and women who pay women lower bonuses, piece rates, hourly, weekly or monthly wages or salaries than is being paid to males similarly employed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Fair and Equitable Initiation Fees for Workers Affected by Priority Unemployment**

**Resolution No. 26**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Office of Production Management in Washington, D. C., has ruled that materials essential to defense needs will be curtailed in the manufacture of civilian products, and

WHEREAS, Such an edict necessarily means the loss of employment for the employees of firms not equipped to manufacture defense needs and will undoubtedly cause a migration of labor to the defense manufacturing areas for the duration of this national emergency, and

WHEREAS, Most of the workers affected by this necessary policy are unskilled workers who if organized are organized into Federal Labor Unions, and

WHEREAS, This policy will no doubt in some cases affect members of international unions, who may have to transfer their membership from one international to another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the convention use their influence in their local organizations in an effort to establish a fair and equitable initiation fee for those members of organized labor seeking admittance into their organizations and if at all possible recognize all bona fide transfers during this period of national emergency; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, request the American Federation of Labor to urge the international unions of the American Federation of Labor to be lenient in dealing with this problem during the national defense emergency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Extension of General Labor Laws to State and Local Government Employees**

**Resolution No. 27**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Clifford B. Noxon, John F. McCann, Gordon W. Chapman, W. W. Miller, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been successful in securing the passage of legislation by congress which is of great benefit to the workers of the country, and

WHEREAS, The federal government, because of our system of dual sovereignty, does not have authority to include states and their subdivisions as employers in this regulatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, Federal statutes have excluded state and local government employees from the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and other labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, The several states in passing state acts patterned after federal acts have also excluded state and local governments as employers, thus completely excluding state and local government employees from the protection and benefits of labor legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the state federations of labor to include in their legislative activities efforts to extend general labor laws, such as the Labor Relation Acts, Unemployment Compensation Acts, and others, so as to include state and local government employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## A. F. of L. Representation in Canal Zone During National Emergency

**Resolution No. 28**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some 500 million dollars are to be spent on the Panama Canal for new locks and defense projects during the next 10 years; and

WHEREAS, Thousands of new employees are being employed by The Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad Company, the new locks division of the Canal, and government contractors; and

WHEREAS, No official of the American Federation of Labor has better knowledge of labor activities and organization at the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Recent visits of Mr. William C. Hushing, Chairman, National Legislative Committee, American Federation of Labor, have boosted the morale of the employees to a considerable extent, and

WHEREAS, These vast defense projects in the Canal Zone, at the crossroad of the world, are of vital interest nationally and particularly to officials of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct Mr. Hushing to visit the Isthmus of Panama at least once every six months during the period of national emergency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Jurisdiction Over Express Drivers

**Resolution No. 29**—By Delegate Hugh S. O'Neill, Industrial Council, Kansas City, Missouri.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has awarded jurisdiction of American Railway Express Drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, and

WHEREAS, The drivers of the American Railway Express Company in many cities still maintain membership in the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees in defiance of the order of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Railway Express Company has entered into direct competition with local transfer companies in pick-up and delivery service of freight, thereby causing their drivers to perform the same duties as members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America employed by these various local transfer companies, and

WHEREAS, These American Express Company drivers, members of Brother-

hood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, repeatedly ignore the picket line rights of all Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 convention of the American Federation of Labor insist on the compliance of this jurisdiction award, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees serve notice on such of its members, affected by the award, that within 60 days after such notice said members shall affiliate with proper unions as specified by this award, or be denied active membership in the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## National Health Compensation Act

**Resolution No. 30**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The percentage of draftees rejected for military service has brought the workers of the Nation to the realization that we are far from being a super race physically, and

WHEREAS, With proper medical attention when needed, the percentage of rejections could have been greatly decreased; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as recommending a National Health Compensation Act, so that the workers of the Nation can get adequate medical attention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Support for American Foreign Policy

**Resolution No. 31**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A new front has been opened in the world fight against Fascism and Hitler, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has declared that the United States will give aid and support to all nations fighting Hitler and Hitlerism, and

WHEREAS, The American Labor movement keenly understands that all aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China on the part of the United States opens the way to the final defeat of Hitler's armies and reaction all over the world, and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill both point out that a blow struck now, each machine sent to Britain or the Soviet Union means the sooner will Fascism be crushed, and

WHEREAS, The future of America and organized labor is bound up with the successful defeat of Fascism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Fed-

eration of Labor go on record as commending the stand of President Roosevelt in urging increased aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and China for victory over Hitlerism, and we declare ourselves ready to join with the people of our organizations in support of President Roosevelt's policy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Labor Unity

**Resolution No. 32**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the last eight years organized labor having made great gains in working conditions and membership, and having in mind the reaction to labor after the last World War, and

WHEREAS, It being to the best interests of organized labor that a consolidation of the two national bodies take place, i. e., The American Federation of Labor and The Congress of Industrial Organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor go on record as commending the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to bring about industrial peace; and we further recommend that the American Federation of Labor make provisions to continue their efforts to bring about a settlement of this grave economic condition in order that the social and economic gains won shall be consolidated and perpetuated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Painters Jurisdictional Rights

**Resolution No. 33**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, It so often happens that we are confronted, in our daily organizing activity for our Union, that we find men doing painting work who are members of the Teamsters, Brewers, Iron Workers, Electricians or other craft unions, and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America is the only recognized craft union in the American Federation of Labor, conceded to do painting in all its branches as prescribed in our respective charters; and

WHEREAS, Any other craft union doing such painting is an infringement on our working rights; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record requesting the American Federation of Labor to insist that all crafts be ordered to immediately cease infringing on our trade jurisdiction and to order

such painters of other crafts to join our Brotherhood; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to recognize the Brotherhood of Painters as being the only union permitted to do painting anywhere.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Campaign of Resistance to Union Raiding Tactics of C.I.O.

**Resolution No. 34**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. in its capacity of dual union has been extremely active during the past year raiding the established organizations of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This condition has created an intolerable situation which is tearing down the conditions we have built up in the past, developing strife and resulted in giving the general public an unfavorable opinion of all Labor Unions, and

WHEREAS, This is not confined to one organization but is general in scope, becoming thereby the concern of the entire American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention institute a campaign of resistance to the union-raiding tactics of the C. I. O. by giving immediate assistance to any locality or organization that is the subject of such an attack, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all state and city central bodies of the American Federation of Labor should have standing committees for this purpose, and put forth a concerted drive to combat this situation wherever and whenever it appears.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Painters Application for Jurisdiction Over Linoleum Layers

**Resolution No. 35**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The work of the Carpet, Linoleum and Resilient Floor Decorator is widely varied and consists of many types and phases of operation; and

WHEREAS, At the instant of their transfer from the Upholsterers' Brotherhood to that of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, the jurisdictional claims hereinafter specified were

affirmed by the above mentioned Brotherhoods; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers be recognized and accepted by the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

Measuring, cutting, fabricating, fitting, installing and waxing of all materials to be cemented, tacked or otherwise applied to its base, wherever it may be, whether materials are used either as a decorative covering or as an acoustical appliance such as carpets of all types and designs, linoleum of all types and designs, sheet rubber, rubber tile, asphalt tile, cork tile, cork carpet, linoleum tile, interlocking tile, mastic in sheet or tile form, composition in sheet or tile form and all derivatives of the above; the fitting of all devices for the attachment of the above materials and the fitting of all decorative or protective trim to and adjoining the above materials which shall include the drilling and plugging of holes and attaching of strips, slats, nosings, etc., on any base where the above materials are to be installed or applied such as drilling, plugging and slatting for installing of fastenings of carpets, the installing of all nosings, cap strips, corner beads and edgings of any material.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Support for Farmers

**Resolution No. 36**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The organized labor movement recognizes the just demands and needs of the farmer, and

**WHEREAS**, The farmers of Vermont stand in need of better prices for their products, which the food and milk monopolies could give while lowering prices to the consumer; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record as supporting the demands of the farmers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Security Rights and Working Conditions of Members of Federal Labor Union No. 19657

**Resolution No. 37**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The Zenith Furnace Division of the Interlake Iron Corporation has for the past thirty-seven years maintained and operated its own railroad and engines, and

**WHEREAS**, In June of this year the Interstate Commerce Commission served notice that the Northern Pacific Railroad

would do all switching on and off the coal dock of the above plant, and

**WHEREAS**, This action affects the seniority and working conditions of a considerable group of men who are members of Coke and Gas Workers Union No. 19657, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, This Union was not notified in order to have an opportunity to protest the above action and protect the seniority of its members; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor through its proper channels render all possible assistance in protesting this action to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Protest Against Director of 18th Regional District of National Labor Relations Board

**Resolution No. 38**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has a consistent campaign to rid the National Labor Relations Board and its administration of biased members and biased subordinate administrators, and

**WHEREAS**, For a number of years in various parts of the country the American Federation of Labor and State Federations of Labor have had occasion to protest against official designations for representatives of the National Labor Relations Board against American Federation of Labor unions, and

**WHEREAS**, On numerous occasions recently Robert S. Rissman, Regional Director of the Eighteenth Regional District of the National Labor Relations Board, has openly and notoriously shown his prejudice against the American Federation of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has published all-out-aid and support to the National Administration in the formation of the National Defense Program, and

**WHEREAS**, Prejudice and bias against the American Federation of Labor by the National Labor Relations Board through its representatives at this time when the American Federation of Labor is seeking to carry on an organizational program to speed national defense, is in fact a threat to national defense; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, support the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in its protest to the President of the United States and to the National Labor Relations Board against the discrimination of the said Robert S. Rissman and urge that the proper authorities be directed to make a

complete and impartial investigation of these charges of discrimination to the end that if found true, the said Robert S. Rissman be dismissed and relieved of his responsibilities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Health Insurance

**Resolution No. 39**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Social Security program has greatly strengthened the economic outlook of every individual so that in his or her declining years he or she will be offered some measure of protection, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment insurance has covered the gap during which a worker suffers from unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Workmen's Compensation Insurance likewise guarantees a partial return to those who are injured during the course of their employment, and

WHEREAS, Sickness is not covered and results in a decreased income during the time of such misfortune in such a manner that the average working person is not able to provide proper medical care in these emergencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, favor federal legislation for the purpose of securing health insurance as a part of the Social Security set-up.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Defense Bonds

**Resolution No. 40**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The democracies of the world are now facing the acid test in their fight for survival as opposed to the Nazi and Fascist systems of dictatorship, and

WHEREAS, If the workers of America are to preserve the American system of the rights which are guaranteed to us under the Bill of Rights, it is imperative that this Government have no restrictions whatsoever in the financing of a system of defense which will make this nation invulnerable to the attack of the dictator aggressor, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious to any student of economics that during the post-defense period there will descend upon our industrial system widespread unemployment and chaos such as usually follows any period of great industrial activity caused by an emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That for the two-fold purpose of aiding the United States in financing the Defense Program that every union and every member of organized

labor purchase as many defense bonds as possible, so that the Nation may be properly armed, and so that the workers may have a system of systematic saving for the purpose of hedging against the depression which will inevitably follow.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Taxation of Labor Organizations

**Resolution No. 41**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Federal Congress legislation which has for its purpose the taxing of the income of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, This legislation has been originated by the enemies of labor to hinder its progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposing any Congressional action having for its purpose the taxation of labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Citizenship for Filipino Employees of U. S. Government

**Resolution No. 42**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Post Office Clerks Union, Local No. 1, has many members of Filipino nationality, and

WHEREAS, These Filipino members of Local No. 1 have helped and supported unions in government industry throughout the years, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino Post Office Employees have many years of service and their livelihood and existence is dependent upon their continued employment as Civil Service Employees, and

WHEREAS, They have contributed their labor and loyalty to the government, and

WHEREAS, Filipinos are denied the privilege of American Citizenship and their future status as government employees is endangered, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have been in the government service for 25 years, and

WHEREAS, Many legislators have introduced and supported legislation in the halls of Congress extending citizenship to these faithful public servants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring legislation that will grant citizenship to Filipino employees of the government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Amend Constitution in Regard to Introduction of Resolutions by Directly Affiliated Local Unions**

**Resolution No. 43**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has organized and chartered directly affiliated local and federal labor unions in fields not generally covered by National and International Unions, and the American Federation of Labor is thus the parent body of such directly affiliated local and federal labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The supreme and final authority of the American Federation of Labor rests in its conventions which most appropriately have been termed the great democratic congress of labor, and

WHEREAS, In line with the fullest extent of democratic procedure so earnestly and sincerely espoused by the American Federation of Labor every affiliated organization paying a regular per capita tax based upon the size of its membership should have equally full and complete opportunity to a voice and vote on all matters submitted to the convention of the Federation, and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of Article III, Section 6 (3) of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor directly affiliated local and federal labor unions are as a matter of fact deprived of the opportunity to a full and complete voice and vote on proposals emanating from their organizations since under the provisions of this Section the Executive Council is given the sole power to dispose of such proposals without giving a hearing to any representative of the organization making such proposal and without consideration by the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the deletion of Section 6 (3) of Article III thus restoring to directly affiliated local and federal unions the same opportunities and rights for the consideration of their proposals by the convention as are enjoyed by other affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

### **Amend Constitution in Regard to Introduction of Resolutions of Directly Affiliated Local Unions**

**Resolution No. 44**—By Delegate F. H. Ranney, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has organized and chartered directly affiliated local and federal labor unions in fields not generally covered by National and International Unions, and the American Federation of Labor is thus the parent body of such directly affiliated local and federal labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The supreme and final authority of the American Federation of Labor rests in its conventions which most appropriately have been termed the great democratic congress of labor; and

WHEREAS, In line with the fullest extent of democratic procedure so earnestly and sincerely espoused by the American Federation of Labor every affiliated organization paying a regular per capita tax based upon the size of its membership should have equally full and complete opportunity to a voice and vote on all matters submitted to the convention of the Federation, and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of Article III, Section 6 (3) of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor directly affiliated local and federal labor unions are as a matter of fact deprived of the opportunity to a full and complete voice and vote on proposals emanating from their organizations since under the provisions of this Section the Executive Council is given the sole power to dispose of such proposals without giving a hearing to any representative of the organization making such proposal and without consideration by the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the deletion of Section 6 (3) of Article III thus restoring to directly affiliated local and federal unions the same opportunities and rights for the consideration of their proposals by the convention as are enjoyed by other affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

### **National Council of Office Workers**

**Resolution No. 45** — By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, For many years past, office workers' local unions throughout the country have made known to the American Federation of Labor their earnest desire and great need for the active interest and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the vast army of poorly paid, over-worked and exploited white collar workers, and

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced in the American Federation of Labor Convention at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, pro-



posing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers, were referred to the Executive Council and upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937, and no further steps have been taken to carry out in full the aims, objects and purposes of the National Council as enunciated at the Denver Conference, namely: to call a conference of office workers' unions' delegates; to elect permanent officers for the Council; to set up regional districts; to establish working rules and regulations; to adopt a uniform union label to be used by all members of office workers' unions; to exchange information and advice on ways and means of organizing office workers on a large scale, and

WHEREAS, It is the sincere belief of the Chicago Federation of Labor, reached by its experience in cooperating with Office Employees' Local Union No. 20732 of Chicago, that such a conference should be called by the American Federation of Labor at as early a date as possible, so that representatives of all office workers' local unions may be enabled to select officers for their National Council and instruct said officers to handle the affairs of the Council so that the problems presented by affiliated local unions will receive prompt and careful consideration and attention, and

WHEREAS, In the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, Louisiana, the Committee on Organization made the following statement, in its report:

"Your Committee commends the achievement in the field of office workers and wishes to point out that here lies one of the greatest unorganized groups needing unionization and recommends that all possible activity be given by all organizers of the Federation, and particularly do we request the assistance of the Internationals when organizing and negotiating contracts to render all possible assistance to organizing the office employees of all employers."

WHEREAS, It has been the experience of individual local unions of office workers that it is difficult for them to receive recognition, respect and cooperation from International Unions, in organizing campaigns, but they are convinced that if they are part of a strong, functioning National Council of Office Workers, they will enjoy the prestige, cohesion and strength of a large federated group, which will be of material aid to them in carrying on organizational campaigns in all parts of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention at Seattle, Washington, instruct its officers

to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution with as little delay as possible.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska**

**Resolution No. 46**—By Ketchikan Central Labor Council, Ketchikan, Alaska.

WHEREAS, The establishment of a Territorial Federation of Labor to act in behalf of and for all the American Federation of Labor affiliated unions in the Territory of Alaska would facilitate the progress of the labor movement in this vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving the establishment of a Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska; and further urges that the proposed Territorial Federation of Labor be officered by and with persons resident in Alaska and familiar with the peculiar conditions and problems associated with trade union organization and local unions and their members.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **International Union for Office Workers**

**Resolution No. 47**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning National Federation of Office Workers Local Unions, and

WHEREAS, All organizational work among office workers at the present time must of necessity be carried on by the local unions which cannot afford to conduct effective organizational campaigns, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that a functioning National Council or International Union is a prerequisite to the formation of effective organizational activity among the unorganized office workers and to the establishment of



uniform wages and employment standards for office workers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Seattle, Washington, request its officers to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Marine Trades Department for American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 48**—By Delegate C. F. May, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

**WHEREAS**, There now exists within the American Federation of Labor several unintegrated marine groups, and

**WHEREAS**, This lack of coordination causes dissatisfaction and defections in the ranks of marine labor, and

**WHEREAS**, This lack of cooperation among marine groups causes confusion, duplication of effort and ignores the real economic problems of marine workers, and

**WHEREAS**, Certain rival marine groups are now planning a colossal intensified membership drive which aims at a vertical union to contain all these marine crafts and promises direct action for marine workers so organized, and

**WHEREAS**, The marine unions within the American Federation of Labor regard this threat to their membership as ominous and imminent to their craft unions and are alarmed at the full implications of so sweeping a marine movement, and

**WHEREAS**, It is the opinion of all qualified marine leaders that a similar movement within the American Federation of Labor can forestall the action described above, and

**WHEREAS**, Most marine units would prefer to keep their autonomy but appreciate the need for concerted marine action by a combination of all marine crafts acting in unison; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this organization petition the present Convention of the American Federation of Labor to authorize the Executive Council to set up a marine department in the current year, within the American Federation of Labor, similar to the units now functioning for metal trades and railroad departments, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this unit resemble a maritime council wherein all marine crafts shall be grouped for mutual benefit and unified action; therefore, be it finally

**RESOLVED**, That the Convention unite and empower all marine unions in the American Federation of Labor to participate in the formation of said

Council and jointly participate in the formation of by-laws and rules of procedure, patterned after the departments within the A. F. of L., which have unified the Metal Trades and Railroad crafts.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska

**Resolution No. 49**—By Delegate Frank Chinella, Central Labor Council, Juneau, Alaska.

**WHEREAS**, Alaska, a territory of 586,000 square miles in area, is fast growing in population, and

**WHEREAS**, Alaska's population has increased in number as much as one-third of its 1940 population in the year of 1941, and all indications are that the increase is made up of the wage earners of various skilled and unskilled craft and laboring groups, and

**WHEREAS**, Alaska is extremely union minded, and has shown this by the gains its labor has made in the years past without the help or benefit of a Territorial coordinating body, and

**WHEREAS**, Organized labor in Alaska is in much need of favorable legislation and coordination of its actions for the protection of its laboring groups and members, and this can best be brought about by a Territorial Federation of Labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, The extreme difficulty for traffic from town to town in Alaska has greatly handicapped the organization of Alaska and of any organizational program to the disadvantage of organized labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Because of these conditions Labor Unions have been uninformed of the working conditions and matters of interest to organized labor in all parts of Alaska thus greatly hindering the organization of Alaska's workers, and

**WHEREAS**, Because of this many undesirable elements have constantly attacked labor and at critical times have been able to disrupt, disorganize and at various times do much harm to labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the Juneau Central Labor Council in accord with the Central Labor Councils of Ketchikan, Anchorage, Sitka and Kodiak do wholeheartedly indorse and support the organization of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor, to be affiliated with the time honored American Labor Movement, the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the International, National and all affiliated Unions of the American Federation of Labor held in convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, do hereby give our support to the organization of an Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor to include all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That such Federation be seated in the Capitol city of Alaska, so that it may better carry on the functions of its office at the seat of the Territorial Government.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **Organizing Campaign of National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers**

**Resolution No. 50**—By Delegate Julius V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers when chartered by the American Federation of Labor was granted jurisdiction over all Rural Letter Carriers employed by the Post Office Department and this organization during its years of existence has carried on an active campaign of organization among the unorganized Rural Letter Carriers with the result that very fair headway has been made in that work, and

WHEREAS, There has been in existence for some years a dual organization of Rural Letter Carriers not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it is now called to the attention of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers that many of the members of this dual union are now showing a receptive attitude in regards to accepting memberships in the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; but due to the magnitude of the job to contact these unorganized Rural Letter Carriers as well as the members of the dual organization, we are requesting the assistance of all organized labor affiliated with the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in their campaign to organize the unaffiliated Rural Letter Carriers in the United States into our organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the delegates assembled at this convention, that the officers and executive council of the American Federation of Labor as well as all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, volunteer Organizers, and salaried Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, be requested immediately to assist in the work of organizing the unorganized and/or unaffiliated Rural Letter Carriers in their respective territories.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **Organizing Campaign for Vermont**

**Resolution No. 51**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of Vermont workers still remain unorganized and suffering from long hours, low wages and poor working conditions, and

WHEREAS, It is not only in their interest but also for protection of organized labor's standards that they should be organized; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor extend moral and material support to the initiation of an organizing campaign by the Vermont State Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **International Union of Office Employees**

**Resolution No. 52**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions were introduced at the Tampa Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1936 proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers which was referred to the Executive Council and upon recommendation of the Executive Council a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver in 1931; and

WHEREAS, It is now felt by the formation of an International Union of Office Workers greater organizational work could be carried on among all the office employees, with a resultant establishment of uniform wages and employment standards for office workers that would redound to the credit of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Seattle instruct the Executive Council to give consideration to the formation of an International Union of Office Workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **Johns-Manville Employees' Organizing Campaign**

**Resolution No. 53**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union 19508, of Waukegan, Illinois, is now negotiating with the Waukegan Plant

of the Johns-Manville Corporation for the purpose of securing a new contract, such contract to include Union Shop provisions, and

WHEREAS, Contracts in the Waukegan, Illinois; Manville, N. J.; Watson, Calif.; Pittsburg, Calif.; Redwood City, Calif.; Los Angeles, Calif., and Lompoc, Calif., all expire at virtually the same time, and

WHEREAS, The Johns-Manville Products Corporation is a large manufacturer of building material, 90 per cent of which is consumed through the hands of A. F. of L. tradesmen, with factories in the following localities: Nashau, N. H.; Manville, N. J.; Jarret, Va.; Marroero, La.; Alexandria and Richmond, Ind.; Waukegan, Ill.; Pittsburg, Redwood City, Watson, Los Angeles, and Lompoc, Calif.; also mines at Lompoc, Calif.; Christy, Ariz., and a mine and factory at Asbestos, Quebec, employing approximately 18,000 workers, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution was adopted in the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor of 1940 at Rockford, approving aid to the Waukegan local and urging the American Federation of Labor in convention at New Orleans to create a nation-wide drive to organize the various plants and mines of Johns-Manville where it was also approved and passed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor assist these locals in the Johns-Manville Company plants in these states to secure Union Shop agreements and to create a nation-wide drive to bring all Johns-Manville plants into the fold of the American Federation of Labor and eventually the Union Label on all J.-M. products.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## Organizing Assistance to National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

**Resolution No. 54**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, of which body the Illinois Federation is a constituent, when chartered by the American Federation of Labor was granted jurisdiction over all rural letter carriers employed by the Post Office Department, and this organization during its existence has carried on an active campaign of organization among the unorganized rural carriers with the result fair headway has been made in that work, and

WHEREAS, There has been in existence for some years a dual organization of rural carriers not affiliated with the

American Federation of Labor and it is now called to the attention of the Illinois Federation of Rural Letter Carriers that many of the members of this dual organization are now showing a receptive attitude in regard to accepting membership in the Illinois Federation of Rural Carriers, but due to the magnitude of the job to contact these unorganized rural carriers as well as members of the dual union, we are requesting the assistance of all organized labor affiliated with the National and Illinois Federation of Rural Carriers in their campaign to organize the unaffiliated rural letter carriers into our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and executive council of the American Federation of Labor and salaried organizers of the American Federation of Labor, be requested immediately to assist in the work of organizing the unorganized and/or unaffiliated rural letter carriers in their respective territories in cooperation with the National and Illinois Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## Painters vs. Building Service Employees

**Resolution No. 55**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees' International Union is constantly infringing upon the jurisdiction of our Brotherhood in the painting of hotels, office buildings, department stores and club rooms in this vicinity, and

WHEREAS, The action of the Building Service Employees' International Union is not alone taking the work rightfully belonging to our members but is also lowering the wage scale to such an extent that its action is affecting the hourly wage rates of members of our Brotherhood who are working as maintenance painters and have been receiving the wages duly established in this vicinity by District Council No. 4, and

WHEREAS, It is realized by District Council No. 4 and its affiliates in this district, that if this infringement upon our jurisdiction is permitted to continue unchecked, it will mean that our greatest source of employment will vanish because of the cheap labor furnished by the Building Service Employees' International Union, especially during a depression in our craft, which is bound to come to pass after the National

Defense Program comes to an end; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the Building Service Employees' International Union release all members of its organization who rightfully belong to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in accordance with the jurisdiction granted to the Brotherhood of Painters.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

### **State Federation and City Central Body Affiliation**

**Resolution No. 56**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The present policies of some international unions makes it mandatory for local unions to maintain membership in city central bodies and State Federations of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Such policies have proven wise and in the best interests of the international unions, the local unions, and for the best interests of organized labor generally, and

**WHEREAS**, Other international unions have not insisted that their local unions affiliate with the local central bodies and the State Federations of Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Federal labor unions are required to maintain membership in local central bodies and State Federations of Labor but have not uniformly done so, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to take such action as will require affiliation of local unions with city central bodies and State Federations of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

### **Central Labor Council Affiliation**

**Resolution No. 57**—By Delegate Frank Chinella, Central Labor Council, Juneau, Alaska.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation has at all times, many affiliated local unions in most towns of any size, and each craft has their own jurisdiction throughout the land, and

**WHEREAS**, It has resulted that in towns of small population where locals are few, and the membership of these are small, that some locals, not having the strength in number, are unable to carry on as independent units, because of constant attacks from without, and

**WHEREAS**, There is usually in each town a Central Labor Council chartered by the American Federation of Labor, which is the coordinating body for that area, and these Central Labor Unions have at all times, through cooperative actions of its affiliates, been able to give added support and strength to the locals of all International and National Unions, and

**WHEREAS**, Many International Unions require that their chartered locals affiliate with the Central Labor Council within ninety days of receiving their charters, thus resulting in coordinating the labor movement of each town, and

**WHEREAS**, In many instances locals chartered by Internationals not having such requirements, do not affiliate with the Central Labor Council, consequently weakening the labor movement in that area; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Convention of the American Federation hereby go on record, making it a prerequisite that all local unions of all Internationals do make it mandatory that their affiliates must, within ninety days of being chartered, become members of the Central Labor Council in their area, thus bringing the labor movement to better cooperation in all smaller communities of our land; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Convention urge upon its affiliated Internationals, that they, at their next convention following, go on record to amend their International Constitution, thus bringing the unions of all areas in closer cooperation throughout the Country and its Territories.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

### **Local Advisory Boards on Vocational Education**

**Resolution No. 58**—By Delegates Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, Nat Messing, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America.

**WHEREAS**, It has been brought to the attention of some of the delegates from some of the local unions that in many parts of the country the National Youth Administration has been setting up training programs in the culinary industry, and

**WHEREAS**, It is the belief of organized labor that all vocational training programs should be carried on in conjunction and in cooperation with and upon the advice of organized labor and the employers as represented on the

local advisory boards on vocational education, and

WHEREAS, Unless a careful check is made of the training given through the interested organizations, there is great danger of flooding the market with semi-skilled, competitive labor to the detriment of the worker already in the field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as endorsing the program of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders International League in their recommendation to all their affiliated locals that they file a protest with the officials of the National Youth Administration, the Federal authorities in Washington demanding that wherever National Youth Administration classes are set up in the field of food trade education that it be carried on through the local advisory boards on vocational education and in communities where there are no such advisory boards in existence that the local boards of education be requested to set up a committee of employers and organized labor to cooperate in the development of the plan.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Adult Education

**Resolution No. 59**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Adult Education Program, established under the Works Projects Administration as an emergency project, has proved to be one of the most vital movements in the United States, as shown by its large class attendance, and

WHEREAS, A definite need for such a program is acknowledged by leading educators as well as the public at large, and

WHEREAS, The value of adult education in democracy is without question because it opens the channels of the individual's mind to a freedom of constructive thinking to the end that we, as a nation, both individually and collectively may live more abundantly; and that we may realize in all its fullness the joy of self-expression which is the sovereign right of every human being, and

WHEREAS, Many of our handcraft teachers of middle age, both native born and naturalized citizens, were unable to obtain institutional training owing to lack of educational facilities of pioneer days, and

WHEREAS, These teachers are rendering a valuable service to society

through their instruction in the arts and crafts, thereby preserving the interests and abilities which are native in a free people, and which are in danger of becoming extinct because of the present machine age, and

WHEREAS, The present Adult Education program as administered by the Works Projects Administration is dual and competitive with the State Public School System, and

WHEREAS, It would be an act of economy to transfer the supervision of the Adult Education program to the Department of Public Instruction of the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge our Congressmen and Senators to establish the Adult Education Program as a permanent project to be supervised by the State Superintendents of Public Instruction, County and Local Superintendents and School Principals, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a federal fund be established to pay salaries of adult education teachers and that expenditures of said monies be under the direction of the State Superintendents of Public Instruction through the established county and city authorities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That preference be given to qualified teachers who need employment that no persons be employed on these projects who are employed full time in any other capacity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the teachers of the Arts and Crafts be certified to teach their arts and crafts solely upon the basis of their technical craft abilities without regard to academic or other prerequisites; and be it further

RESOLVED, That teachers with three or more years of successful experience under W.P.A. be certified without examination to teach the type of work in which they have been engaged; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the prevailing wage scale for public school teachers be paid to adult education teachers.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Vermont Apprenticeship Council

**Resolution No. 60**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has established the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship within the U. S. Department of Labor for the promotion of bona fide apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, This committee, on which organized labor is represented, has established minimum standards of ap-

prenticeship for the training of young persons employed in the skilled trades, and

WHEREAS, Numerous State Federations of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and many national and international unions have endorsed the program and standards of Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, The membership and procedures of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council have been endorsed and approved by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention assembled, endorse and approve the work of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all local unions be urged to consider the establishment of apprenticeship standards in accordance with the recommendations of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Adult Education on a Permanent Basis

**Resolution No. 61**—By Delegate Archie V. Carmichael, Trades Council, Everett, Washington.

WHEREAS, The adult educational program, established under the Works Projects Administration as an emergency project, has proven to be one of the most vital movements in the United States, as shown by its large class attendance, and

WHEREAS, Many of our handicraft teachers are of middle age, both native born and naturalized citizens, were unable to obtain institutional training, owing to the lack of educational facilities of pioneer days, and

WHEREAS, These teachers are rendering a valuable service to society through their instruction in the arts and crafts, thereby preserving the interests and abilities which are native in a free people, and which are in danger of becoming extinct because of the present machine age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we urge the establishment of Adult Education on a permanent basis, to be supervised by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, County and Local Superintendents and School Principals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a federal fund be established to pay salaries of adult education teachers, and that said monies be under the direction of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, through the established county and city authorities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention

assembled, adopt the principles of the resolution and support legislation towards this end.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Adequate Financial Support for Public Schools

**Resolution No. 62** — By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The labor movement of America was largely responsible for elimination of the pauper schools which existed in the early history of the nation, and for establishing our free public school system supported by general taxation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has taken the position that widespread public education is indispensable to successful democratic government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its 1940 convention declared:

"The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that widespread public education is essential to the successful operation of democratic government and to the very existence of a free trade union movement. Simultaneous destruction or regimentation of both the public school systems and the trade union movements of the totalitarian states have proved the soundness of this educational philosophy. The attempts in certain cities of our nation to curtail educational facilities, in the name of economy, to balance additional taxes for building the national defense, is not only unfair to the children of the nation, but also dangerous to the future welfare of democratic government."

and

WHEREAS, In numerous American cities from coast to coast certain powerful organized business groups are attempting to avoid their financial responsibility of national defense by advocating cuts in school budgets—thus compelling the nation's children to pay for the defense program by sacrificing the educational opportunities to which they are entitled, and

WHEREAS, Such practices are dangerous to the very foundations of democratic society and to the very existence of a free trade union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, emphatically protest the practice of reducing school budgets



to "save" funds for defense purposes, and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Bodies be urged carefully to watch expenditures for schools in local communities and to give all possible assistance in providing adequate revenue for the important task of educating the future citizens of the nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Federal Aid to Education

**Resolution No. 63**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its annual convention in 1935 requested President Roosevelt to appoint a committee to investigate the use of the federal funds for vocational education, and

WHEREAS, The President's Advisory Committee on Education, appointed pursuant to the above request of the American Federation of Labor, recommended a program of federal subsidies for both vocational and general education, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared its position in favor of federal aid for the purpose of equalizing the educational opportunities of the children in the several states of the nation, and

WHEREAS, The present emergency and the national defense program have emphasized the serious need for federal assistance to education in many parts of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Only limited federal funds are now available in the field of vocational education and these funds can readily be used only in the larger cities of the nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, reaffirm its traditional stand in favor of federal aid to education and urge the President and the Congress of the United States to take immediate steps to make available such federal funds as are necessary to guarantee at least a minimum standard of education to every child in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Research Department for U. S. Office of Education

**Resolution No. 64**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There exists in the United States a serious need for research in the field of public education on a national scale, and

WHEREAS, The United States Office of Education is not adequately financed at the present time to provide the personnel for this important service, and

WHEREAS, Reliable educational research can be conducted only by an authorized agency of government, and

WHEREAS, Local, state, and national labor bodies are compelled to rely upon the research services of non-union and often anti-union educational organizations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand at the 1940 convention urging the Congress of the United States to provide adequate funds for a research department in the United States Office of Education, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Permanent Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor cooperate in establishing such a department when the necessary funds are available.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Anti-Labor Policy American Book Company

**Resolution No. 65**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, with plants located in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Bloomfield, N. J., are operating these plants under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have for many years endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have on numerous occasions misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts from school boards who believed this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are at the present time carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company, and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plants, both in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Bloomfield, N. J., in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book



Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record as opposed to the American Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the various International Unions, Central Trades and Labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

### Temporary Appointments in Post Office Service

**Resolution No. 66**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The employment of temporary employees tends to lower the morale of regular substitutes through deterred appointment to regular clerkships, and

**WHEREAS**, The employment of temporaries tends to lower the efficiency of the Post Office Service, and

**WHEREAS**, The employment of temporaries is a menace to Civil Service; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record for legislation discontinuing the use of temporaries in the Post Office Service except during the month of December.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Retirement of Prison Service Employees

**Resolution No. 67**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The number of years required for Optional and Compulsory retirement is based upon the many extra hazards which are placed upon the Prison Service Employee in the carrying out of their duties, and

**WHEREAS**, The title "Prison Service Employee" bespeaks the nature of the work done by the employee and it is generally understood that the life expectancy is lessened because of the constant strain and the extra hazard under which they must discharge their duties, and

**WHEREAS**, Great consideration must be given this matter as the element of humanity enters into the arguments chiefly on the side of the employee. The various types of men sent to prison and placed under the care of the Prison Service Employee necessitates constant vigil and regulation. Also the years of

association with this element lends to the tendency of strain, both mentally and physically that reduces the longevity of the employee, and

**WHEREAS**, It is a foregone conclusion that better service would be rendered by replacing the employee after retirement requisite is reached with a younger person, thereby keeping the personnel of the Service at a high standard of efficiency at all times; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor recommends legislation to establish a 20 year Optional and a 25 year Compulsory retirement of all prison service employees due to extra hazard connected with this work, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the above recommendation be drafted in the form of a bill and same be presented to the 77th Congress of the United States, now in session, for the consideration and action of said Congress, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention assembled go on record urging a speedy passage of the said Bill, by the United States Congress, thereby making the same a part of the Statute of the Civil Service Laws.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Post Office Employees' Salaries

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The skyrocketing cost of living makes a basic pay increase necessary to maintain our standard of living, and

**WHEREAS**, The cost of living, which has increased as much as 40% in some commodities, and a general increase of 2½% in the month of February, 1941, with an average increase of 10 to 20% in general food costs, thereby placing the same hardships on all employees whether new or old, and

**WHEREAS**, Labor has been forced to use its strongest offensive weapon, the right to strike and picket, to raise its wages to compare with advancing costs, and

**WHEREAS**, The increased cost of living is an experienced reality to all postal workers as well as the rest of labor, and necessitates an immediate drive for a general wage increase; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Seattle, Washington, go on record supporting the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in its efforts to secure wage increases for all post office employees, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we support the Postal Employees in its efforts to seek enactment of an overtime pay law providing for an overtime pay rate equal to twice the hourly pay rate, based on 1964 hours as a work year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **United States Prison Service Employees' Salaries**

**Resolution No. 69**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Employees working in United States Prison Service wages have not increased with the cost of living, due to the defense emergency, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention that all crafts represented be paid American Federation of Labor wages and that all custodial officers be given a base pay of \$2300 per annum, as recommended by the Attorney General, and that time and one-half for all time over the number of hours set by the United States Government in the defense agencies be paid.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act**

**Resolution No. 70**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are a number of employees in the State of Wisconsin who, because of their nature of work, are employed during the course of a day in part on navigable waters and in part on land, interchanging their operations quite frequently during their course of employment, and

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, which is the Federal Act providing for industrial compensation to any employee who may be injured in the course of his employment while on navigable waters, does not in many respects equal the benefits that an employee is entitled to under the Wisconsin Compensation Act, and

WHEREAS, Such inequalities are not conducive to the best interest of labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor have prepared for introduction in Congress a bill to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to the extent

that it will conform to the payments received for injuries under the Wisconsin Industrial Compensation Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Hatch Act**

**Resolution No. 71**—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The continued existence of the Hatch Act deprives certain public employees of a constitutional right, namely, that of free speech and the right to hold public office, and

WHEREAS, Such an act imposed by a government on certain of its employees constitutes in reality a "Yellow Dog Contract" and prohibits these employees rightfully to condemn or criticize elected officials who are in effect their superiors; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in order that the principles of democracy may be enjoyed by all citizens, classes and groups of this nation, that the President and the Congress of these United States shall be notified that the American Federation of Labor denounces the provisions of the Hatch Act and calls for its repeal.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Wage and Salary Increase Campaign of Affiliated Public Employees**

**Resolution No. 72**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, C. B. Noxon, W. W. Miller, John F. McCann, Gordon W. Chapman, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, There has been a sharp increase during recent months in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Many workers in private industry have been able to secure wage increases, and

WHEREAS, Turn-over in public employment is increasing rapidly and in many services is already more than 100% per year, and

WHEREAS, Many public agencies are having difficulty in securing qualified workers, and

WHEREAS, Public employees working under fixed appropriations are having great difficulty in securing upward pay adjustments, and

WHEREAS, Many adjustments can be made administratively without waiting through the budget period, though substantial increases should be assured in future budgets, and

WHEREAS, State and local government agencies are being called upon for many new services in connection with the national defense program which they will not be equipped to satisfactorily handle without qualified personnel, and

WHEREAS, Appropriating authorities do listen and do give consideration to representations made by the local organized labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon its affiliated state federations of labor and its central labor bodies to assist organized and affiliated public employees in their campaign for wage and salary advances.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Legislative Program of National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

**Resolution No. 73**—By Delegate Julius V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, is endeavoring to better the wages and working conditions of their members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in convention assembled, that the American Federation of Labor endorse and assist the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in having the following legislative program enacted by the Congress of the United States:

1. Enactment of the Longevity Bill.
2. Oppose any reorganization plan which would place the Retirement Act under the administration of the Social Security Law.
3. Thirty years optional retirement.
4. Widow's annuity.
5. Substitutes on rural routes shall be placed upon a civil service status; and further that substitutes now in service be given preference when a vacancy shall occur in the rural service at the office they serve.
6. No Rural Carrier shall work in excess of forty hours per week; or shall be paid a sum of less than twenty-one hundred dollars per year, exclusive of his equipment allowance, which allowance shall be at the rate of six cents per mile; and further that no route, no matter how short, shall receive an equipment allowance of less than two dollars per day.
7. Prevent the transfer of any of the duties or prerogatives of any rural route to any star route now established or to be established.
8. Due to the cost of living steadily mounting, all postal employees be given

an increase in pay equal to twenty per cent of their present wage.

9. Pay status of rural carriers, previous to the salary reorganization of July 1, 1934, be fully restored.

10. Legislation to provide five-day leave with pay, for all government employees, when death occurs in the immediate family.

11. Legislation to curtail the establishment of routes of an unreasonable length, or the extending to such lengths any rural route now established.

12. Annual leave of all postal employees be increased to twenty-six working days per year; sick leave be increased to fifteen days, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, thereby bringing it into conformity with the leave granted other branches of the government service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

**Resolution No. 74**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women, and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1,

1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Standard Wage Rates for Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions**

**Resolution No. 75**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Full Pay While on Leave for Canal Zone Hourly Employees**

**Resolution No. 76**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on

leave may receive only six days' pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Representation for Organized Employees of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad in Washington**

**Resolution No. 77**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council and Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Overtime Pay Regulations on Panama Canal

**Resolution No. 78**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Timekeeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five-day work-week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a regular work-week, he is paid at time and one-half for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work-week he is paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work-week; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work-week be considered as an 8-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Sixty Cents Per Hour Minimum in Luggage Industry Under Walsh-Healey Act

**Resolution No. 79**—By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The prevailing rate of wages in the luggage industry in accordance with the Walsh-Healey Act is 37½¢ per hour, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing wage in the organized luggage shops of this country is 75¢ to 80¢ per hour, and

WHEREAS, Open shops and unorganized luggage shops have been successful in securing large government orders due to non-union conditions existing and the low wages prevailing in their shops, and

WHEREAS, As a result of the underbidding of the union shops by the open shops, large sections of the organized luggage workers find themselves without work; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, lend its every aid towards the end

that a minimum of 60¢ per hour in the luggage industry becomes the prevailing wage in accordance with the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and take such steps as may be necessary to help the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union to bring this about.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Salary Increases for Government Employees

**Resolution No. 80**—By Delegate John Locher, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, During the last World War the Congress of the United States found it necessary to enact legislation which increased the salaries of Government Employees to help them meet the high cost of living brought about by the war conditions, and

WHEREAS, Government Employees must appeal to the Congress of the United States for relief when living conditions are increased by war conditions such as exist at the present time, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living in the District of Columbia is increasing day by day; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Legislative Department, have a Bill introduced in the Congress of the United States which has for its purpose an increase in the salaries of Government Employees by not less than \$240.00 per year, and to make such other salary increases from time to time which will allow the Government Employees a means by which they can at least meet part of the increased cost of living that has been brought about by the war conditions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Universal Six-Hour Day and Five-Day Week

**Resolution No. 81**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, For almost 10 years the United States and Canada has been confronted with one of the greatest economic depressions in its history, and

WHEREAS, This condition has left in its path millions of people totally unemployed and in addition many mil-

lions are employed on a part time basis, and

WHEREAS, All sorts of experimentations have been put into practice to get the people back on the job through the creation of numerous governmental agencies, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, etc., and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the above experimentations have proven futile in solving the problems of the distressing situation of unemployment, little has been done by legislation to compel the shortening of the work day or the work week, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor through its President has proclaimed that it is necessary to shorten the hours of labor in order to relieve the unemployment situation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Seattle, October, 1941, go on record favoring the establishing of a universal six-hour day and five-day 30-hour week in industry.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Dairy Products Workers Under Fair Labor Standards Act**

**Resolution No. 82**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Wages and Hours Law, commonly known as the Fair Standards Act, all covered workers have been paid time and one-half after forty (40) hours of work, and

WHEREAS, There is language contained in the Act of an ambiguous nature which attempts to exempt dairies and butter plants engaged in the first processing of butter, milk, cream and whey as to the advantage which are given workers in other industries, and

WHEREAS, The Congressional history of this legislation indicates that the purpose of this exemption was to prevent farm labor from being paid time and one-half after forty (40) hours work, and

WHEREAS, Unions recognize the problems faced by the dairy farmer, and

WHEREAS, The said dairy farmer has benefited tremendously with the co-operation of labor in Federal Milk Market control with a 45% increase to the farmer since September, 1939, in the price of his milk and cream, and

WHEREAS, On the other hand, Labor has made no gains in the Fluid Milk Industry due to this nefarious exemption; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as instructing its Legislative Committee to draw up a suitable amendment to the Wages and Hours Act which definitely restricts exemptions in application of the Act solely to the farm, meaning the "area of production", and that any dairy, condensary, and butter plant engaged in the first processing of milk, cream and dairy products definitely come under the hourly limitations of the Act, and further, that copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chief Administrator of the Wages and Hours Act and members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Salary Increases for Post Office Clerks**

**Resolution No. 83**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to secure a salary increase for Post Office Clerks, with a minimum of \$2,600 and a maximum of \$3,000 for regular employees, and a starting salary of \$1.00 per hour for substitute employees with graduated yearly increases.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Civil Service Court of Appeals**

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as endorsing legislation which would set up a Civil Service Court of Appeals as outlined in the Pearson Bill, H. R. 2680, or the Mead Bill, S. 219.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **Temporary Employees in the Postal Service**

**Resolution No. 85**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The use of temporary employees in the Postal Service tends to undermine the Civil Service, and



WHEREAS, This continued employment of such temporary employees is not conducive to the best interests of the Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to assist the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to seek legislation discontinuing the employment of temporary employees except during the month of December.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Retirement Legislation of Postal Clerks

**Resolution No. 86**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the enactment into law of retirement legislation for Postal Clerks as outlined in the Randolph Bill H. R. 1846, 77th Congress, providing for optional retirement after 30 years' of service and compulsory retirement after the age of 60, regardless of roster title.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Longevity Pay for Post Office Employees

**Resolution No. 87**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record and re-affirm their belief in the principle of longevity pay for Post Office Employees as provided in the Mead Bill S. 220 and the Flannery Bill, H. B. 1057, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to cooperate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to have this legislation passed.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Annuity for Widows of Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 88**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of the Randolph Bill, H. B. 1847, providing for an annuity equivalent to one-half that received by a retired Postal employee for his widow, and for a proportionate annuity for the widow of a Postal employee who dies while in service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Seniority System in Postal Service

**Resolution No. 89**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a bill establishing a system of seniority in the Postal Service, the minimum requirements of this seniority system to be the posting of all vacancies, the posting of a seniority roster, the assignment of the senior applicant to a position posted, and the establishment of a seniority board in each post office to adjust any seniority problem; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its full support to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to have such legislation enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Recognized Union Labels

**Resolution No. 90**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In some industries a number of Union Labels are required on a product to indicate that said product has been produced in its entirety by Union Men and Women having jurisdiction of the various operations, and

WHEREAS, Labels recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should not be used with labels that do not have such recognition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as advising affiliated Local Unions not to allow their label to be used on any product with other labels that are not recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge its affiliated bod-



ies to only allow the use of their label in connection with labels recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

### Civil Service for Special Delivery Messengers

**Resolution No. 91**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently held that an equitable merit system as exemplified by the classified Civil Service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the United States Postal Service remains unclassified, and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Special Delivery Messengers are striving to secure the enactment of legislation which will bring about the classification of their positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 61st convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will aid and assist these brothers in their program, and that we continue our cooperation to the end that such legislation may be enacted into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Extension and Improvement of the Civil Service System

**Resolution No. 92**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Fed-

eration of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system, as distinguished from the spoils or patronage system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified Civil Service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 61st annual convention, reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Thirty Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

**Resolution No. 93**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers;

James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficent law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years' of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## U. S. Civil Service Commission

**Resolution No. 94**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including the administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

**Resolution No. 95**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers;

James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Higher Standards in Government Employment

**Resolution No. 96**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, Na-

tional Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employees representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work, and kindred betterments, and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Salary Increases of Government Employees

**Resolution No. 97**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Postal employees have had no upward revision in salaries since 1925 and other Government employees are being compensated under the Classification Act of 1923, although living costs have steadily mounted and the American standard of living has progressively improved for all other citizens, and

WHEREAS, Conditions as regards living costs as well as numerous inescapable obligations due to national and international conditions have seriously and adversely affected all Government employees, and

WHEREAS, During the period of depression in the last decade all Government employees suffered reductions in compensation, payless furloughs, and the loss of other privileges, an immediate upward revision of Government pay standards would be not only just treatment for these public servants but also is an economic necessity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled October 6 to 13, 1941, hereby indorse the efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees to secure an equitable upward adjustment of wages; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to give its full support and to urge all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the organizations of Government employees in securing this merited upward revision of compensation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Substitute Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 98**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, Na-

tional Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked, and

WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years, and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

**Resolution No. 99**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its sixty-first annual convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

## Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

**Resolution No. 100**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, Na-

tional Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Government employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this sixty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for Government employees, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated Civil Service employee organizations to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

**Resolution No. 101**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, In-

ternational Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trade and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Court of Appeals for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 102**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a post office court of appeals, to hear cases involving removal from the service, reduction in salary, or other severe disciplinary action against postal employees, and

WHEREAS, Injustices may be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measures, and

WHEREAS, The present power of an official to prefer charges, act as the sole judge on these charges, and then impose penalties, constitutes a mockery of democracy and fair play that would not be tolerated by an enlightened public opinion, and

WHEREAS, The absence of such a court constitutes a serious threat to labor union organization in that it places active union men at the mercy of prejudicial and anti-union officials; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees for the passage of the principle of the Pearson Court of Appeals Bill, which will provide an opportunity for appeals from the decisions of the Post Office Department in case of dismissal or demotion; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That all secretaries affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be instructed to write to their national officers urging immediate support for this vital legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Liberalized Retirement Legislation

**Resolution No. 103**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law does not allow postal employees to retire from the Post Office Department until sixty-three (63) years of age, and

WHEREAS, The retirement law in many respects is unfair, unjust, and discriminatory against those entering into the Post Office service at an early age, requiring them to work as long as forty-five years before becoming eligible for retirement, and

WHEREAS, Thirty years of continuous service in any line of endeavor should, by all fair standards, make one eligible for retirement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees for liberalizing the retirement law to the end that postal employees may retire, at their option, at the end of thirty years' of service, regardless of age or roster title.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Annuity for Widows and Dependents of Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 104**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the establishment of the retirement legislation, Congress acknowledged that postal salaries are not sufficient to maintain the American standards of living and at the same time to purchase annuities against the approach of old age, and

WHEREAS, The security of his widow is a vital concern to the postal employee, and his salary deduction is in reality a joint deduction from both husband and wife, and

WHEREAS, It is just and equitable that the widow or dependent as specified by the employee should receive special consideration for the deduction made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing H. R. 1847, which bill provides the security we desire.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Seniority Rights for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 105**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of seniority is one that has long been sought by Postal employees, and

WHEREAS, Representative Flannery has introduced a bill, H. R. 3841, for the purpose of recognizing seniority in promotions and assignments of employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of this bill.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Establishment of Airway Post Offices on Transport Airmail Lines

**Resolution No. 106**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At present mail is worked on trains, boats and buses, and

WHEREAS, The coming era of air transportation portends the increase in the use of air mail, and the need for utilization of all available time for the working of mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of the Railway Mail Association for the establishment of airway mail post offices on the transport airmail lines.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Elimination of Temporary Employees in the Post Office

**Resolution No. 107**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employment of temporary employees in the Post Office Department tends to undermine the Civil Service Act and the principles of Union Labor, and

WHEREAS, Provided that if there were no temporary employees in the Post Office, regular substitutes would receive permanent appointments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington,



go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees that the Post Office Department by departmental order or legislation, discontinue the employment of temporary employees in the postal service at all times except during the month of December of each year.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Higher Pay for Substitute Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 108**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The substitute employees of the Post Office Service are required to work irregular hours and without a designated monthly salary and must perform their duties under adverse conditions; and

WHEREAS, The recent change in the Post Office hours of labor has not changed to give the substitutes the benefit of the short work week of 40 hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 61st Annual Convention, assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the demands of substitute employees in the Post Office Service whereby the pay of Substitute Postal Employees after 1,904 hours of actual service as a substitute shall be increased to the hourly rate received by the regular employees of the first grade; such hourly rate to be computed by dividing the annual salary of such employees by the number 1,904. And thereafter the rate of pay of such Substitute Employees shall be increased to the hourly rate of the next higher grade of such regular employees, computed in the same manner, upon the completion of each additional period of 1,904 hours of actual service, until they shall have attained the rate of the highest grade of regular pay or shall have been appointed to a regular position.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Salary Reclassification for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 109**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The prices of all commodities have been constantly rising for the past year and are continuing to rise as evidenced by all known commodity indexes, and

WHEREAS, Throughout the length and breadth of these United States Labor of all classes have demanded and have received increased wages due to the higher living costs, and

WHEREAS, Post Office employees have not had any increase in pay since 1925; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees, railway mail clerks and motor vehicle employees for an increase in their wages; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That all secretaries of all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be instructed to write to their national officers urging immediate support for this vital legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Overtime Pay for Post Office Employees

**Resolution No. 110**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become the usual practice in many post offices to work the employees time in excess of eight hours per day instead of requesting additional employees to do the work when the same regular force is unable to handle same, this practice often extending over long periods of time which could hardly be classed an emergency, and

WHEREAS, Industry all over these United States has recognized the principle of time and a half for overtime and this reward for overtime has been added to the regular compensation received by workers in all industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees that any overtime work in excess of the standard eight-hour day shall be compensated at the rate of time and one-half.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 111**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel National Association



of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technicians' Engineers Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials**

**Resolution No. 112**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General and other policy forming officials of the Post Office Department have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokespersonship through their duly elected representatives, and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the sixty-first Annual Convention of The American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Endorsing I. L. O.**

**Resolution No. 113**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that universal peace can only be established and maintained in the world if it is based upon social justice, and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization has been established for the purpose of bringing social justice to the world, and has effectively contributed to that end, and

WHEREAS, Our country is a member of the International Labor Organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, Washington, endorse the work of the International Labor Organization and the principle for which it stands, and urge in this day of world crisis that the International Labor Organization should be maintained and strengthened.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Defense of Hod Carriers International**

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Slandorous attacks have been made upon the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, its officers and members, by a Claude E. McGovern, pseudo president of the Northern California District Council of Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, In making these attacks this same pretender has fraudulently and arrogantly claimed that his baseless charges were authorized by the Northern California District Council of

Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, Because of this person's violation and betrayal of his oath of office to obey and honor the laws of the International Union, of which he was a paid officer for over three years, charges were preferred against him by members of the Northern California District Council, and

WHEREAS, To prevent these charges from being properly investigated, this self-styled Labor leader swore to an injunction in which he incorporated atrociously untrue and malicious charges which were copied from the poisonous column of Westbrook Pegler, and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union repudiated these attacks and showed complete contempt for them by electing unanimously each of its officers who had been maligned and unpardonably smeared, and

WHEREAS, These ridiculous and unfounded charges were given the widest publicity, thereby doing irreparable damage to the good name of the American Federation of Labor, its officers, and members and affiliated unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, that we hereby denounce these unjustifiable and unprincipled attacks as being viciously anti-union and detrimental to Organized Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Embargo on Shipments to Japan

**Resolution No. 115**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America has seen fit to place an embargo on certain commodities in demand by the militarists of Japan to be used in its war of aggression against the Chinese people, and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States of America has officially approved aid to China, and as most of the material used by the Japanese aggressors is imported from the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, This in effect constitutes an attack on the Chinese people whose valorous struggle for national liberation from the Fascist aggressors of Japan has continued under most unfavorable conditions for the last five years, and

WHEREAS, This aggressive attitude on the part of the militarist government of Japan constitutes a threat against the security of the democratic nations throughout the world, and especially to the interests of the people of the United States of America in their struggle against Hitlerism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as favoring an immediate, full and complete embargo on the shipment of all materials to Japan; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention memorialize Congress to pass such law as may be necessary in order to accomplish said purpose.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### To Extend Provisions of Social Security Act and State Unemployment Compensation to Certain Employees Now Excluded

**Resolution No. 116**—Presented by Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-first Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record favoring the extension of Social Security and State Unemployment Compensation to include the employees of hospitals and institutions and other so-called non-profit institutions whose major revenues are derived from fees and charges for services rendered.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Endorsing American Legion-Labor Liaison Program

**Resolution No. 117**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Legion is the largest single group in our American Democracy with a representative membership comprising all races, all religious affiliations, all political factions—capitalists, industrialists, employees, the vast majority of whom are members of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, The fundamental cause of Labor is in reality in complete accord with the principles of the American Legion, and

WHEREAS, There are within the ranks of the American Legion many who wilfully or through ignorance are antagonistic toward Labor's cause, and

WHEREAS, The enlightenment of the members of the American Legion can best be accomplished by the organization of Legion Posts composed exclusively of members of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Since the formation of such Legion-Labor Posts, some ten years

ago, much good has resulted in bringing better understanding of Labor's ideals, aims and problems, and

WHEREAS, Within the American Legion there is "no rank, for each member serves as the equal of his comrade, and all strive toward the same goal, which is the realization in the life of the Republic of the ideals of Justice, Freedom, Democracy and Loyalty," giving Legionnaires, also members of Organized Labor, the unique opportunity of being intimately associated with their employers, yea . . . with the very enemies of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Nothing can better serve the cause of American Democracy, promote unity among all Americans, safeguard and further in our present national emergency, as well as for all time to come, our National Defense Program, as closest cooperation between Organized Labor and the American Legion; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the Legion-Labor Liaison program, giving it all the necessary aid in creating new Legion-Labor Posts of the American Legion.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 118**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights and encountering similar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their

rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Post-War Economic Adjustment

**Resolution No. 119**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The people of the United States are now entirely engrossed in the national defense program, which is rapidly absorbing not only workers who have been unemployed, but in addition thereto, large numbers of men and women are being taken away from their normal occupations and transplanted into others, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of industries and industrial plants in America are being transformed from their normal line of production into plants for the manufacture of war munitions, and

WHEREAS, When the inevitable end of the present war conditions comes to America, it will mean that all of those industries which are not engaged in war defense work must be readjusted to their normal business, which cannot be done over-night; and there is a realization that unless some preparations are made the American people will be plunged into a long period of mass unemployment, such as came after the last World War and again in 1930; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record urging the Federal Government to take such steps as may seem necessary to anticipate the change back to normalcy, and to provide such means as are necessary to prevent unemployment, even to the extent of subsidizing all of the industries of this country, so that they, in turn, may continue the payrolls which now and will exist during the defense program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Condemning U. S. Senate Subcommittee Actions

**Resolution No. 120**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A Senate sub-committee has been instigated by Senators Burton K. Wheeler, D. Worth Clark and Gerald P. Nye to effect an inquiry into the operation of the motion picture industry, and

WHEREAS, It is clear that the purpose of the inquiry is to block the production of motion pictures which are "termed anti-Nazi" because they deal honestly and realistically with war subject and to effect a censorship on the free expression of American culture to which the Screen Actors Guild is unalterably opposed, and

WHEREAS, The inquiry has quickly indicated that it is designed to breed religious and racial discord in our nation, thereby to destroy the unity of the vast majority of American people who support the foreign policy of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-first Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record condemning the actions of the sub-committee as an immediate threat to free thought, free speech and to the very fundamentals of liberty upon which our great nation was founded, and demand that this inquiry be stopped.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Gold Miners Protection Under Wagner Act

**Resolution No. 121**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the State of California there are upwards of thirty thousand (30,000) miners employed in the gold mining industry, and

WHEREAS, The working conditions of these miners are most deplorable and they are subject only to the will of the mine owners and the Mine Workers' Protective League, a company union owned and controlled by the mine owners, and

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board, San Francisco office, has failed to protect these workers under the Wagner Labor Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as requesting its legal department to secure protection under the Wagner Labor Law that rightfully belongs to these workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Uniform Apprenticeship Laws

**Resolution No. 122**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In starting the movement which resulted in the enactment of the Shelley-Maloney Apprentice Labor Standards Act of 1939, the California State Federation of Labor took its rightful place as a leader in setting up the apprenticeship machinery now so necessary to supply the nation's need for skilled workers, and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of that act, Governor Olsen set up the California Apprenticeship Council upon which there is equal representation from employer and employee organizations, and

WHEREAS, Under the leadership of the California Apprenticeship Council the records show that in two years more than 150 local joint apprenticeship committees, comprising equal representation from employer and Labor organizations, have been set up throughout the State, and that through these committees collective bargaining agreements governing the wages, hours and working conditions of employment for some 10,000 apprentices have been established, and

WHEREAS, This apprenticeship record has been achieved in California by reason of the universal acceptance of the collective bargaining features of our State apprenticeship program, as advocated by the California Apprenticeship Council; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, hereby commends the California Apprenticeship Council for the outstanding record which it has made and for its recognition at all times of the rights of Organized Labor to equal representation upon all committees dealing with the all-important problem of apprentice training; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention urge the adoption in all states of apprenticeship laws similar to the one in California, which has so well protected the rights of the workers, as well as further encouraging the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship to cooperate with such state apprenticeship councils.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Vinson Bill

**Resolution No. 123**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the recent past, concerted efforts have been made to shackle Labor with a series of anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, The most vicious of these bills which now constitute a threat to all organized Labor is the Vinson "cooling off" bill, and

WHEREAS, Already many International Unions have placed themselves on record to work for the defeat of this

bill, and so therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, be authorized to take whatever step necessary to contribute to the defeat of the Vinson "cooling off" bill now in Washington for consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Mass Unemployment

**Resolution No. 124**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, After the War of 1918 a condition was prevailing, whereby millions of workers were unemployed, many families in need of assistance, and open shop policies were in existence, and

**WHEREAS**, This condition may again arise after the emergency, and with proper planning the effect will not be as depraving, and

**WHEREAS**, There is a tremendous increase in the population of the State, and many will be unemployed when the preparation program is over; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, take whatever steps may be necessary to eliminate the danger of mass unemployment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Regulating Priorities

**Resolution No. 125**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, Because of the inadequate supply of various basic metals and other materials necessary to defense industry, it has become necessary for the Federal Government to issue priorities giving those engaged in defense industry priority of such metals and other materials, thereby depriving others engaged in non-military work of the necessary supply of such materials, and

**WHEREAS**, Such action causes violent dislocation of industry and results in the unemployment of large numbers of persons who cannot obtain immediate employment in our defense industries, and

**WHEREAS**, Hasty action in the allocation of such materials will not only tend to cripple non-defense industry, but likewise cause widespread unemployment, and

**WHEREAS**, Its disastrous effect can to a large degree be minimized if the government agencies in charge of pri-

orities act only after mature consideration of all factors involved, including any resultant unemployment and its effect upon the general economy of the country, and

**WHEREAS**, It is the settled policy and desire of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to give the Federal Government full cooperation in all matters affecting national defense, and give President Roosevelt full backing in his declared policy of resisting Nazi and Fascist aggression, and

**WHEREAS**, In many instances needless suffering may be avoided if such governmental agencies prior to issuance of such priority orders, consult with officials of Labor Organizations which represent the workers involved; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, that it is the sense of this convention that prior to the issuance of any priority order the governmental agency issuing such order consult with the representatives of the Labor Unions whose membership would be affected by such order, to the end that hardship resulting therefrom may be minimized and an orderly transition be made from peace time to war time economy; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States; to Sidney Hillman and William Knudsen.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Social Security, etc., for Public Employees

**Resolution No. 126**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, Public employees have been excluded from all phases of social security, unemployment compensation and old age annuity, and

**WHEREAS**, It is desirable that public employees have the same job security and assurance of a pension at time of retirement as private employees; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and support state legislation to include public employees in the unemployment compensation plan such as obtains in the State of Wisconsin and endorse and support national legislation to place public employees within the scope of the old age annuity sections of the Social Security Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Slogan for American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 127**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded upon American principles to further the cause of American Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been loyal to American Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been loyal to American Government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is ever on guard to preserve loyalty to the American Government and to Labor's American Federation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has and will continue to dissociate itself from disloyalty to its American principles and ideals by recognition and remedy of dangers that can destroy American form of labor and American form of Government, and

WHEREAS, There is proven value in the use of a good slogan for advertising and proclamation, and

WHEREAS, Through its services the American Federation of Labor has proved its right and precious privilege to proclaim to the world its honest love of American ideals, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor not only judges, but also sincerely appreciates the problems of American Labor, Capital, and Government, and by its deliberations maintains that a real American institution such as our American Federation of Labor is incapable of violating any American liberties because of the American principles upon which it is founded and is administered constituting absolute allegiance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That with honor and pride and true American Spirit, the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt and use the following slogan: "The American Federation of Labor Means What It Says—A Federation of 100 Per Cent Americans."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## National Defense

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A victory of the Axis powers in the present war would constitute a fatal blow to democracy all over the world, and

WHEREAS, From their internal actions the German and Italian govern-

ments have demonstrated that they are savage enemies of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Only with a defeat of the Axis can there be any hope that various social gains, painfully established since the last war, can be maintained; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, call on the national government to take any steps thought wise by the Administration, with the advice and consent of the Congress, acting on the advice of the United States Army Chief of Staff, the Secretary of the Navy and other responsible agencies, to keep at its maximum efficiency the United States Army, Navy and defense program; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention urge and support whatever action is deemed necessary by the Administration to make sure that American aid reaches its intended destination; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledge itself to the moral unity demanded by an unlimited national emergency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## Auto Workers Jurisdiction

**Resolution No. 129**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The United Automobile Workers of America, when chartered by the American Federation of Labor, was granted the following jurisdiction:

"That a charter for a national or international union automobile workers be issued at once to embrace all employees directly engaged in the manufacture of parts (not including tools, dies and machinery) and assembling of those parts into completed automobiles, but not including job or contract shops manufacturing parts or any other employee engaged in said automobile production plants."

and

WHEREAS, In numerous instances the representatives of the United Automobile Workers of America are trespassing upon the jurisdiction of a number of the International Unions of metal workers, and the protests addressed to the officers of the United Automobile Workers of America have received no consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That should the officers of the United Automobile Workers of America decline to meet the representatives of the other International Unions affected, and endeavor to reach understandings which will be acceptable, that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to apply its friendly efforts to bring about such necessary



adjustments; and further, that should these friendly efforts fail, that the Executive Council will apply the necessary discipline of the American Federation of Labor so that the jurisdiction of the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. will be safeguarded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Welding**

**Resolution No. 130**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its annual convention 1916, adopted a decision that "welding is performed with a tool which is used by all metal workers, which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw," and

WHEREAS, In 1919 the so-called "Wilson Award" was handed down, said award giving complete affirmation to the fact that any welding apparatus was a tool which properly came under the jurisdiction of every metal working organization using it, and

WHEREAS, This decision and the principle contained therein were reaffirmed by the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. in 1920; 1929; 1934; 1936 and 1940, and

WHEREAS, It is advisable that the policy of the American Federation of Labor towards the using of welding apparatus may not be subject to misunderstanding or misconstruction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its previous decision on the subject of all welding tools.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **International Union for Office Workers**

**Resolution No. 131**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its effort to organize workers of America is in the habit of forming local unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor when it has an opportunity to organize men and women who may be employed at trades for which no International Union exists, and

WHEREAS, Many of the International Unions now in the American Federation of Labor have been organized by bringing together a number of such Federal

unions in given crafts or callings, and the formation of such an International seemed to be advisable as the more practical way to handle the affairs of these combined local unions, and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its representatives, with the cooperation of city Central bodies and State Federations of Labor, a large number of Office Employees' Unions have been formed throughout the country, all of which are now operating under separate Federal Union charters, and

WHEREAS, The affairs of these organizations have now grown to a proportion that warrants the belief that they could work better if they were all together in an International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, that it go on record in favor of the formation of such an International Union of Office Employees, and petition the American Federation of Labor to grant a charter to such an International Union and to give it such guidance and help as it may need from the Federation to get successfully started.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### **Autonomous Cannery and Preserve Workers Council**

**Resolution No. 132**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The second largest industry in the state of California is the canning and processing of fruits and vegetables, in which industry there are employed at the present time upwards of 70,000 duly affiliated American Federation of Labor unionists, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor established in the year 1937 many federal chartered locals whose main purpose was the organization of this all-important industry, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council, consisting of federal chartered unions located in the state of California, was primarily instrumental in obtaining extensive collective bargaining advancements, in fact so much so that at the present time the standard of wages, hours, and working conditions in the fruit canning industry of the state of California is the highest paid in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council which now bears the name of the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers has during the past A. F. of L. convention year instituted



many advantages and benefits for those unionists engaged in the canning industry, more particularly by a collective bargaining agreement involving increased wages, shorter hours and better labor conditions (said collective bargaining agreement attached hereto) and has established a central office in the city of Hayward, California, for the express purpose of clearing all matters as may properly relate to those persons rendering them valuable assistance to the end that many thousands of dollars have accrued to the benefit of those unionists engaged in the canning industry, both by the adjustment of wages and wage rates for piece work, and

WHEREAS, There was paid to the Cannery Workers Council by those who were affiliated with it one cent per capita tax per member per month, that by reason of the increased activity of the Cannery Workers Council which entailed considerable additional expense and expressly for the purpose that greater valuable assistance could be rendered to those affiliated with the Cannery Workers Council, the members affiliated with the Cannery Workers Council did by referendum vote an increase in their per capita tax in the sum of ten cents, thus making eleven cents per capita per member, payable to the Council, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council contemplating placing an auditor in the field so that said auditor may audit the books of the employer to the end that those unionists engaged in the canning industry shall not be deprived of their just earnings, and

WHEREAS, It is contemplated by the Cannery Workers Council the placing of paid organizers to assist small locals who because of strained finances cannot afford an organizer, for the purpose of organizing the unorganized, and

WHEREAS, It is the intent of the Cannery Workers Council to extend its scope of organizational activity so it can give beneficial aid and valuable assistance to those federal chartered unions located in the states of Washington and Oregon, and

WHEREAS, During the past four years the federated chartered locals have paid per capita to the American Federation of Labor in the sum of upwards of \$300,000, and

WHEREAS, Request was made for recognition as a National Council at the New Orleans Convention, by appropriate resolution, which resolution was concurred in by the Committee on Organization, however, referring the same to the Executive Council with request that they act immediately to facilitate the setting up of a National Council as requested by said resolution, and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the American Federation of Labor and those members affiliated with it will be served

by immediate action by the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the City of Seattle, Washington, hereby adopt the following organizational setup for fruit and vegetable cannery workers and preserve workers:

1. That an autonomous Cannery Workers and Preserve Workers Council be established and that all federated chartered locals in these classifications be required to become part of such Council.

2. That such workers be charged with the responsibility of managing their own organization, subject to supervision by a representative of the American Federation of Labor only to the degree that the American Federation of Labor will be kept informed of the progress of such unions and put in a better position to assist when necessary.

3. That a definite and proper proportion of the per capita tax paid by those unions affiliated with the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers at a sum not less than that now paid as per capita to the Cannery Workers Council, by the members thereof, namely eleven cents, is to be allocated by the American Federation of Labor for the express purpose of and benefit of disbursement of such activities as may benefit the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers; further, that said sum be distributed through its representatives out of the western office of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention recommend and urge the adoption of the recommendations contained in the above resolution so that the same may be returned to the benefits of those affiliated with organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## Use of Local Housing Authorities as Defense Housing Agencies

**Resolution No. 133**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In communities in which defense production is concentrated, lack of housing for defense workers has made it necessary for workers responsible for defense production to live under shocking conditions, and

WHEREAS, Speedy construction of sound housing for defense workers which fully meets the needs of each

community can best be achieved through the tested decentralized machinery of local housing authorities, and

WHEREAS, Local housing authorities are representative public agencies, established to serve the best interests of the community and not responsive to the real needs of defense workers, and

WHEREAS, A post-war housing crisis can be averted only by means of a unified program of housing designed to meet the long-range requirements of the entire community as well as to safeguard its people against bankruptcy, homelessness, and distress, and

WHEREAS, A local housing authority is an agency best fitted to assume the responsibility of solving the housing problem in its community at the end of the emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, with full support of the Central Labor Councils, Building and Construction Trades Councils, and Local Housing Committees, call upon the President of the United States to designate the local housing authorities as local defense housing agencies for the administration and development of all local defense housing, and for the formulation of post-war housing plans.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Defense Housing Projects

**Resolution No. 134**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a need for 150,000 new homes for workers in defense industries, and

WHEREAS, Congress is now considering a bill appropriating \$300,000,000 for this purpose, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has made a nation-wide survey and has advocated \$600,000,000 for housing defense workers, and

WHEREAS, The defense housing projects constructed by the United States Housing Authority or in cooperation with local public housing agencies have generally proven to be superior to those constructed by other governmental agencies, and

WHEREAS, There exists and has always existed a good mutual understanding between the United States Housing Authority and Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to carry out the policies of the Executive Council: (1) This body go on record approving of the action of the Council and

requesting the officers of the Executive Council to call upon members of Congress, urging them to give their unqualified support to this measure; to bring this matter to the attention of the officers of the affiliated national and international unions and of all local building trade councils and central labor councils and to take all other steps necessary to insure that these funds be appropriated and allotted to USHA; (2) Request the officers of the Department to continue their active cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor in order to safeguard fair wages, working conditions and construction standards during construction of all USHA projects, and in order to secure satisfactory labor representation on all local housing authorities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be endorsed by the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Low Rent Housing and Slum Clearance

**Resolution No. 135**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The successful outcome of the national defense program depends on the health, welfare, and morale of the workers of America, and

WHEREAS, Acute shortage of housing for workers threatens the well-being and undermines the spirit of our wage earners and their families, and

WHEREAS, The low rent housing and slum clearance program locally, administered by local housing authorities with the aid of the United States Housing Authority, is Labor's program whose abandonment or interruption at this critical time would be detrimental to the welfare of the people of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, instruct its officers to petition the Congress of the United States, and the President of the United States, to assure continuation of the Low Rent Housing and Slum Clearance Program, to authorize funds necessary to carry it on, and to assure priority ratings for materials and equipment necessary for the construction of USHA-aided projects.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### **Appropriation of Funds for Housing Projects**

**Resolution No. 136**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Defense Program has contributed further to an already acute shortage of decent housing, and

WHEREAS, Practically all funds available for defense housing have been exhausted, and housing conditions among defense workers are still deplorable, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority because of its three and one-half years of housing and planning experience, and because of its existing close relationships with the local housing authorities of communities throughout the United States, has demonstrated its ability to design, construct and manage housing projects possessing a high degree of utility and beauty, expeditiously and at a low cost, and

WHEREAS, The defense housing projects constructed by the United States Housing Authority or in cooperation with local public housing agencies have generally proven to be superior to those constructed by other government agencies, and

WHEREAS, There exists and has always existed a good mutual understanding between the United States Housing Authority and Organized Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, direct its officers to call upon the members of the Congress of the United States urging them to appropriate the necessary funds for the construction of the essential additional defense housing; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That these funds be allocated to the United States Housing Authority for the design, construction and management of additional defense housing in localities throughout the United States in cooperation with the local housing authorities of the communities.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### **Requesting Use of Minimum Plumbing Code by Governmental Agencies**

**Resolution No. 137**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, All civilized nations the world over have for years recognized the importance of sanitation in keeping their citizens healthy, and

WHEREAS, Practically all states, counties and cities in the United States have ordinances in force, drawn in conformity with the accepted sanitary standards governing the installation of plumbing, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department, the Army and other governmental agencies have erected homes and other buildings in a number of cities and counties in California, and

WHEREAS, In the erection of these aforementioned buildings the plumbing was installed in conformity with a Plumbing Code titled B M S 66, which does not conform to above-mentioned sanitary standards; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, request the Navy Department, the Army and the USHA, and Mr. John Carmody, Administrator of Federal Works Agency, to use the minimum Plumbing Code submitted by the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters to the above-mentioned governmental agencies in place of B M S 66.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### **Federal Committee on Apprentice Training**

**Resolution No. 138**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is a demand for additional training of workers because of the responsibility of industry to produce with the greatest speed possible the goods and munitions required for national defense, and it is imperative that training programs be established for training workers for production needs, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national and International Unions have consistently and actively supported all sound and practical programs for training workers so that skilled workers will be developed to replace those continually being removed because of death, and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that an adequate number of young workers be trained so as to become thoroughly competent and informed mechanics through a method of apprenticeship, which assures apprentices a guarantee that they will be afforded the full opportunity of acquiring complete knowledge of the trade to which they are apprenticed, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has recognized the necessity for a permanent governmental agency to assist in the planning, the placing and the guidance of a system of apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, Through the active assistance of the American Federation of Labor the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship was established as a separate bureau of the Government operating under its own budget appropriations from Congress, and

WHEREAS, Under the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, management and labor in equal numbers participate in its policy making and its other activities, and

WHEREAS, This principle of equal representation by management and labor applies whenever State apprenticeship committees are set up under the guidance of the Federal Committee, and

WHEREAS, Through this system of equal representation labor is given a direct voice and a participating responsibility in the Federal Committee, in the State committees, and in the apprenticeship program of the separate industries in each state, and

WHEREAS, Under this system of apprenticeship which is subject to the rules and regulations and the minimum requirements provided by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, related and supplemental instruction for apprentices is provided for this supplemental instruction being in part a responsibility of Federal, State and local vocational educational authorities, and

WHEREAS, Some local boards of education have been unable to provide this supplemental technical education during the period of apprenticeship, because of insufficient funds, or the small number of apprentices in the community, and

WHEREAS, The field representatives of the Division of Labor Standards, Department of Labor, have consistently given evidence that they have a practical understanding of the proper method and standards for training workers on the job; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this 61st annual convention, reaffirms its previous endorsements of the rules and regulations, and the purpose and activities of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship and State Apprenticeship Councils, and endorses the policy that all governmental advisory service in connection with the employment and training of apprentices by the standards of supplemental training during the period of apprenticeship, and that the sole authority for directing and administering the training of short term trainees, be placed in the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to demand adequate appropriations from Congress for the effective operation of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship training; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give its support to securing sufficient appropriations for the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education, and that these funds be earmarked for the exclusive purpose of giving supplemental training to bona fide apprentices, so that an immediate end will be made of a practice developed during recent months in some communities under which apprentices are charged a fee for the supplemental training they require during their period of apprenticeship.

Referred to Committee on Education.

## National Defense

**Resolution No. 139**—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A victory of the Axis powers in the present war would be a fatal blow to Democracy all over the world, and

WHEREAS, From their internal actions the German and Italian Governments have demonstrated they are savage enemies of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Only with a defeat of the Axis can there be any hope that various social gains, painfully established since the last war, can be maintained; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call on the national government to take any steps thought wise by the Administration, with the advice and consent of the Congress, acting on the advice of the United States Army Chief of Staff, the Secretary of the Navy and other responsible agencies, to keep at its maximum efficiency the United States Army, Navy, and defense program; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention pledge itself to the moral unity demanded by an unlimited national emergency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## National Defense and Aid to Democracies

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States cannot afford to have Germany win this war under any circumstances and must,

therefore, do all in its power to bring about her complete defeat, and

WHEREAS, Enough evidence has been submitted to prove our case a thousand times over, and

WHEREAS, If there is need to review any part of this evidence, we would remind all those who perhaps have become lost in a sea of words, that long, long ago this country decided under the Monroe Doctrine that it would fight before submitting to foreign conquest in our hemisphere, and the evidence well shows that such conquest would come about through the well known Nazi method if Hitler were to win the war, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is committed to a policy of all-out defense and aid to the Democracies of the world, and the Indiana Building and Construction Trades Coun-

cil in convention assembled has adopted a resolution embodying the principles of this resolution, and labor organizations throughout the country have endorsed the policies of the American Federation of Labor in relation to all-out defense and aid to the Democracies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in convention assembled reiterate, that this war must be won. We say this and accept our full responsibilities in saying it. We urge leaders of organized labor throughout our nation to say no less. We challenge business leaders to take the same path we elect to take and say that no matter what it may cost, this war against the Nazis must be won, and it is now time to stand by our traditional policy of freedom of the seas.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

## SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Seattle, Washington, October 7, 1941

President Green called the convention to order at 9:50 o'clock.

President Green: We are very much pleased to have with us this morning Reverend Lewis J. Bailey, of Trinity Episcopal Church, who will pronounce the invocation.

## INVOCATION

(Reverend Lewis J. Bailey, Rector,  
Trinity Parish Church)

O Almighty and merciful God, creator and builder of men, Who hast created us and endowed us with body, mind and spirit; grant us the power by Thy Holy spirit to use our endowments to further Thy purpose of the full freedom, dignity and destiny of man. Bless our nation with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners. Send Thy blessing upon this assemblage, its officers, leaders and delegates and grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression and grant that we may reverently use our freedom; help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations. Bring to our minds the sins and follies of the past and grant us grace to overcome them. If we be conscious of our power grant us grace to use it with wisdom and according to Thy Way. If we be torn with strife and discord give unto us a humbleness of spirit that we may achieve unity and concord. If we be dominated by greed and envy, temper us with a generous and forgiving spirit.

Heavenly Father, who hast revealed to us our brotherhood in a common life, we commend our deliberations, our words and thoughts and deeds to Thee and Thy mercy and wisdom. Though we be troubled suffer us not to be distressed; though we be perplexed suffer us not to be despairing, but by Thy heavenly grace grant that we may cheer with hope all discouraged and unhappy people and that through the revelation of Thy Son Jesus Christ we may be the instruments through which Thy Will may be done on earth as it is in Heaven.—Amen.

President Green: The Chair will call upon Secretary Meany to read some messages.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany: We have two telegrams addressed to President Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance, which he will read for the information of the delegates, at the request of that International Union. They are as follows:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 6, 1941.

Edward Flore, Pres. Hotel and Restaurant Employees Intl. Alliance and Bartenders Intl. League of America, A. F. of L., Hdqrs., Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Strike averted here and our local unions, working in conjunction with conciliation service of the Department of Labor, reached agreement with hotel operators, which was finally approved by local unions last night, whereby workers will receive approximately five hundred thousand per year in pay raises. Our best wishes to you and other A. F. of L. delegates. May your convention be the best ever.

JAMES McNAMARA, Local 80.

Pittsburgh, Penn., Oct. 6, 1941.

Edward Flore, Gen. Pres.  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Pittsburgh hotel situation unchanged. Hotels offered 11% plus monthly bonus, but union rejected same demanding guaranteed wage; at Philadelphia C. I. O. was defeated in Ritz Carlton by vote of 88 to 24. First major Philadelphia hotel to return to A. F. of L.

CHAS. A. PAULSEN, Organizer.

Secretary Meany read the following additional messages:

San Francisco, California,  
October 3, 1941.

American Federation of Labor Convention, c/o Eagles' Auditorium, Seattle, Washington.  
Attention: Mr. George Meany, Secretary.  
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

The San Francisco Labor Council extends to you fraternal greetings and expresses the hope that your deliberations will be of material benefit to all the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

We know that your visit to the Pacific Coast will be a pleasant one for the reason that you are meeting in a city that knows how to entertain and to send your people

away with many happy memories of their visit.

With every good wish to the delegates and to your colleagues on the Executive Council, we beg to be

Fraternally yours,

JOHN F. SHELLEY, President,  
JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary,  
San Francisco Labor Council.

Hammond, Ind.

Delegates of American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Seattle, Wash.

Best wishes for success in all your undertakings.

HAL L. MARK,  
International Auditor Hotel and  
Restaurant Employees International Alliance.

Tulsa, Okla., Oct. 6, 1941.

American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

William Green: Greetings. The Woman's International Union Label League extends best wishes for a successful and harmonious convention.

EFFIE WISE, Secretary-Treasurer.

President Green: The messages just read will be included in today's proceedings.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Kugler, of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, for a report.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Chairman Kugler: Mr. Chairman and delegates, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business met and elected Delegate Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists as Secretary. He will submit the report of the committee for your consideration and approval.

Delegate Alifas, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Seattle, Washington, October 6, 1941, begs leave to make the following report for your approval:

## Rules

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m., reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. The convention next week will be in session—Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and will meet on Saturday if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 11. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 12. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 13. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 15. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 16. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.



Rule 17. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

### Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

A. J. Kugler, Chairman  
 N. P. Alifas, Secretary  
 W. R. Brooks  
 E. M. Woods  
 W. Warren Smith  
 John B. Robinson  
 John C. MacDonald  
 Marx Lewis  
 C. N. Atkinson  
 Samuel Ashton  
 George W. Jones  
 Chas. Hardy  
 Harry J. Steeper  
 Edward J. Winter  
 H. E. Greenwald  
 Max Maximilian  
 Henry Nelson  
 Wave Tobin  
 John Locher  
 Jerry Aldred  
 George Wright  
 Pauline Newman  
 COMMITTEE ON RULES  
 AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Delegate Alifas moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Re-Assignment of Committee Members

President Green: The Chair suggests that Brother George Slater, who is serving on the Labels Committee, be assigned to the Committee on Laws, and that Brother Morris Blumberg, who is serving on the Laws Committee, be transferred to the Labels Committee. This recommendation is made because the delegates from the United Garment Workers suggest that this change be made, particularly because Brother Blumberg has been the label agent for the United Garment Workers Organization.

The Chair further recommends that Brother L. C. Macomber, who is serving on the Committee on Education, be transferred to the Committee on Legislation.

### RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED AND ACCEPTED FOR CONSIDERATION BY UNANIMOUS CONSENT

Secretary Meany: The following resolutions were introduced after the time limit and referred to a committee of the Executive Council appointed by President Green. The committee having looked these resolutions over recommends they receive unanimous consent. I will read the title and the introducer, if there is no objection to that procedure.

There was no objection, and Secretary Meany read the titles and the names of the introducers of the following resolutions.

### Additional Funds for Wage-Hour Law Enforcement

**Resolution No. 141**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1936 marked the successful culmination of the sustained campaign of organized labor in the United States for the enactment of legislation to provide a floor for wages and a ceiling for work hours, and

WHEREAS, The Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor has

made substantial progress in bringing industry into compliance with the law but has been handicapped in its work by the lack of sufficient funds necessary for effective enforcement, and

WHEREAS, The Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division has requested from Congress but has thus far been denied an appropriation sufficient for the purpose of routine investigations of the estimated 300,000 units presumably covered by the Act; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the request of the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division for an additional appropriation sufficient for the effective enforcement of the Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, be instructed to exert its full influence for securing from Congress appropriate funds required by the Wage and Hour Division to carry out effectively the purposes of the Act under which it was created.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Student Contests on Labor Law

**Resolution No. 142**—By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The inculcating in the minds of future lawyers of an intelligent and unbiased viewpoint on matters relative to Labor is desirable and necessary to the end that they will be better able to represent either employer or employee group with a sound, unprejudiced approach, and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has for the past several years conducted a contest among the Law Schools of the Chicago area, and awarded prizes for the best essays, pertaining to Labor Law, written by students in the various Law Schools, in order to stimulate interest in Labor Law among them and thereby inculcate in their minds an appreciation of the problems confronting Labor in the courts and legislatures of the State and Nation, and

WHEREAS, The contest sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor for the past several years has demonstrated to that body that it is effective in arousing interest in the problems of Labor among the Law students of Chicago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor conduct a contest among the Law Schools of the United States, and award suitable prizes to the law students submitting essays on the subject of Labor Law, and that a committee be appointed for the purpose of

conducting said contest annually for and in behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### New Buildings for Boys Town

**Resolution No. 143**—By Delegate Paula Day, Central Trades and Labor Council, Reno, Nevada.

WHEREAS, Father Flanagan's boys home, Boys Town, Nebraska, a non-sectarian institution for homeless, abandoned boys, has established its value to the nation as a whole because of the inestimable good which it has done and is doing in building character in youths who, were it not for the kindness and training received at Boys Town, might not develop into good citizens, and

WHEREAS, There is a need now, as never before, for the development of character and leadership in our youth through institutions such as Boys Town, and

WHEREAS, The present buildings at Boys Town were constructed and are maintained almost entirely by contributions and endowments, and

WHEREAS, There is now a pressing need for additional buildings and funds for their maintenance, and

WHEREAS, The treasury of the American Federation of Labor is such that a substantial sum could be utilized for the construction of an additional building or buildings at Boys Town, or to aid in the maintenance of the present institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention at Seattle, Washington, take favorable action toward the introduction, seconding and passage of a motion appropriating or ear-marking a sum of money from the treasury of the Federation sufficient to carry out the objectives of this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Father Flanagan and that copies be supplied to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Pardon for Fred E. Beal

**Resolution No. 144**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Marx Lewis, Herman Finkelstein, Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Fred E. Beal, who took part in the famous textile strike in Gastonia, N. C., in 1929 is now serving a prison term in that State as a direct result of his strike activities, and

WHEREAS, It was never even con-

tended by the State that Beal actually fired a gun or otherwise directly occasioned the death of the Police Chief who died in an episode of violence in that strike, and

WHEREAS, Beal, having fled to Russia at the urging of the Communists abandoned that country and returned to his native America, where he wrote a book denouncing the communist way of life and championing democracy, and

WHEREAS, Many outstanding individuals, including prominent officials of the labor movement and of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have expressed their faith in Beal's innocence and their eagerness that he be freed so that a grave miscarriage of justice may be corrected to the extent that it is possible to do so; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled does hereby petition the Governor of the State of North Carolina, His Excellency Joseph M. Broughton, to grant a full pardon to Fred E. Beal; and also that the Convention urge the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to address a similar plea to the Governor of the State of North Carolina.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Study of Post-War Social and Economic Problems

**Resolution No. 145**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The government of the United States through its executive and legislative branches is giving serious consideration now to the problems of economic and social adjustment and reconstruction of the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, These studies and the findings based thereon are of vital importance to labor and the general public, and

WHEREAS, The potential value of these studies and the practical benefits which may be derived therefrom rest largely upon intimate knowledge of our members and their fellow citizens of every phase of this undertaking, and active participation in the critical study thereof; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled expresses its gratification that studies are being made; and be it further

RESOLVED, That it calls upon city central bodies and state federations of labor to name a committee now, on Post-War Social and Economic Planning, which committee shall in each community of itself and in cooperation with other social-

minded civic groups give continuous attention to data and problems bearing on post-war problems of:

1. Maintenance of full employment of working people
2. Maintenance of community social services.
3. Maintenance of high living standards where they exist and the development thereof where they do not exist
4. Preservation of existing social legislation and the further development thereof
5. Adjustment of industry to peace-time basis
6. Retraining of workers as a highly important phase of readjustment
7. The preservation of the principle of the sanctity of the individual human being in a highly integrated, coordinated, cooperative society.

and be it further

RESOLVED, That it calls upon government agencies now studying post-war problems to make available now, and continuously hereafter, reports of its studies for the consideration and critical evaluation of the findings of these studies by each community in terms of community experience; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to carry out the provisions of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Social Security Act to Workers of Puerto Rico

**Resolution No. 146**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Committee on Unemployment Compensation of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10 and 11, 1936, made the following recommendation, which was unanimously approved by the Conference:

"We urge that the proper authorities undertake to secure an amendment to the Social Security Act by the Congress to provide the benefits of the Social Security Act to the workers of Puerto Rico and all other territory comprising the United States of America," and

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 70, instructing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor "to take the necessary steps before Congress so as to secure that the Social Security Act be amended so that Puerto Rican Workers may enjoy the benefits of this Act." and

WHEREAS, A few years after the above quoted resolutions were adopted, and due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and other governmental agencies of the Government of Puerto Rico, two titles of the Social Security Act were amended by Congress, their benefits having been extended to help the mothers and children, but those Titles benefitting the workers on Unemployment Compensation and other features have remained unchanged, the workers in general having been deprived of such benefits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and directed to renew the efforts of our organization before Congress until the time has come when the Puerto Rican workers have been brought to the full enjoyment of all the benefits of the Social Security Act through the necessary amendments to the Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Political Status of Puerto Rico

**Resolution No. 147**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 69, submitted by the State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, reading as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico was formally surrendered by Spain to the United States on October, 1898, and by the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10 of the same year, at the close of the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, together with Vieques, Culebra and other small adjacent islands, and

"WHEREAS, By the Treaty of Paris, the future of the people of Puerto Rico was entrusted to the hands of our Nation and placed the supreme authority over Puerto Rico in the United States Congress, such high body to decide on the final political status of the island, and

"WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico has been under the American Flag for nearly forty years, and nobody could successfully question that great progress has been made although progress made by the working class has not kept pace with that made by the privileged groups, and

"WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico have been loyal to the United States of America in peace and in war, although it has been repeatedly decided by the courts that the Con-

stitution of the U. S. not always follows the flag, and

"WHEREAS, The political status of Puerto Rico is most peculiar because it is not a state, neither a territory, but some sort of unincorporated territory developing its activities under a special act of Congress, this peculiar situation having given rise to the discussion of different political formulas during the last thirty years, and

"WHEREAS, Although the people of Puerto Rico have collectively and repeatedly expressed their opinion through the duly constituted political bodies and labor organizations; labor having expressed most unequivocally that the 'influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Puerto Rico has been, is and will continue to be civilizing, and with such convictions organized labor rejects every and all colonial political systems and insists upon keeping its permanent association with United States,' and also the political parties of the Island at different occasions have expressed the same views, and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding this fact, there has been maintained in the Island, for the past few years, some agitation intended to sever the relations of the Island with the United States, such agitation having apparently induced a small number of U. S. Congressmen to offer different formulas as to the final political status of Puerto Rico; among them being the granting of independence to the Island in a bill introduced in the Senate during the 74th Congress, and

"WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico believe that they are justified in claiming that the time has come when they, as American citizens, should request from Congress and from all other proper authorities, to make a plain and formal official declaration as to the intention of the U. S. towards the final political status of our Island, so as to do away with agitation and so as to enable us to determine the orientation to be followed by the people, and

"WHEREAS, The feelings and aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico as to the final political status which they hope to enjoy could be made known only through a proper and legal instrumentality by which the people might be accorded the opportunity to freely and democratically express their opinion, and

"WHEREAS, We sincerely believe that the people and the Congress of the U. S. are prompted by the best intentions and motives to be of service to our people and to guarantee its civil rights and liberties, which

have been enjoyed to the fullest extent under the American flag during the American regime in the Island; therefore

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L., to request from the U. S. Congress and the Federal authorities in behalf of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and of the U. S., that proper and immediate action be taken as follows:

1. That a frank, formal and official declaration be made public in reference to the intention of the Government of the U. S. as to the final political status to be enjoyed by the Island of Puerto Rico, this to be done in conformity with the authority granted to the U. S. Congress by the Treaty of Paris signed at the close of the Spanish-American War.

2. To request the U. S. Congress to pass a resolution authorizing and directing a referendum (plebiscite) be carried on in Puerto Rico without restrictions or limitations whatsoever, and so that in giving the people the opportunity to decide upon the final political status of the Island not only one political formula be brought to their consideration but all of those different plans, systems or political solutions that have been publicly discussed by the different political parties of the Island, and by the labor organizations such as a territory, statehood, independence, self-government, or autonomy of the Canadian or Australian type, associated free state, or any other plan offered so that the people be enabled to make the proper selection according to their wishes, ideals or political beliefs.

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that uncertainty, doubts and confusion have been created during the past year in the Island of Puerto Rico because of the agitation for Independence; taking into consideration that the effects of this agitation have been felt in business, and other activities in the Island and in the continental United States, all of which has been most detrimental to the interests of both the U. S. and Puerto Rico; and having in mind that the people of Puerto Rico are anxious that this situation be brought to an end, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is further instructed to take action on this proposal as soon as possible."

WHEREAS, After the above quoted resolution was approved in 1936 no change has been effected in the political status of the Island and none of the provisions contained in it has been complied with, being the result that those

inimical to the form of Government of the United States as established in Puerto Rico, have taken our peculiar political status as a pretext to criticize and discredit the form of Government of our Nation as a whole, to make propaganda among the Latin American Republics against the United States and its good neighbor policy, creating certain feelings which do not help in the efforts of our National Government to bring about unity and the best relations among all the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, and

WHEREAS, Poisonous propaganda of prejudices and slanderous attacks against the Government of the United States, due to our peculiar political status, have been spread to such an extent that even the totalitarian governments who would destroy our form of Government and all our labor unions and our sacred democratic institutions if they could, have joined in such unworthy task, depicting the Government of the United States as composed of oppressors keeping our people under economic, social and political slavery, and

WHEREAS, Although we have been fighting for many years against such unjustified and biased propaganda, we have not been entirely successful in stopping it, because of the ample means at the disposal of the enemies of our Nation, we firmly believe that if the measures as called for by Resolution No. 69 of our 1936 Convention had been put into effect, such unworthy and detrimental propaganda would have already disappeared and our Nation would be in a better position to bring about a better understanding between the Latin American Nations and the United States of America, and there would be no longer any field for suspicion and prejudices against the United States of America; therefore, be it now

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby ratify all the provisions as contained in the above quoted resolution and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and directed to take before Congress and the President of the United States all steps that the Council may deem necessary to carry out the aims and purposes of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Social Security Act to Public Employees

**Resolution No. 148**—By Delegate James N. Soutter, Trades and Labor Assembly, Des Moines, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Federal legislation has

been adopted in recent years, together with corresponding legislation by the various states, which brings to the workers engaged in private industry the protection against unemployment, within certain limitations, and also protection against dependency in old age, and

WHEREAS, The benefits of the Social Security Laws, at the present time, extend only to those engaged in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Experience has already proven that this law is sound economically and socially, and

WHEREAS, There are thousands upon thousands of men and women working in various classifications of Government work, particularly in our states, counties and municipalities, as well as school districts, who, by terms of the Federal Social Security Law are without its terms and, therefore, cannot benefit thereby, and

WHEREAS, These thousands upon thousands of workers have the same problems to confront them, both as to employment and as to old age security, as do those workers in private employment, and

WHEREAS, There are no legal limitations, economic reasons or logical objections as to why the benefits of Social Security legislation, both national and state, should not extend to cover the public employees, federal, state, county, municipal and school; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that amendment be made to the Federal Social Security Law, removing the exclusion or ban upon the public employees, and by said amendment, make proper provision to bring within the scope of these splendid, sound and humane statutes the public employees of our Federal Government, states, counties, municipalities and our schools.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### National Defense

**Resolution No. 149**—By Delegate Wendell J. Phillips, Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, Our Government is involved in a tremendous national defense program which consists of aid to Great Britain, Russia and all forces fighting Hitlerism, and

WHEREAS, The issues involved in the present war were for the first time made completely clear when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill surprised the world with their history-making meeting at sea, and announced an 8-point program, which briefly is:

1. No territorial aggrandizement.
2. No territorial changes against the will of the people concerned.
3. Restoration of the freedom and privileges of those people in countries forcibly deprived of them and the right of all people in all countries to democratically determine their own form of government.
4. A free world trade and a free world market for vanquished nations as well as victor.
5. Collaboration between all nations in the economic field for improved labor standards and social security.
6. After the victory of the anti-Hitler forces, a hope that there will be established the means by which all nations may dwell in safety in their own countries and that all may be free from fear and want.
7. Freedom of the seas.
8. Abandonment of the use of force in all countries. Disarmament of nations who threaten the safety of the world and to aid and encourage all practical methods in the direction of the world disarmament.

therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we forward to the President our position relative to the world crisis as follows:

1. That the American Federation of Labor does hereby officially pledge its fullest support to the national defense program. We insist, however, that there shall be no abrogation of any of Labor's legislative or economic gains. It should therefore be understood that we expect full protection of labor's rights and gains.
2. That we concur in President Roosevelt's policy of all possible aid to Great Britain and Russia and all other countries fighting Hitlerism, and
3. That we support the policy of a complete embargo on all war materials destined for Japan and urge all possible assistance to China.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Pontiac Motor Division, General Motors, Employment Application

**Resolution No. 150**—By Central Labor Union, Pontiac, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The Pontiac Motor Division of General Motors has adopted an application for employment form containing the following affidavit form:

To be signed at time of employment.

Date.....

I hereby swear that all information



contained on this application blank is true to the best of my knowledge and belief and that nothing has been concealed or omitted and that I will abide by the present company rules and regulations or any that may be put into effect.

Signed.....

Subscribed and sworn before me this  
day of ....., 19.....

Notary Public in and for  
County of Oakland, Michigan

which all employees must sign regardless of length of service as well as persons seeking employment, and

WHEREAS, To accept this in principle is to turn the calendar of time back some one thousand to fifteen hundred years to the time when slaves and serfs were required to bow down in homage and swear allegiance to their lords and masters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor protest this un-American practice on the part of Pontiac Motor Division of General Motors; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Roosevelt be asked to use his high office to correct this situation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### A. F. of L. Policy Relative to Peace Treaty

**Resolution No. 151**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor, while addressing this year the Seventy-Eighth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor declared: "That at the peace conference which will follow the end of the war the workers of the various nations of the world must be given direct representation," and

WHEREAS, Voicing the sentiments and aspirations of our membership and as a true and faithful interpreter of our doctrines and democratic ideals, he vigorously and energetically stated: "I demand that the representatives of labor from every nation, speaking different languages, worshipping in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, be there to help shape a new world, new freedoms, new righteousness and a new future for the people throughout the world," and

WHEREAS, He further stated that: "We want written into the agreement, in simple language, this: That workers in every nation throughout the world shall be accorded the full and unre-

stricted right to establish and maintain free, democratic unions," and that "that right must never be given up," and

WHEREAS, our President advanced his proposal as an amendment to the eight-point war aim program proclaimed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister of England Winston Churchill at their historic meeting on the Atlantic Ocean, and

WHEREAS, Our President has unflinchingly and unequivocally expressed and set the only policy which a conscious labor movement like ours can follow and advocate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily approve and support our President in his declaration, and decide that these declarations as formulated constitute the policy of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, Proper representations be made by the Executive Council before the competent governmental agencies, when the time, might come, after totalitarianism has been banished from the face of the earth, to secure adequate labor representation, and the adoption in the peace agreement of the clause intended to protect the rights and freedom of labor in all the Nations of the world.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Labor Representation on Government Boards

**Resolution No. 152**—By Delegate Frank Burch, Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

WHEREAS, Organized Labor is the medium for the establishment of work standards for all people, whether members or non-members of unions, upon which in essence forms one of the bases for contractual relations in industry, thereby providing a recognized factor for industrial stability, and

WHEREAS, Ever cognizant of our national economic and patriotic responsibility, we propose the measures herein contained, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has incorporated in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1942 that funds shall be provided for projects approved by the President to include training (WPA workers) for manual occupations in industries engaged in production for National Defense purposes, and

WHEREAS, Provisions have been established to put into execution this provision of the Act without consideration of its consequent effects upon industry



at the completion of the National Defense Program, and

WHEREAS, This Training Program runs counter to the efforts of the Apprenticeship Division of the United States Department of Labor and to some extent to cross-purposes with the Labor Division of the Office of Production Management; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in an executive session shall propose to the President and the Congress of the United States, together with the various sub-divisions of the Administration engaged in both temporary and permanent industrial operations, that Labor be provided through the medium of Organized Labor the opportunity to sit in close council in major capacities on Advisory or Policy making boards; that no program affecting industry shall be put into actual operation until all parties affected by the operation of such program be assembled and acquainted with its purpose. To this end, Organized Labor can then give the Government and the citizens as a whole the benefit of its long experience to alleviate the possible chaotic economic and industrial conditions resulting from a concentrated unbalanced labor market.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **Application of Laborers to Change Title to International Union of Construction and General Laborers of America**

**Resolution No. 153**—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor under the title "International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America," and

WHEREAS, Since the granting of charter to the said International Union by the American Federation of Labor, the said International Union has acquired further and added jurisdiction by reason of amalgamations with other existing International Unions of the American Federation of Labor, all with the knowledge and consent of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and with the consent and approval of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The present title of the said International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America does not fully nor properly represent the jurisdiction lawfully covered by the said International Union, and

WHEREAS, The said International Union desires to abbreviate its title and in abbreviating attempt to cover its jurisdiction in a more general manner, and

WHEREAS, At the recent Convention of the said International Union, held September 15-19, 1941, in St. Louis, Missouri, the said Convention instructed the officers and delegates of the said International Union in attendance at the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor to present a resolution requesting from said American Federation of Labor Convention a change in its title; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the present title of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America be changed to "International Union of Construction and General Laborers of America," and that in effecting said change, the said International Union maintain and continue to hold the same jurisdiction held by it in its previous title.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### **A. F. of L. Policy Relative to Peace Treaty**

**Resolution No. 154**—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, Robert Lester, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, Nearly all the peoples of the civilized world are now engaged in deadly conflict which, in the judgment of intelligent human beings should and could have been avoided, but has been forced on the democratic, liberty-loving peoples of the world by a leadership that believes in the conquering and destruction of human rights in order to satisfy its ambitious, insane desires for power, and

WHEREAS, The working people of the world are undoubtedly those who will suffer most at the ending of this conflict, and

WHEREAS, It is demanded of Labor that they select from amongst their leadership one who has been tried and proven in the ranks of Labor; one who has demonstrated ability and courage, fearlessness and diplomacy in representing his people; one who has studied,

understands and has had contact with the conflicting elements which compose the European population, including government, capital and labor, and

WHEREAS, Labor is now giving all that it has in our country to the end that freedom, civilization and democracy can be preserved, not only for this but for future generations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention inform the President of the United States that at the conference table at the ending of this world conflict, Labor must have its representation because Labor is enormously concerned and, as Labor has played the most important part in this world struggle and has more at stake than any other branch of society, Labor therefore must be and insists that it be considered in any negotiations on peace which may obtain at the ending of this conflict. In other words, Labor of the United States must have its representative at the peace table; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to name a representative from amongst the men of Labor and present the name of such chosen representative to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Extension of Wagner-Peyser Act to Puerto Rico

**Resolution No. 155**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 62, reading as follows:

"WHEREAS, On October 12, 1933, the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico brought to the attention of the Honorable Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, the helpless situation in which the employment service of Puerto Rico had been left after the operation of the Wagner-Peyser Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress, creating a new United States Employment Service, since no provision had been made to provide financial aid for the employment service of the Island and its branch office located in the city of New York, and

"WHEREAS, The Hon. W. Frank Persons, Director of the U. S. Employ-

ment Service, under date of October 13, 1933, expressed in a communication to the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, that while the points brought to the attention of the U. S. Secretary of Labor, commanded the sympathetic interest of his Department, however, under the Act itself the U. S. Employment Service, was not empowered to assist in maintaining a system of public employment offices in Puerto Rico, due to the fact that the territory of Puerto Rico was not included in the Act, while there were included those of Hawaii and Alaska, all of which did preclude any possibility to include Puerto Rico, and

"WHEREAS, As stated by the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico to the Hon. Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, there is no place in the world where American citizens live, where the employment service is more badly needed than in Puerto Rico, and

"WHEREAS, There has been functioning in the Island of Puerto Rico a local employment service bureau which is a part of the Insular Department of Labor, but the appropriation is so limited that no effective work can be accomplished, and

"WHEREAS, In our opinion, more than 1,600,000 inhabitants of loyal American citizens living in the territory of Puerto Rico are entitled to enjoy the benefits of all social legislation intended to remedy such a social evil as unemployment, and

"WHEREAS, The Committee on Public Employment Exchanges of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10, 11, recommended, and the conference unanimously approved, That the Wagner-Peyser Act be amended to include Puerto Rico; therefore,

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct and direct the Executive Council request the U. S. Congress that the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act be made applicable to Puerto Rico through an adequate amendment to such Act by the Congress of the U. S."

WHEREAS, In spite of the efforts put forth by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and several federal and insular governmental agencies during the last five years to have the law amended to extend to Puerto Rico the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act, nothing practical has been obtained, the workers of Puerto Rico being still deprived of the benefits of said Act, and

WHEREAS, The population of Puerto Rico at the time of writing this resolution is nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants, which readily proves that the problem of unemployment is now even more acute than it was when the resolution quoted above was approved in 1936; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to redouble its efforts to secure an amendment to the Wagner-Peyser Act making it possible for the workers of Puerto Rico to enjoy the benefits of this Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Sugar Workers Legislation

**Resolution No. 156**—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Workers have been protected by national legislation since 1934, and

WHEREAS, The law granting this protection will expire in 1941 unless there is continuing legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring protection of these workers to no less a degree than they now enjoy.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### Legislative Program—Government Employees

**Resolution No. 157**—By Delegates James B. Burns, Bernice B. Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program.

1. Payment of a bonus of at least \$240 a year to all government employees for the duration of the emergency to offset the increased cost of living.
2. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50% of the average compensation for those receiving salaries in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at age 55; unqualified

disability retirement regardless of age or continuance on the annuity rolls until reinstated of persons who have recovered from disabilities; return of deductions upon separation from the service; preservation of the present civil service retirement system; additional deductions from compensation if necessary to secure more liberal retirement benefits.

3. Securing of adequate appropriations to make effective the promotion procedure provided in Public Law No. 200.
4. Extra pay for extra work.
5. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full time employees.
6. Five day week distributed over five consecutive days, with no decrease in pay; and elimination of the stagger system.
7. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.
8. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field services.
9. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocations are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so as to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; and to guarantee prompt consideration of all appeals.
10. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and rules to cover the entire civil service.
11. The establishment of a adequate transfer facilities and procedure to afford employees greater opportunity for advancement and promotion and to afford departments and governmental agencies the opportunity to secure qualified and experienced employees by transfer or reinstatement without delay.
12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provision of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose.
13. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.

14. Uniform application of longevity pay principle to all Government positions.
15. Reclassification upward of guards, policemen and watchmen in the Government Service, so that their grade and pay will be commensurate with the duties performed.
16. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such Board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.
17. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.
18. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans' Administration facilities, federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.
19. Optional Quarters, Subsistence and Laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services.
20. Defraying by the Government of the cost of travelling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty station to another for the convenience of the Government.
21. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment is compulsory.
22. Compensation during training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.
23. Straight eight hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals.
24. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees.
25. Establishment of adequate housing projects at reasonable cost to meet the needs of the National defense employees in national defense areas.
26. Continued support of the Hatch Act, but urging its amendment to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.

27. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.

therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

### **International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union vs. American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees**

**Resolution No. 158**—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees at the time of receipt of their charter from the American Federation of Labor, agreed that they would not infringe upon the jurisdiction of existing International Unions, and

**WHEREAS**, The said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has, on numerous occasions, infringed upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, in many localities throughout the United States, by taking into membership those doing work coming within the calling of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and also by conducting membership drives for the purpose of inducing workers who did rightfully belong to or who were eligible for membership in the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, to join the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and

**WHEREAS**, Many conferences have been held between the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, at which conferences the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

agreed and promised to correct all of the existing infringements and that it would further see to it that no other infringements would take place, and

WHEREAS, The said matter of infringements by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was before the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the year 1940 and the said matter was referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action, and

WHEREAS, The said American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees has misrepresented its jurisdiction to many municipal, county, state, and federal employing authorities and has thereby caused great confusion in the minds of the said authorities as to which organization has proper jurisdiction and has also thereby prevented the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other American Federation of Labor affiliates from properly organizing men doing work that comes within their calling, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees has not lived up to the agreements and promises made by it, as above referred to, but still continues to infringe upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and

WHEREAS, No decisive action was taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as the result of the referral of the said matter to it by the last Convention, and

WHEREAS, At the recent Convention of said International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, held September 15-19, 1941, in St. Louis, Missouri, the said Convention instructed the officers and delegates of the said International Union in attendance at the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present a resolution to this effect to the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter of infringement by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other national and International

Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the misrepresentations made by the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees which impede the proper national and International Unions from organizing those doing work coming within their calling, as above outlined, be referred to the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of directing the said American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees to immediately cease and desist from infringing upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and other National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also that it cease and desist from misrepresenting to any properly constituted municipal, county, state, or federal authority its jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered, in the event that the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees does not carry out and fulfill the order referred to in the first resolve hereof, within ninety (90) days from the date of notice to that effect, that it be sufficient reason for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to show cause why its charter should not be revoked, recalled, and cancelled.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

### Vocational Training Programs

**Resolution No. 159**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has since its inception contributed richly to the development of vocational education in this country, and

WHEREAS, During all these years it has stood firmly for the maintenance of sound educational, social, and technical standards in the development of vocational education, and

WHEREAS, The present emergency demands the tremendous expansion of the program of vocational training; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled urges its affiliated state and central bodies to name a committee on vocational training (if one does not exist which can so function) which committee shall be asked:

1. To gather, compile and analyze data on the subject of vocational education in its community;
2. To examine closely the training programs of emergency government agencies and the up-grading, in-training programs of industry;
3. To confer continually with social minded civic organizations in each community which are interested in such a program and to keep before them the social and economic aims of labor's program;
4. To assist in organizing teachers of these training programs into the only bona fide teacher trade union, the American Federation of Teachers;

and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That each city central or state federation be urged to send the reports and findings of its committee on vocational education to the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education.

Referred to Committee on Education.

### Organizing Campaign for Southern California

**Resolution No. 160**—By Delegate F. T. Baldwin, San Fernando Valley Central Labor Council, California.

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement in Los Angeles County is passing through a very critical stage due to the tremendous influx of unorganized workers from all parts of the country, who because of their economic status and lack of knowledge of union principles, undermine the efforts of local organizers to bring many industries into contractual relations with local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The various unions involved are unable financially to cope with the situation and need the assistance of additional experienced organizers to offset the anti-labor activities of the Merchants & Manufacturers, Associated Farmers, Women of the Pacific, and other anti-labor forces, and

WHEREAS, The dual organization, commonly known as the CIO, is at the present time conducting a vigorous organizational campaign, not only to organize the unorganized workers, but also to make inroads into and disrupt our own organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; now therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor empower the President and

the Executive Council of their honorable body to assign a sufficient number of experienced organizers to the Southern California area to adequately insure the complete organization of the workers in this district, and a sufficient amount of money be expended to guarantee success in bringing these unorganized workers into the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

### Marine Trades Department for American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 161**—By Delegate Wendell J. Phillips, Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, There now exists within the American Federation of Labor several unintegrated marine groups, and

WHEREAS, This lack of co-ordination causes dissatisfaction and defections in the ranks of marine labor, and

WHEREAS, This lack of co-operation among marine groups causes confusion, duplication of effort and ignores the real economic problems of marine workers, and

WHEREAS, Certain rival marine groups are now planning a colossal intensified membership drive which aims at a vertical union to contain all these marine crafts and promises direct action for marine workers so organized, and

WHEREAS, The marine unions within the American Federation of Labor regard this threat to their membership as ominous and imminent to their craft unions and are alarmed at the full implications of so sweeping a marine movement, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of all qualified marine leaders that a similar movement within the American Federation of Labor can forestall the action described above, and

WHEREAS, Most marine units would prefer to keep their autonomy, but appreciate the need for concerted marine action by a combination of all marine crafts acting in unison; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record in favor of establishing a maritime council within the American Federation of Labor similar to the units now functioning for the metal trades, building trades and railroad departments.

Referred to Committee on Organization.



## Assistance for the American Federation of Labor Unions at Detroit

**Resolution No. 162**—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, In the last five years the American Federation of Labor Unions in Detroit and vicinity have made great progress in building new unions and strengthening those already in existence, and

WHEREAS, A supreme effort is now being made by the proponents of dual unionism to invade the established and recognized American Federation of Labor Unions in Detroit and vicinity with their raiding tactics and "sweetheart agreements," and

WHEREAS, The head of the dual movement has announced that Detroit is to be made the battleground for invasion of the Teamsters' Union and the building trades unions, and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the dual unionists to invade the American Federation of Labor Unions on the Detroit municipally-owned street railway system and the hotel and restaurant workers' unions have been successfully resisted by the united opposition of the American Federation of Labor unions in the City of Detroit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge its support to the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor and its affiliated Local Unions in resisting the attacks of dual unionists on the American Federation of Labor Local Unions at Detroit and the executive officers of this Federation be authorized to examine closely into the situation as it exists at Detroit and vicinity and to render every aid possible to the American Federation of Labor movement in that city in resisting this threatened invasion of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs Movement, the Building Trades Council Movement, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Movement and other organizations now confronted with the threat of dual unionism in that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## International Union for Office Workers

**Resolution No. 163**—By Central Labor Council, Alameda County, California.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and

upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning International Union of Office Workers, and

WHEREAS, The formation of an International Union would facilitate the development of an organizational program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Seattle, Washington, in 1941, request its officers to take the necessary steps for the creation of a functioning International Union of Office Workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

## USHA Low Rent Housing Program

**Resolution No. 164**—By Delegate Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America; Delegate George Masterton, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; Delegate John P. Coyne, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, During the past four years the United States Housing Authority has provided housing for low income families with speed, economy and efficiency, and

WHEREAS, The program of low rent housing and slum clearance construction which has been authorized by Congress to date is far too small to take care of millions of families who must be rehoused, and

WHEREAS, A permanent public housing program is essential if decent, low rent housing is to be made available to the families now subjected to the dangers of overcrowding and disease which prevail in slums, and

WHEREAS, To escape a recurrence of widespread unemployment at the end of the war emergency, such a long-range program must be planned now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief that the United States Housing Authority is the Federal agency which should be entrusted with the entire program of housing for low income groups; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take all steps necessary to secure without delay an additional authorization of loan funds to the United States Housing Authority, in order that the housing program may be continued.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.



### Priorities for Low Rent Housing and Slum Clearance

**Resolution No. 165**—By Delegate Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America; Delegate George Masterton, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; Delegate John P. Coyne, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, In hundreds of communities throughout the United States there are critical shortages of housing facilities for workers and their families, and

WHEREAS, Lack of decent, sanitary and soundly built housing facilities threatens the welfare of our workers, and

WHEREAS, The well-being and high morale of wage earners engaged in national defense production are indispensable to the success of our national effort, and

WHEREAS, The USHA program of low rent housing and slum clearance, administered by local housing authorities, constitutes the speediest and most economical means of providing sound, permanent, and livable homes for low income families of workers during defense emergency, and of meeting the housing needs of workers when the emergency is over; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, its Housing Committee, and its affiliated organizations take all steps necessary to assure the continuation of the low rent housing and slum clearance program of the USHA during the present emergency; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the President of the United States to issue a blanket priority rating for building materials necessary for uninterrupted construction of low rent housing and slum clearance projects built with the aid of the United States Housing Authority.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

### Prevailing Wages for Municipal Employees of the City of Chicago

**Resolution No. 166**—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, In the City of Chicago, a condition prevails with Municipal Employees which is deplorable and which has a tendency to break down conditions as established by building trades organi-

zations in that city during the past thirty (30) years, and

WHEREAS, Employees who are members of the respective International Unions of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor, who are in the employ of the City of Chicago, are not being paid the prevailing scale of wages, as established by collective bargaining agreements with private employers, and

WHEREAS, The matter was called to the attention of the Mayor of the City of Chicago and the Finance Committee of the City of Chicago, when they were making up the budget for the fiscal years 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940, and

WHEREAS, All of the organizations involved presented their grievances to those Civic Departments above mentioned, in the manner by them prescribed and in conformity with all law and usage, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the City of Chicago, the County of Cook, the Sanitary District, and the Board of Education, which are all divisions of Government, and are employers of members of our respective organizations, has been to include in the budget a provision for the payment of the prevailing scale of wages, as established by collective bargaining agreements with employers, and

WHEREAS, We have one hundred per cent organization covering the jurisdictions in question, in and around the vicinity of the City of Chicago, and the prevailing rate of wages is paid to all of the members of our organization, as established by the said collective bargaining agreements with Employers and Employers' Associations, excepting the City of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, It is a requirement of the budget-making body of the City of Chicago, that our organization submit to them collective bargaining agreements, as aforesaid, so as to establish the prevailing rate of wages for each of the various jurisdictions of work, and

WHEREAS, We have properly in all instances and periodically, submitted the said required data to the various municipal authorities, and

WHEREAS, The City of Chicago, acting through its officials, have not paid to the members of our organization, working for the various city departments, the said prevailing rate of wages, as submitted and proven by the said collective bargaining agreements establishing a prevailing rate of wages in and around the said City of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, We have recently held meetings and conferences with sub-committees of the Finance Committee of the City of Chicago, which is the budget-making body, and such other authorities as have the power to establish the rate

of wages to be paid to city employees, and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the several meetings and conferences with the said Civic Authorities, the proper, established prevailing wage rate is still not being paid and the said meetings and conferences have not resulted or materialized in any adjustment of the matter, and

WHEREAS, On or about January 9, 1941, there was a stoppage of work by the Chicago Building and Construction Trades Council and that during said stoppage an understanding was arrived at with the Mayor and other authorities of the City of Chicago, that the men return to work pending the appointment of a committee of three (3) for the purpose of attempting to amicably adjust the matter, and

WHEREAS, To this date the matter has not been adjusted, notwithstanding the number of meetings and conferences held and above referred to, and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Hod Carriers', Building, and Common Laborers' Union of America, in the employ of the said City of Chicago, deliver a day's work for a day's pay and are mostly per diem men and are subject to loss of time because of weather conditions, etc., and that employment by the City of Chicago for these men has been limited and their only means of livelihood; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session in Seattle, Washington, in the year 1941, endorse the principle, policy, custom, and usage of recognition of the prevailing rate of wages in and around the City of Chicago by the authorities vested with the power of setting the wage rate to be paid to Municipal Employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declare that the practice of refusing to recognize and pay the said prevailing rate of wages to Municipal Employees by proper authorities in charge of wage rates paid to Municipal Employees, in the City of Chicago and elsewhere, is improper, unfair, unjust and in conflict with existing law, usage and custom; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and Officers of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to take such action as may be necessary to bring about a proper and equitable adjustment of this matter by the recognition of and compliance with the prevailing rate policy by the municipal authorities of the City of Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

## Agreement Between Plumbers and Boilermakers

**Resolution No. 167**—By Delegates George Masterton, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; Delegates J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, Jasper N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, and the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America, after long and earnest consideration of the jurisdictional controversies which have heretofore existed between these two International Unions have now reached an agreement, effective August 1, 1941, which disposes of all questions at issue between them and makes provisions for the handling of any future questions, if the same should arise.

This agreement disposes only of the questions between these two organizations and does not undertake to interfere with the relations of either organization with other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but is designed solely in the interests of peace and fraternal good will between the respective memberships and in the future interest of peace with the industry by the eliminating of jurisdictional controversies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this sixty-first (61st) convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the aforementioned agreement be hereby recognized as the complete understanding between these two International Unions and the voiding of all previous decisions or interpretations applying to the work in dispute between these two organizations and that previous decisions or interpretations by the American Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, or their agencies, affecting any of the work dealt with in this agreement is hereby rescinded and repealed.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

## Assistance in Organizing and Legislative Activities of Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen

**Resolution No. 168**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously adopted the following resolutions as submitted and recommended by the Committee on State Organizations:

"We have noted that considerable progress has been made in securing social and labor legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico and we desire to commend the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico for the splendid work they have done and recommend that the Executive Council continue to render assistance to them.

"We note with interest what the Free Federation of Workingmen has to say about the move to give to Puerto Rico the status of an independent nation and the apprehension of the Puerto Rican workers as to their position if such independence is granted at this time.

"We would therefore recommend that the Executive Council watch the move in Congress instituted by Senator Millard Tydings to provide for a plebiscite for the independence of the Island, and that until such time as there is every guarantee that any independent government set up in Puerto Rico will fully protect the rights of the Puerto Rican Workers to organize and bargain collectively and to provide for the Puerto Rican people a truly democratic form of government, that such move for independence be resisted by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, The attitude of Puerto Rican Labor at the present is exactly the same as it was during the last forty-three (43) years of struggle for better conditions, and toward the free institutions of the United States of America which have made possible for the workers to secure the necessary guarantees to exert their rights as free citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby ratifies its solemn pledge as contained in the above quoted resolutions to continue to render all possible moral and financial assistance to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico in its efforts to establish an adequate standard of living for all the workers, and will continue to see to it that a proper form of permanent Government is established in this Island in harmony with the dignity of both, the people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to take all legal and practical steps

deemed to be necessary to achieve these ends.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

### Standing Committee on International Relations

**Resolution No. 169**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is vitally concerned with the many aspects of the gigantic conflict on the outcome of which rests the freedom of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The membership of the American Federation of Labor wishes to be kept continuously informed on labor's participation therein; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled asks that because of this emergency the chairman and the secretary of the convention Committee on International Relations in cooperation with the President of the American Federation of Labor serve as a standing committee during the ensuing year and present to our membership continuously factual data and questions for consideration; and in every way possible devise means to give practical expression to the Federation's ideals of truly social cooperation among the peoples of the earth.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

### Pan-American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 170**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, Under date of August 29 of this year, Third Vice-President Mathew Woll of the American Federation of Labor addressed a communication in Spanish to the State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico advising that the American Federation of Labor has always the deepest interest in the social and economic welfare of the workers of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, and that at the last Convention the Executive Council of our Federation brought to the attention of the delegates the abnormal situation prevailing the world over, and

WHEREAS, We were also advised that there exists the urgent necessity of establishing closer relations with all the labor organizations of the different countries of the Western Hemisphere, it being also most urgent to add all

the strength and experience of the rank and file so as to contribute more effectively to guide through the proper channels all these events in harmony with our common democratic ideals, and.

WHEREAS, We were further advised that the American Federation of Labor has the most ardent desire and is ready to tackle all the problems affecting the labor people of our Americas, acting jointly with all the other genuine and bona fide labor organizations of the American Continent, to be able to study the social and economic matters concerning us, since the welfare of the workers in any of our American countries depends entirely on the workers of the countries of this hemisphere, having arrived to the conclusion that it would be immensely useful and beneficial for all of us if we could meet to realize our common problems and try our best efforts to solve them in a spirit of harmony and practical solutions, and

WHEREAS, By this communication of Vice-President Mathew Woll we are invited to submit suggestions and to offer cooperation for the execution of the plan, and

WHEREAS, the Free Federation of the Workmen of Puerto Rico, as one of the founders of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been always willing and ready to cooperate to make effective the program and plans of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an institution which was so useful to all the Latin American countries in general during the first decade of its existence, and during all the time that our late President Iglesias served as the first Spanish Secretary of such institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in view of the geographical position of Puerto Rico between the Americas, its bilingual education and knowledge of the customs, habits and traditions of all the people of Spanish speaking Republics, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to study and determine, in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, on the advisability and possibility of establishing a Branch Office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico through proper arrangements with the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor, this office to be devoted, among other things, to the diffusion among the Latin American Republics in the Spanish language of the principles and program of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; translation into Spanish of all the material of propaganda in use; of all circulars, correspondence and literature as published by the "Weekly News

Service" of the American Federation of Labor, the "American Federationist," or any other literature or material authorized by the Executive Council; and, if funds would permit, the publication of a Spanish magazine to be distributed among the Latin American Labor Unions and other agencies, to bring them duly acquainted with our movement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention heartily adhere to the principles, program and plans as outlined, explained and advocated by Vice-President Woll and pledges its undivided support to bring to a prompt realization the program which represents the hopes and logical aspirations of all the organized labor movements of the Nations of our Hemisphere for the mutual defense and adequate protection of the interests which are common to all the working classes of these Americans; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby empowered and directed to take all practical steps that might be deemed necessary to revive the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to achieve the ends as provided in this resolution, and to bring to a successful end the purpose of strengthening the ties and fraternal relations that should unite and keep united the organized labor movements of our Americas.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

President Green: The resolutions just read came in late and may be presented to the convention under the rule of unanimous consent. Are there objections?

Delegate Rowe, Augusta Georgia Central Labor Union: There are one or two resolutions there that deal with social security matters and I would like to move that these resolutions be referred to the Resolutions Committee.

President Green: The resolutions will be referred to the appropriate committees, and I assume that these resolutions will go to the Resolutions Committee.

If there are no objections the resolutions will be referred to the appropriate committees and brought to the attention of the convention later on. So ordered.

### MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

President Green: I now ask Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read to you a message sent directly to the convention from the President of the United States. The communication is addressed to you. I will ask Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read it.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following message:

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, D. C.  
October 2, 1941.

Dear Mr. Green:

Please extend my warm personal greetings to the officers and delegates attending the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and my best wishes for a successful and constructive meeting in the interests of your members and all the American people. Your delegates represent the largest membership in the history of the Federation. This meeting is an event of international significance. It is a symbol of that freedom which we, in the United States, enjoy and must make every sacrifice to maintain.

As hosts of distinguished representatives of the underground labor movements of countries enslaved by Hitler, you, at this Convention, need no reminder of what is at stake for the free workers of America in the present emergency. The threat of Hitlerism is directed not only at labor, even though labor is among the very first that will suffer therefrom. It is aimed at all of us—every man, woman and child—who believes in freedom. It menaces everything that we cherish as Americans and free men.

The American people have, therefore, pledged everything in their power that those freedoms, without which free trade unions and free institutions cannot survive, shall never be taken away from them. To protect those freedoms we shall, and must, devote every bit of human, physical and spiritual energy

which we possess. Our program of defense—our production of ships, planes, guns, tanks—must be all-out. It shall be limited by only one factor—the amount necessary to overwhelm the Nazi hordes. I know that every one of you, and the millions whom you represent, will lend every effort and take every necessary step to accomplish this end.

Every aspect of our national defense hinges on greater industrial production. The Government has set up machinery to adjust industrial disputes in the full confidence that it is adequate to solve problems which may arise on defense jobs in all fairness and justice to the parties concerned. The Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor and the National Defense Mediation Board provide ample facilities for the adjustment of differences. The time has come when the services of such agencies must be used before any recourse is taken to a strike or lockout and I call now upon labor and management to cooperate at all times to that end.

This is not the time for idle promises. This is not the time to take chances with the national safety through any stoppage of defense work or defense production. Instead, this is the time for all of us to work in harmony for the good of the individual and the common good of all the people of these United States. Every American owes that to himself and to the nation which has given him so much.

Yes, this nation has given to you and given to me the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and these are among the greatest blessings of mankind. It is our job, our everlasting job, to preserve them as we have known them and to make whatever sacrifice is necessary as individuals or as groups in order to do so. To do anything else would be to threaten their destruction and our own at the same time.

In this hour when civilization itself is in the balance, organizational rivalries and jurisdictional conflicts should be discarded. Only by united action can

we turn back the Nazi threat. The establishment of peace between labor organizations would be a patriotic step forward of incalculable value in the creation of true national unity.

I am certain that the members of the American Federation of Labor will do their full part in carrying through the program to which we as a nation are committed and that all other responsible groups will do likewise. That is the contribution the American people will demand of all groups. That is the contribution the American people are determined they shall have for the preservation of home, family and nation.

Yours is a great responsibility. Workers in bondage throughout the world look to you as producers of the weapons of freedom to release them from slavery. I know you will not fail them.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

President Green: I know I can say on this occasion that we all deeply appreciate this personal message from the President of the United States. It will be included in the report of the proceedings of today's convention.

We welcome the counsel and advice included in this message. I wish to express to him in your behalf your and our deep appreciation of this splendid personal message which he has sent to this convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Ross of the Committee on Credentials for a supplemental report.

### **SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Delegate Grant H. Ross, Secretary of the Committee on Credentials, read the following report:

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Albert W. Gossett, 1 vote.

Fur Workers' Union No. 20926, Seattle, Wash.—Phyllis Meagher, 1 vote.

Clarksburg, West Va., Central Labor Union of Harrison County—Paul H. Gooch, 1 vote.

Ellensburg, Wash., Central Labor Council—Albert Birchall, 1 vote.

Lansing, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—John Reid, 1 vote.

Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Raymond F. Brown, 1 vote.

Rapid City, S. D., Central Labor Union—Keith Little, 1 vote.

Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Trades and Labor Assembly—Austin G. Thompson, 1 vote.

In compliance with request of President Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, we recommend the seating of W. T. Matthews in place of Richard Gray, previously reported, as a delegate to represent that organization.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN

Secretary Ross moved that the supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials be concurred in, and the delegates seated.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **Committee Substitutions**

President Green: I have been advised that Chairman Harrison of the Committee on Education has not yet arrived in Seattle, and there is some doubt as to whether he may come. The representatives of Railway organizations, as you know, are meeting with the President's emergency committee in Chicago, and for that reason Brother Harrison and a number of other representatives of the railroad workers organizations have found it impossible to come to our convention thus far.

In view of this fact, and in view of the fact Brother Harrison is Chairman of the Committee on Education, I am asking that Brother Max Zaritsky, President of the Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers' International Union, act as Chairman of this Committee and call a meeting of the committee for the purpose of considering matters referred to the committee.

Is Brother Max Zaritsky here this morning? If not, will one of his co-delegates advised him of this request so that he may comply with it?

The same is true of the Committee on



State Organizations. Vice-President Bugniet has found it impossible to reach the city and attend the convention thus far. For that reason I am calling upon Brother Thomas J. Lyons, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, to act as Chairman of the Committee on State Organizations, and to call a meeting of said committee at his earliest opportunity, for the purpose of considering matters referred to that committee.

The Chair recognizes Vice-President Bates for an announcement.

Delegate Harry C. Bates, Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report announced the time and place of meeting of that committee.

President Green: The Chair requests that Brother William J. McSorley, President of the International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers, serve as Chairman of the Building Trades Committee.

I am pleased to present to you President Harry Stevenson of the Molders' International Union who will submit his report as fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother Stevenson was delegated by the Executive Council to attend the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress which was held at Calgary, Alberta, Canada, a short time ago, as fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor.

It seems quite fitting and proper that he should present his report to you at this time. Brother Harry Stevenson.

## REPORT OF DELEGATE HARRY STEVENSON

### (Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Delegate Stevenson: President Green, members of the Executive Council and delegates—I first want to say to you before I proffer my report to this convention and read the same to you, that Canada needs a lot of assistance from the International Unions on account of the many different organizations there are opposing the International Unions in Canada. However, they are making a lot of progress, and I was very happy to be able to attend that convention.

First I want to thank the Executive Council and President Green for the honor conferred upon me to attend the Fifty-seventh Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada as your fraternal representative to this great loyal body in Canada.

Seattle, Wash.  
Oct. 6, 1941

Mr. Wm. Green and Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The Convention opened on Monday, September 22, by the Chairman of the local committee, Harry Simpson, a member of the Electrical Workers' Union. He introduced the Acting Mayor, Mrs. Wilkerson, also Premier Eberhardt and Lieut. Governor Bowen, who all welcomed the delegates. President Tom Moore then took the Chair and introduced Brother George Thompson, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain, who is also the fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, also myself as the delegate from the A. F. of L. I found there was a total of 334 credentials received. This is quite remarkable, owing to the distance to Calgary from the large eastern cities like Toronto and Montreal, so the Convention got under way with a total of 277 resolutions.

The Resolutions Committee was ready to report the first day and they took up Resolutions 1 to 25, all of these resolutions dealing with men who are interned. Those who introduced these resolutions claimed those interned were the labor leaders of Canada. I, myself, having spent much time in Canada some years ago, did not find a real labor leader from the International Unions absent. They were all present from one end of the Dominion to the other and all took an active part in the final defeat of these resolutions.

Another important set of resolutions was that regarding an Order in Council P. C. 7440, this dealing with wage rates which are now frozen as long as the wage rates compare with the years 1926 to 1929. No wage increases on war work can be secured above these levels, so instead a cost of living bonus is given, and going back to August, 1939, where it starts at 100, and as the price of living goes up 5 per cent in any three months all those working in war industries receive \$1.25 for each 5 per cent advance in the cost of living. However, there seems to be a lot of dissatisfaction the way the Order is administered. However, there are two capable labor leaders of the International Unions on the Commission and from their report I take it they were responsible for making the Order much better for the workers than it would have been had they not been on this Commission and framing the Order. There was much time given to these important resolutions and finally Resolution 151 was referred to the



incoming officers to try and have an amendment to the Order that will be satisfactory to the workers.

A very important resolution by the Operating Engineers of St. Catherine's, Ontario, calls upon officers of the Congress to prevail upon the International Unions to start an extensive organizing campaign in Canada. I am in full accord with this resolution and believe all International Unions should make plans for an extensive organizing drive in the very near future.

I also found quite a few resolutions dealing with dual organizations where the Congress was requested to bring about unity in the labor movement. Of course the real leaders in the Canadian movement know that efforts have been made by the A. F. of L. to bring about unity and how John L. Lewis vetoed the agreement reached by the committee. Of course, all the resolutions presented received due consideration, for I found the Congress had appointed Brothers Jameson and Gus Franke as Chairman and Secretary of this important committee and they, under the guidance of Tom Moore and the Secretary of the Congress, Brother D'Aoust, were able to convince the delegates that many of the resolutions introduced were not for the best interest of labor at this time.

Seeing Canada is at war, of course they, like us in the United States, feel that representatives of labor should be appointed on all Boards where there are matters affecting labor. So, as stated, without my taking up the time on all of the resolutions I must say that President Moore, his Secretary, Brother D'Aoust, the International Officers and all of the committees did a very good job and are to be congratulated for the able manner in which they handled all of the resolutions.

In looking over their financial report I find they are in a sound healthy condition. However, they have to depend a lot on the Congress Journal, so I believe it would be of great help to the Congress if the International Officers would recommend to their members in each local union that they subscribe to same.

Now, on the address of the Fraternal Delegate I will not attempt to speak of the address of Brother George Thomson from Great Britain, owing to the fact he is also the Fraternal Delegate to the A. F. of L., so I know his message will be as well received as it was in Canada.

As to my own address, copy of which I am filing with this report, this shows that I dealt briefly on some of the most important matters affecting labor, both in the United States and Canada.

There was one very unfortunate thing that happened—an editorial in the Calgary Herald which spoke of the trouble makers from the United States coming into Canada on labor matters.

So, of course, it was necessary for me to touch on this matter and I am filing

newspaper clippings dealing with my report showing that my address was well received by the delegates.

While on this matter I might say that the delegates presented me and my wife with beautiful wrist watches and the same to Brother Thomson. We were thrilled at the time of the presentation.

While I could not stay until the end of the session on account of having to leave to attend the Metal Trades Convention I was there at the election of officers and all of the old officers were reelected, it being the 21st time for President Tom Moore. Winnipeg was selected as the Convention City for 1942. Harry Simpson of Calgary, who was Chairman of the Local Committee and who did a wonderful job, was elected Fraternal Delegate to our Seattle Convention.

Now, in conclusion I want to thank the Executive Council for selecting me to represent them at this great loyal organization in Canada. I feel proud of this honor and would also say that on account of my spending much time in Canada a few years ago I was probably better known than any other Fraternal Delegate sent there for I knew all of the officers and most of the delegates so it was also a pleasure for me to meet so many of my friends who all, from President Moore down, made my visit to Calgary a most happy and enjoyable one which I will always remember.

#### HARRY STEVENSON

Fraternal Delegate to the 57th Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Delegate Stevenson: In regard to the editorial in the Calgary Herald, that editorial appeared on the 20th of September and I arrived there on the morning of the 21st. The editorial was called to my attention. I had prepared my address to the convention, and it was necessary for me to change that.

I might also tell you that the American Consul came to see me and told me that he had forwarded this clipping to Washington. It was all very unfortunate. Later they sent one of the reporters down to see me and he told me that they meant the CIO. I asked him why they did not say the CIO in their editorial instead of saying "trouble makers from the United States."

I called to their attention the fact that the International Unions were not responsible for the slowdown strike of the miners in Cape Breton and a large strike that was on at that time in St. Cath-

erine's, Ontario, that insofar as the International Unions were concerned we were doing everything possible to cooperate with the Dominion of Canada, and to assist them in every way.

However, since this attack was made by me upon this newspaper I am very happy to say that since the arrival of Brother Simpson, the fraternal delegate from Canada, he has brought me a clipping from the same newspaper rectifying their statement about the trouble makers and saying that they really meant the CIO. I am very glad this matter was cleared up, and I know all of the International Unions who had representatives at that convention are very happy about it, too.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the service Brother Stevenson rendered through his attendance at the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress as a fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor. We thank you for the report you submitted this morning. It will be included in the proceedings of today.

Governor Stassen, of Minnesota, will be here in just a short time for the purpose of filling his engagement to address the convention at eleven o'clock, so we will just be at ease until he arrives.

(The convention recessed informally for a few moments.)

President Green: We are happy indeed because the distinguished Governor of a great commonwealth is honoring us with his presence here this morning. Governor Stassen traveled from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Seattle for the express purpose of spending a short visit with us to address this, the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Most all of you have known of the great part which the Governor of Minnesota has played in national affairs. He has attracted public attention because of his broad, comprehensive, liberal attitude, towards economic, social and industrial problems. He is a young man, a young Governor who has demonstrated an understanding of social questions. I have read his addresses with very deep interest, and I have been pleased over the reports I have received of his administration of the affairs of state in the great commonwealth of Minnesota. Our laboring people in that State are understanding him better

every day; they are placing a new value upon his service. He has demonstrated to them, and is demonstrating daily and constantly that he possesses a deep, keen understanding of our economic problems. We were deeply impressed because he came with us and visited with us yesterday at the opening session of this convention. We are all happy because he is here with us this morning, and I am pleased beyond measure in that I am privileged to present to you this great Governor of a great Commonwealth, Governor Stassen of the State of Minnesota.

### HONORABLE HAROLD E. STASSEN (Governor of Minnesota)

President Green, members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates of Canada and Great Britain, delegates and guests of the 61st Annual Convention to the American Federation of Labor:

I count it an honor to respond to your invitation to speak to this convention which represents five million able loyal workmen, who are taking, and who will take, a crucial part in building up that defense which will stop Hitler, and win through for the precious liberty of free men and free women.

Although this is my first appearance before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, I feel at home. My personal family circle is one of sons of toil and has had within it brothers holding A. F. of L. cards as sheet metal worker and milk wagon driver. My official family circle has within it, in important administrative positions, many members of the A. F. of L. I believe fundamentally in the union organization of workmen as has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor.

We all keenly realize that we meet at a difficult and critical hour in national and international affairs. Every newspaper headline, every radio newscast sharply outlines the disaster of dictator-made warfare and the tragic effects upon billions of our fellow men. Yes, and the women and little children are there, too. It is well said that these are dark days in the world. It is correct that these are difficult and uncertain days for our country.

But let us not forget that there have been dark days before in the world. Let us not forget that there have been dark days before for our own beloved land. Let us have a fundamental faith and courage and determination in the future of free men under the Stars and Stripes.

That faith and courage and determination is the very base on which to stand as we face our problems. Washington and his little band of cold and tattered men had it at Valley Forge and they won our independence. Our forefathers, sons, and daughters of every nation of the world had it as they opened up the territories and added them as new states to the Union. Samuel Gompers and his brothers had it when they founded the American Federation of Labor.

Building on this foundation, the critical days ahead present a tremendous need for labor statesmanship.

I am confident that under your veteran but forward-looking and wise President, William Green, you will furnish labor statesmanship.

You have already demonstrated this in many particulars. Outstanding has been your clearcut stand for the building of our defenses and your support, regardless of partisanship, of the established foreign policy of the national government and the President of the United States. Large has been your contribution in the service of American labor. Helpful has been your official position of avoiding strikes in defense activities. Important have been the steps you have taken to weed out men who are not one hundred per cent loyal to Old Glory.

I commend and congratulate you for your record.

But I also frankly present the stern challenge of the future to American Labor. As I see it, this divides into five major responsibilities.

First, to speed up still more the production of the means of defense for our country and for those who are courageously opposing the totalitarian onslaught.

This means there must be less stoppages of defense production. Your official position has been splendid as taken early by President Green when he said on September 16, 1940, "However, in a great emergency, such as we now face, it becomes our solemn duty to avoid strikes and to prevent interruption of work in defense industries. We must substitute the conference room for the strike field."

That early statement of President Green, and the support you have given it and the reiteration of it has been of tremendous service to this country. But let us make it clear that this is not a responsibility of labor alone. Employers must fully share it. Management must not take advantage of the reluctance of labor to strike or of the necessity of defense production. When managements stop fighting unionization and accept it as an integral part of our American system, great strides for good relationships will be established.

I was very much encouraged to observe and to learn of the relationship developed here in your convention city. As expressed by President Sick of the Chamber of Commerce to you yesterday, the change

in policy adopted five years ago, and the growing cooperation on the great basic problems facing labor and business alike, has resulted in improvement in production and in the advances that have been made in the interests of all.

Government must also share this responsibility. Government should have a clearcut labor policy understood by all. This policy should not include compulsory arbitration. It should not take away the right to strike. But it should include definite steps to prevent small elements of labor from causing stoppages contrary to the wishes of labor as a whole and contrary to the wishes of labor's best national leadership. Such a policy clearly defined would have strong public support. It would help labor as a whole.

We can well recognize the tragic effect of the splendid speed, for example, in the building up of the Radford Arsenal, and the loyalty of those workers in completing that plant ahead of schedule, and yet having the production tied up, because of the prevention of delivery of supplies from Allis-Chalmers, some months ago. Government must meet that situation so a follow through in splendid defense efforts is not handicapped and is not injured by some small element of labor not as clear and sound in its policy.

In my judgment, it should be administered by men in government of sound and balanced viewpoint who have a natural background of experience in the ranks and in the leadership of organized labor.

May I at this point pay a high tribute to the members of the American Federation of Labor in my own state. They have cooperated fully with our State Labor Conciliator, who is himself a veteran of the American Federation of Labor. Through that cooperation and through the conferences held in difficult cases before stoppage occurred, there has not been a single stoppage of any significance in this entire year in the American Federation of Labor unions in Minnesota. The credit for it goes to the crafts of your organization and to the administration of those men who are officially serving the people of the state and who have this actual background of experience in your ranks.

American labor should actively cooperate in devising, developing and administering such a policy of government. The policy of government should also be clear and definite against those abuses of employers that precipitate strikes. Monopolistic bottlenecks must be opened up. Instances where employers seek to take unfair profit and to take advantage of labor should be clearly exposed and be definitely contrary to government policy clearly enunciated.

More speed on defense also requires an acceleration of the apprentice training and learner programs. There is need of coordination in this field, and there is some evidence of it in the recent commit-

tee in which John Frey has taken such an active part, that we must have a general emphasis upon the sound development and coordination of the apprentice and learner programs for more speed in the tremendous programs of defense production in the days ahead.

This policy also requires an improvement on the structure of government in its defense organization, to have clear-cut lines of command and definite fixed executive responsibility.

This problem reminds me of a story told to me by one of Dan Tobin's teamsters. He was an over-the-road driver, and he tells me one night as he handled his job over the road he came to a curve in the highway and found a car out in the ditch. As those men do, he stepped out to be of assistance, and he pulled out of the car two men who seemed to have been somewhat under the influence of something other than the Minnesota atmosphere. So he pulled them out and there was a tall fellow and a short fellow, and he straightened them out, and they started to brush themselves off. The tall fellow said to the short fellow, "What in the world was the matter with you? Why didn't you watch yourself? Why didn't you see that curve and keep on the road?" The short fellow looked up at the tall fellow and said, "Me look out? I thought you were driving!"

In any administrative responsibility it is important to know who is driving, to fix the responsibility, so that an individual is clearly understood to be responsible for problems such as priorities and apprentice training and programs of that kind. An individual with clear lines of command must have the responsibility for carrying on defense activities to secure the best results. There is a need of an improvement, as you recognize, in this field. American labor is a very powerful factor in public opinion and can help to bring this about particularly because of the splendid stand it has taken.

The second major challenge to American labor is to continue to make a major contribution to national unity of this great nation by the support of the established foreign policy of the national government and of the President of the United States in these hours of trial and of trouble.

Your Executive Committee, following through on your forthright declarations at New Orleans has said and has re-emphasized, "We assure the President of the wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and all its members."

President Green re-emphasized this in an admirable manner in his great address of yesterday morning which I was privileged to hear.

This is a splendid stand, because as we think through and face the situation we recognize that this nation cannot have two foreign policies. The administration in power has the responsibility of establishing that foreign policy. Any foreign pol-

icy in these days will involve risks and uncertainties, but these risks and uncertainties will not be half as great as the tragic results if this country were to be torn from within by dissension and obstruction.

The recent barbaric execution of the respected labor leaders of Norway, following on the heels of the abolition of real unions in most of the rest of Europe darkly underlines the crucial importance of the success of our policy.

I am confident you will carry through in this responsibility.

The third major duty is to safeguard the preservation of the rights of free workmen and of private enterprise and the sovereignty of the individual citizen under a democracy, when this crisis has passed.

This requires the full influence of labor to keep the unusual powers which the national government needs now on a temporary basis as it will otherwise be difficult to take them away again in future years.

It also requires the forthright meeting of the economic problems of the emergency. One of the greatest of these is the danger of inflation. This wild horse, once it begins to gallop, leaves a terrific destruction in its wake. Strong steps are needed now to prevent it. It would be very unfortunate if governmentally fixed wages and farm prices were used to prevent it. But in my judgment, the widespread, voluntary collective agreements through labor organizations on a national scale with the government, on fair wage levels, fixed in that manner, subject to negotiation, and a similar agreement on ceilings of agricultural products by the leaders in that field, with government, and the governmental fixing of many of the basic prices, are steps that must be taken to prevent more disastrous steps to stop inflation when it really breaks out in full force. This will require real statesmanship, not only of labor but of agriculture, of business, and especially of government, as well.

Further safeguards of democracy also involves the constant strengthening of unions and the constant improving of the caliber of leadership, insisting on the leadership placing the public good and the interests of membership above personal selfishness.

In this connection, I want to add that I think that the efforts that are made to use some instances of improper actions to attack organized labor as a whole are inexcusable and reprehensible.

The words of Samuel Gompers are exceedingly important in this regard as they come down through the years from Scranton in 1901. I quote that great dean and leader of labor:

"It should be our constant aim to make the collective bargains, that is agreements with our employers, as advantageous to our fellow workers as it is possible to obtain in the course of

negotiations; but when these agreements are made, it should be no less our steadfast purpose to faithfully abide by and live up to their terms for the full term of their existence. As an individual earns and receives the confidence of his fellows by self-respect, self-restraint, and absolute faithful adherence to his plighted word, so does organized labor in its collective capacity deserve and win the respect and confidence, first of all, of our own members; second, that of the community in which we live, thus gaining the commendation of an enlightened public opinion."

This is an outstanding statement of principle by Samuel Gompers, that has been re-affirmed many times by your leaders in the various crafts and under your present national leadership.

I know, looking ahead to the safeguarding of democracy, you will also insist upon an attitude of tolerance and understanding between our people of all races and creeds and groups.

He who kindles the flames of intolerance and bitterness lights a fire under his own house.

The strong reaction of the American people against recent attempts to stir up group hatreds has been one of the most encouraging indications of the real strength of unity in America, because the people did not wait when some of those recent utterances were made for someone to tell them that was dangerous, that that was undermining America. Almost instantaneously from east to west and north to south there was a strong public opinion that that should not be done in this land of the free.

The fourth challenge before labor is to prepare a program, and to develop public support for it, to meet the tremendous problems of readjustment and of reaction when the emergency has passed and the defense program ends.

Clearly the problems of this period will be intense and upon the method of meeting them and the effectiveness of the solutions much depends.

Here are three suggestions for that period: To prepare and set in operation an extensive public works program, not of the W. P. A. type, but rather of contractual constructions of undertakings of permanent national value, such as super-highways, and advanced networks of airdromes, and the harnessing of water power, with provision for revenue use of the results of these projects, steps such as the great Pennsylvania Super Highway.

Great construction projects such as this that fit into the future development of this country, that provide employment, that provide future opportunity for commerce and that provide the sound financing at the same time, should be one step of the program ready when this defense program ends. By making it on a basis of contract and not by complete government operation and control, we furnish an added safeguard to the future of our

country, because, in my judgment, the soundest possible base for the future of America is to have its enterprises conducted not by government but privately; to have this labor not on government payroll but on private payrolls, and have that labor organized under a great sound union such as the American Federation of Labor.

It is too easy to have government step in and just take over and completely operate programs of that kind. You know, as I know, that tends to create too great a centralization of power that is not the basis for progress in a land such as ours. It makes it difficult for labor to have its sound organization, it makes it difficult for enterprise to continue free.

Secondly, in this post period, I believe we must actively encourage the industrial development of research, invention and discovery of new industrial products, and of their production under favorable conditions so that these new enterprises pushing forward on the new results of American genius take up slack and furnish new activities for workmen and new products to increase our standard of living.

Likewise in connection with this new development there should be a sound spreading of our industrial base so that now as we expand we seek to so apportion and so set up our basic industries that, for example, in its decentralization, you have a sounder base and not what might be called bottlenecks of unemployment in later days. This great western portion of our country, by having the proper opportunities, the proper basic supply of raw materials, steel and materials of that kind, can furnish a basis upon which better to meet the problems of the future and better to contribute on a broad base to the strength of America and the opportunity of its people in the days ahead.

Likewise, as a third phase, I agree and emphasize what President Green said yesterday, the inauguration of a very extensive low cost housing construction. In my judgment, it should be founded as far as possible on private capital, individual ownership, and not to any greater degree than necessary on government ownership or operation. There will be a tremendous reservoir of capital, a tremendous reservoir of skilled tradesmen, and these must be brought together with a direct government subsidy and assistance, but that to a minimum degree.

The fifth great future issue before American labor overshadows all the others. That is to play a part, when that day of peace, which we hope and pray is not too far distant, arrives, and hope when that day arrives for the establishment of a system of justice between nations, based upon a charter of rights with armed force as a police power and not as a ruthless aggressor's club.

Your organization is peculiarly fitted for leadership in this vital matter. You have never had a narrow, provincial

view. You have recognized the brotherhood of man. You are not imperialistic. Quite the contrary. That is why I believe that when the next Peace Conference is held, William Green should be one of those seated at the Peace Table. Obviously, the task is tremendous. There will be many complications. There are those who say it cannot be done, but let us recognize first of all the tremendous need for it and the tragedy if it is not done, for otherwise we shall have these recurring wars of increasing horror in the clash of group force between the nations of the world.

Let us also remember they said it could not be done when this nation first secured its independence and sought to set up a system of government for a relationship between free states and free men into a great national government. They said it could not be done. They said people would not accept it, but in that great Constitutional Convention General Washington and his men did not do as the military men in other times have done. They did not say, "Now, we have won the independence of this country, so we, the military men, are going to take charge," as Hitler and others have done. They did not say, "We, the military men, are going to say who can come to this land, who can own its soil, who can develop its business, who can administer its labor affairs." No, they said, "We fought to establish a free land," and they proceeded to strike out in a pioneering way to establish a framework of mechanism to follow through in those days of peace so their ideals could be realized. General Washington in that great constitutional convention, when this confusion and defeatism crept up, made this great historic statement, "If to please the people we adopt in this Constitutional Convention that of which we ourselves do not approve, how can we afterwards defend our work."

He said, "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

Then they proceeded to pioneer and draft that great document the Constitution of these United States. They made it possible for our forefathers, sons and daughters of every nation to come here and enjoy together its rights and privileges, and together contribute to the building of this great nation. That spirit and follow through after that struggle, is the spirit and the follow through that will be needed after this struggle, applied to the wide field of world relations because the developments of travel and communications and trade have made of us veritably a family of nations, and we must develop the means to live as such.

Ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor, I have spoken to you frankly. I have done so because I have confidence in you. You will meet your responsibilities. We will overcome our obstacles and go around our pitfalls. We

will go forward as free men and free women contributing to the future welfare and happiness of men and women and little children, not only within our borders but in the other nations of the world.

I salute the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We who are in attendance at this convention, officers, delegates and visitors, have been highly honored in that we have been privileged to listen to the educational, illuminating and constructive address delivered by Governor Stassen. He demonstrated through this submission of this address his clear and complete understanding of the economic, social and political issues that are now commanding the attention of the civilized world. His analysis of the present and his vision of the future demonstrated quite clearly the fact that he has been giving much thought and careful study to the problems we are now dealing with and to the problems which will ultimately press for solution.

It is fortunate indeed in that Governor Stassen has been called to serve as the chief executive of a great State in this period of our nation's history.

I need not tell you about the value of his address delivered here this morning because you demonstrated your understanding and your appreciation of it. I am no prophet, and I am not the son of a prophet, but I venture to predict here this morning that there is a great future for the Governor of Minnesota.

He is one who is going to participate in the work of shaping the policies of our great nation.

We thank him from the bottom of our hearts for the excellent service he has already rendered, for his visit to our convention, and we wish for him a full measure of success in all his future work. In your behalf and for you I thank the great Governor of Minnesota for his visit to our convention this morning and for the splendid address which he delivered.

May I remind the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention this morning of the visit of the Secretary of Labor to the City of Seattle and of her attendance at the afternoon session of this convention. She will speak to the delegates at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.



We ask you to be sure and be present. We invite all visitors to return, and we ask the public at large to come in and listen to the address of the Secretary of Labor this afternoon.

### Announcement

President Green: His Excellency, the Most Reverend Gerald Shaughnessy, S. M., Bishop of Seattle, will address the convention at 11 o'clock on Friday morning. Please bear this in mind and make it a point to be in attendance at that session.

Now, I am going to present to you one who has been associated with us for many, many years. He has been in attendance at every convention of the American Federation of Labor for a long time. He has served, as you know and as you will recall when I name him, as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. He is now serving in a liaison capacity with the International Labor Organization. We are always happy and pleased to meet him at these annual conventions and to renew old acquaintanceships and listen to his addresses. He is held in high esteem and in high regard by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. He is living up to the high standards of excellency for service which we set for him in days gone by while serving the International Labor Organization.

I am pleased indeed to present to you our colleague and our friend, one we admire—Brother James Wilson, liaison officer of the International Labor Organization.

### MR. JAMES WILSON (Liaison Officer, International Labor Organization)

Mr. President, Your Excellency, Governor Stassen, delegates and friends in attendance at the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—I did not know that it was to be my privilege to address this convention this morning. I esteem it a great honor for the President of the American Federation of Labor to present me to this convention, in view of the fact that the distinguished Acting Director, Edward J. Phelan, of the International Labor Organization is to address this convention during this week.

However, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to refer back to the 1914 convention of the American Federation of Labor. At that time the great leader of labor, Samuel Gompers, introduced a resolution in that convention requesting that the Executive Council be authorized to call a general conference of world labor at the conclusion of the war for the purpose of participating in the peace treaty that would be written. As a result that resolution was adopted, representatives of labor assembled in Paris, and out of their efforts came the great International Labor Organization.

Those of you who have given any thought or consideration to this great organization realize that it has brought hope and sunshine into many of the dark places of the world by reason of its forward policy in establishing and bettering the conditions of labor.

In the constitution of the International Labor Organization it is written that labor shall have the right of free association, and this right of organization has been brought to many workers throughout the world where formerly it did not exist.

Yesterday the great leader of labor of today, William Green, in addressing this convention, said: "When the peace conference is held representatives of labor from every nation in the world must be accorded the privilege to sit in at the peace conference and help negotiate a world peace. We are determined that the regimentation of labor, involuntary servitude and forced labor shall be wiped out and the totalitarian form of government eliminated. The right of working men and women to belong to free, democratic trade unions must now be written into a world peace conference and guaranteed by those who subscribe their names to the peace conference."

Today it is more essential than it was in the days of 1914 that all of the forces that subscribe to the great principles of human freedom and democracy endorse the words that the President of this Federation of Labor uttered yesterday and put forth every effort to see that not only the I. L. O. is maintained but strengthened.

I have been associated with you men and women over a long period of years. It has been my privilege in the past few years to meet with the representatives of labor in the Governing Body meetings and at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization. I am sure you men and women in attendance at this convention know that the workers assembled from the different countries of the world have the same hopes, the same ideals, and the same aspirations that you have. They are men and women imbued with a sincere desire to improve their standard of life and to bring a larger measure of justice to their people. When I read of what the dictator nations are doing, when I read of the assassination of



these men who have led labor in these countries, because they dared oppose the dictatorship that seems to prevail for the moment in Europe, my heart bleeds because I know these men.

I hope it may be the privilege of all the representatives of labor who attend this great convention to meet and confer with these representatives from abroad, because when you know them you learn to love them.

On the 27th day of this month, in the City of New York, the annual conference of the International Labor Organization will be held. When the Director comes here this week he will no doubt describe to you what is to be discussed at that conference, but you can rest assured that what is to be discussed will be in the interests and for the advancement of the condition of labor wherever it might be and under whatever conditions it might be. The struggle now going on must be terminated. It must end with a restoration of freedom to all of the invaded countries. Yea, it must end even with the restoration of the freedom of Germany as well as the other countries, that there may come again to the people of that country the privilege they formerly enjoyed, the right to belong to an organization of labor in order that they might have a voice in determining their conditions of employment.

My friends, the record of achievement of the International Labor Organization is written in the history of that great organization. It is accessible and it can be secured by anyone who wishes it. It is true that the work of the organization has been hampered because of the conquering of many nations, but the work goes on and publications are being issued regularly. The International Labor Review is being published each month. It contains the history as it is being written of the progress that is being made in each country, and I suggest that if you do not now subscribe for it you will learn many things if you will take it and read it.

In closing, may I wish for this great American Federation of Labor continued success. May your progress and the realization of your hopes exceed your fondest expectations.

I thank you.

President Green: For you and in your behalf I thank Brother Wilson for the address he delivered this morning. We are happy to have him here. We could not think of holding this convention without hearing from him, particularly when he found it possible to come. Later on, as he explained, the Acting Director of the International Labor Organization, Director Phelan, will appear here and will address the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention.

Opportunity was given for announce-

ments by the chairmen of the various convention committees.

### Committee Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute Brother John Casselman, of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, as a member of the Committee on Adjustment in place of Brother John McNamara of the same organization, who cannot be in attendance at this convention because of illness.

### Announcement—Religious Service

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: I wish to announce that a special Mass will be celebrated for the delegates and visitors to this convention, at St. James' Cathedral on Sunday morning, October 11th, at 11 o'clock, a. m.

### Miscellaneous Announcements

Chairman Swain, Local Committee on Arrangements: It is expected that we will present a motion to the convention asking that the convention suspend the rules tonight and adjourn tomorrow for the purpose of taking a trip which the local committee has made arrangements for. All delegates and guests will be taken from the Olympic Hotel to the Leschi Dock on Lake Washington for a trip on two boats. Luncheon will be served on the boats. We will take you to see the floating bridge and then through the second largest locks in the world, then on a trip through Puget Sound. We are hoping to have fine weather and we guarantee to you an enjoyable time. The boats will leave Leschi Dock at 11:00 o'clock, and buses will start leaving the Olympic Hotel at 10:00 o'clock.

President Green: Are there further announcements? If not, the Chair recognizes Delegate Kovalski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, who moves that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The motion was seconded and carried, and under suspension of the rules the convention adjourned at 12:00 o'clock noon to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

## SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Ross, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,  
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends the seating of delegates as follows:

Nurses, American Federation of Registered, No. 22698, Seattle, Washington—Hazel B. Garrett, 1 vote.

Codfish Workers' Union No. 21537, Seattle, Wash.—Fred Stuckey, 1 vote.

Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Indiana—Kenneth Scales, 2 votes.

Dental Workers' Union No. 20753, Seattle, Wash.—Roy Lemon, 1 vote.

Grand Island, Nebr., Central Labor Union—Richard Bomegardner, 1 vote.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN

Delegate Ross moved the adoption of the report as read.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair calls upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany for announcements and messages:

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: The following message has been sent by President Green, in accordance with the orders of the convention, to Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis at Washington, D. C.:

Seattle, Washington, October 6, 1941.

Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis,  
Florence Courts, West,  
Washington, D. C.

The officers and delegates in attendance at the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor learned

with a feeling of deepest sorrow of the death of your distinguished husband, Justice Brandeis. Because of the high esteem and high regard in which he was held by the membership of the American Federation of Labor those in attendance at the convention here in Seattle paid a silent tribute to his memory and directed me to express to you their sincere sympathy in your sad bereavement.

WM. GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor.

Secretary Meany read the following additional message:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 7, 1941.

Hon. James A. Taylor, President,  
Washington State Federation of Labor,  
Seattle, Wash.

Am glad to join with Washington State Federation of Labor in welcoming National Convention of American Federation of Labor to our state and shall appreciate your cooperation in extending my cordial greetings to convention delegates and visitors. I have always enjoyed the same fine cooperation in working with President William Green of the National Federation that you and I have had in our years of official contacts in the State of Washington. I am glad to assure the American Federation of Labor of my continued support of the program of organized labor.

MARTIN F. SMITH,  
Member of Congress,  
Third Washington District.

President Green: Our distinguished visitor of the afternoon has arrived, Secretary Perkins is here. I ask the committee to escort her immediately to the platform.

(The committee escorted Secretary Perkins to the platform.)

President Green: We are all happy indeed in that we have with us this afternoon such a distinguished visitor. I was pleased indeed when the Secretary of Labor responded promptly and wholeheartedly to the invitation I extended her in your name to come and visit with us and deliver an address to the delegates assembled in the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In a very peculiar and fitting way she represents a department of Government in which the representatives of the American Federation of Labor are tremendously interested. Her work parallels

the work of our great labor organization. We have always entertained the deepest and most comprehensive interest in the Department of Labor. I know that we have always been happy and pleased over the fine work which the Secretary of Labor has done ever since she has served in such a fitting way in that office.

She made the trip all the way from Washington to visit with us and to bring to us her interesting message. I welcome her this afternoon in your name and in your behalf. I can say to her truthfully that we are happy indeed that she is here. And now I esteem it a very great pleasure to present to you the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins.

### **HONORABLE FRANCES PERKINS** (Secretary of Labor)

Mr. President, delegates and friends—It is hard to say in exactly the words which one means how much it means to be asked to come to a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and with what pleasure one accepts that invitation, because here is an enterprise, here is a group of people who have been for many years devoted to certain high ideals and certain principles which have made on the whole for great progress in our body politic. You cannot meet together in any part of these United States without its being a matter of great concern and a matter of great interest to all freedom and liberty-loving people of the whole country, nor can you meet without its being of great concern to all those who are associated in government.

I want to congratulate you not only on having achieved the Sixty-First Convention of this great Federation of free and independent trade unions—and I think in these days of regularization, in these days of regimentation, in these days of totalitarian governments we ought to stress and underscore "free and independent trade unions," federated together in this great organization.

You are meeting here under tragic conditions in the history of the world, conditions which every true American has to appraise with the best of his intelligence and with the best of his feeling and emotion. We are meeting together in times when the free institution of trade unionism is in itself under question, under challenge to be really an instrument of service for the people. So when I come today to speak with you, to meet with you and to be with you I am full of congratulations that you can have carried on so long and I am full of personal interest and satisfaction that I am privileged to share with you some of the fruits, some of the

intellectual and spiritual fruits of this association together which you have.

I want to thank Mr. Green, your President, not only for his invitation to be with you, but I want to thank him sincerely and to congratulate him upon his noble and fearless and patriotic words in his message of yesterday. That was a great message, Mr. President, and one to which I think all American people listened with great interest and great appreciation.

I was also delighted to be in the city and to hear immediate and first-hand reports of the important message which Governor Stassen delivered to your group this morning. I am glad that he was able to put before you so concretely and so succinctly some of the practical problems which underlie the post-war and post-defense situation.

Now I think you know that all the conferences which have been held in the past eight years have served to dignify and to give recognition to the important position which this Federation of free trade unions means in the life of the United States of America. There is no question that any group which continues and grows in influence and in membership and in the estimation of the people for over 61 years becomes by that fact one of the great American institutions, an institution fraught with public interest and public importance. Your constructive purpose to act in the interests of and for the well-being of the wage earners of the United States is well established; otherwise this institution, this Federation could not endure and thrive as your organization has until today your membership reaches the all time peak of well in excess of four and a half million people. That is a very remarkable achievement.

Many conferences over the past eight years with President Green and with other ranking officials of the national and state organizations have made it clear to me that the American Federation of Labor stands for high principles in its public relations and in its industrial relations, that it will continue to do so. Your organization has cooperated wholeheartedly in many of the successful efforts made to improve the condition of workers by our President, Franklin Roosevelt, and I thank you for that as does everybody, every individual in the United States who really cares about the welfare and the future of our people.

The American Federation of Labor has played its part well in cooperating with the government and other groups in programs that have improved the living and the working conditions of millions of Americans and given them a measure of security from childhood to old age, which many of us hoped for but few of us believed could hardly be attained within our time. This new systematic social security has come about in the short space of the past eight years and has perhaps brought greater blessings to more American work-

ers than any program since the foundation of our Republic. You know it and I know it.

Your members and officers have been most cooperative with the Department of Labor and helpful to us in the real progress we have made in carrying out the mandates made by Congress when it created the Department of Labor and said it was our duty to foster and promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment. This is the job which the law gives to the Department of Labor. The Department was established through the long and untiring efforts of the American Federation of Labor, and your organization has been a tower of strength to us in the task to which we have set our hands all these years. The experience of your officers has been of great assistance to us in doing our job.

I want to say right here that one of the greatest assets, one of the greatest contributions your organization has made to the Department of Labor in recent years has been your friend and our friend, Dan Tracy, a man long known and favorably known and well beloved by you, as I well know, and I want to say to you the job he is doing as Assistant Secretary of Labor is a job that has the admiration of government officials in and out of the Department of Labor. He is a credit to the Roosevelt Administration, he is a credit to the Labor Department, and he is a credit to the labor movement from which he came and within which he developed his many rugged, fearless and forthright characteristics. We thank you for him.

The cooperation of the American Federation of Labor representatives with the Department of Labor made possible the establishment of the Social Security program, the Wage and Hour Legislation, and the nationwide development of the public employment services. I do not need to tell you how much such legislation has meant to millions of American men, women and children, most of them not members of your trade union organization, but profiting by your foresight and your intelligence in your support of the measure which have changed the picture of life for them.

At this moment your representatives are working closely with the Department of Labor and with management on apprentice training and workers' safety programs, which at a time like this are of utmost importance to working people, to management and to the public generally. In the apprenticeship training program, administered by the Department of Labor, thousands of young men are being trained for the skilled trades under the direct supervision of skilled trained unionists. Over a quarter of a million apprentices are at work today under the guidance of men established by their unions who are known to have skill in these particular trades.

I met today here in Seattle with a local group who are guiding and directing a program of apprenticeship training and we are beholden to your organization for assistance and cooperation in the development of this program.

The in-training program also, in which labor is cooperating so fully, is proving highly successfully in developing skilled young workers and upholding high standards of skill. These young workers should obtain sound and practical training. You and I know there is no substitute for learning a trade on a job under the skilled guidance of experienced workers, and there are several million such young people who are being trained in the in-training programs through the cooperation of the Department of Labor, the officials and representatives of the trade unions, and of management generally.

It is by methods such as these, apprentice training, in-training of younger or less skilled workers, the effective use of vocational schools for refresher and other courses, that we have overcome the much dreaded shortage of skilled labor which we heard so much about a year ago.

You will recall at that time, about a year ago, when you met in New Orleans, it was proposed in many quarters to amend or set aside the provision of the Wage and Hour Act and Public Contracts Act, permit unlimited hours of labor, on the theory that there might be a shortage of skilled labor in the United States. The position of your organization at that time was there was no need of lengthening the hours while so many remained unemployed. The government, with the cooperation of the Department of Labor, also took this same position, with the safeguard of recognizing the possible shortage in very highly skilled occupations and providing for flexibility and also for a great spurt in apprenticeship and in-training. It is by these methods we have achieved such results that you no longer hear about a possible labor shortage. You have not heard of it for a long, long time, and nobody worries about it any more. These methods and the extraordinary skill and capability and adaptability of American workmen and American management have achieved this result.

Suitable and efficient methods of production and operation have been set up. Labor has been given incentive and an invitation for an expansion of the production activity, and the results are admirable. Employment has increased steadily throughout this year. More people are doing important work in the United States of America today in the defense industries than we had dreamed possible.

And that is one of the great and important contributions that have been made in this year. We have expanded the labor market, the labor supply of people trained and experienced and available to

take part in this great effort to produce what is needed for the defense of our great and free institutions.

The figures for August, 1941, show that almost 40,000,000 people are at work in non-agricultural civilian employments, almost 40,000,000 people, and for five months previously each month had shown an all-time high peak of employment in the United States. And in addition to that 40,000,000 at work in free non-agricultural civilian employments there are a million and a half men of working age that have been taken right out of the labor market and entered into the army forces of the United States. The increase in employment in that year has been three and three-quarters million people, and we have not yet reached the peak of employment or production. This first year has been one of record-breaking proportions, the more notable because in order to achieve this record it was necessary to build and equip new factories, to build new plants, to train hundreds of thousands of workers in new skills, to set up and make new tools and production methods and to adapt hundreds of thousands of people to mass production methods.

I want to call your attention to the fact that at the same time this notable expansion has taken place we have managed to maintain in this country the labor and social standards expressed in our social legislation. That is one of the greatest things we have established. For the most part these standards are a part of the habits of American industry. A year ago at New Orleans, and wherever the different trade unions met in their conventions, one heard expressed a fear in the direction that we would be obliged, or we might see the breaking down of the labor and social standards which had been established with so much care and so much pains, but it has not been so. The experience of a year has shown not only that these standards can be maintained, but that they actually assist in stabilizing production, and they have on the whole brought about a new, large and experienced working force and a general capacity of extension of effort whenever that was necessary in emergency, due to the fact those who work in a particular factory were not exhausted by over-long hours, and therefore were able to put in overtime in a spurt of activity, if such were needed.

All this has proved, I think, to all the people in the United States the wisdom of maintaining the social and labor standards.

And the new factories that have been built throughout the United States have been designed not only under Government specifications, but under the increasing good sense of their operators they have been provided with sanitation, ventilation, fire and accident prevention provisions, and with some provisions for

physical and comfortable good living conditions.

The standards with regard to the employment of women worked out through many years by the Women's Bureau, have been adopted and applied by the War Department in all their letting of defense contracts, and I think in the women-employing industries, it is a matter of considerable congratulation to you and your colleagues. Twenty years ago when we faced the same situation, this was not the case and we did not know what standards to set up for women, and in many cases there was exploitation and abuse and broken health and broken systems as a result of it.

The children of the United States, too, are still in school and not in our factories. The basic 40-hour week is still the standard and wages have shown no decline. Rather, wages and earnings have increased by fuller employment and by the overtime pay and also by wage adjustments which have been made in some cases. Housing shortages have appeared, naturally, in some communities with this tremendous increase in employment, but the government and the localities have been quick to move to meet it by federal housing projects and by encouragement to private investment in low-cost housing. By the vigorous exercise of a price policy aimed at keeping low the price of the necessities of life, such as food, clothing, rent and shelter, the government has been able to prevent to a large extent that sharp rise in the cost of necessities which so disturbs the real wages and real purchasing power of the workers.

Trade unions have been invited to cooperate and assist in planning and to agree, through their representatives on advisory committees, with the government about the programs for the movement of labor from place to place. The housing of labor and the adjustment of disputes without stoppages of work in the great speed necessary, particularly in these early months of the production drive.

One of the most notable achievements of American labor, perhaps, was the program by which it took its full share of responsibility for the work in building the air base at Corpus Christi, Texas, where skilled and unskilled labor had to be brought from great distances, and as many of you know, they had to be housed and fed on a temporary basis, and the work had to be done at top speed. It is a great tribute to the organizing ability of the officers in the building trades unions—and I am sure no one will mind if I say particularly to George Meany, who showed such effectiveness and efficiency and willingness in this connection. It was as well a tribute to the efficiency of the working men in these trades that that job

could have been done with the minimum of delay and friction. There have been other such jobs done in America, and the working people can take satisfaction in the part they have played in the development of these high speed defense projects. The real news is that these were done.

There have been some other situations in which equally good results have been obtained. They have been small in the total effort, but I am afraid that the publicity that has been visited upon the things we did not do instead of the things which we did do has been rather unfortunate. But that is not important in the long run. You and I are in agreement that man power is by long odds the most important factor in our production picture. We know that mechanization of industry has not changed this. This means that we need to guard constantly against any unnecessary waste of this essential man power.

Industrial accidents and other employment disasters and hazards under the ordinary operation of American industry annually costs 16,000 deaths, due to industrial accidents, and a million and a half disabling injuries. This is too much, and in times like these we cannot afford that interruption in the free flow of our man power into the production lines. The serious needs for accident prevention work on which the Department of Labor is working with management and labor stands out especially from an examination of the experiences in the vital defense industries where employment has increased so rapidly. In the production of aircraft the number of disabling injuries rose by 22 per cent, and in the machine tool industry the increase was 23 per cent in the accident rate. In the shipbuilding industry it was 22 per cent. These are too much, and I am sure that the efforts of the Department of Labor and the employers and the workers to make both management and workers aware of these hazards will bring about full cooperation and a reduction of these all too heavy losses.

The Department has been greatly expanded since I first addressed a convention of the American Federation of Labor in Washington eight years ago this month. Your officials have helped very much at every stage of the way in that expansion to serve better the needs of the nation's wage earners and to do in full measure the job which the statute which Congress passed indicates the Department should do.

Old line, well established bureaus such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics, with a sixty year record, the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau have expanded their functions and new agencies, notably the Wage and Hour Division, the Public Contracts Division,

the Division of Fair Labor Standards have been added to the activities of the Department of Labor. The growth of the work of the entire Department and the significance of the work of any department in the Government of the United States is not, of course, truthfully appraised by the amount of money spent on it by the Government, but it is a measure of the significance which the work of that Department plays in the life of the whole community. That is why I want to point out to you, who are so supremely interested in the activities of this Department in the Government which serves the interests of the working people that in 1933 the money spent by the Government of the United States on all of the activities of the Department of Labor that had to do with the development of the welfare of the wage earners of the United States was \$3,000,000.00. Next Monday we go before the Appropriations Committee of the Congress of the United States to defend and explain a budget of considerably over \$28,000,000.00, to be spent on the activities that promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States of America. That I think is some small measure, the difference between \$3,000,000.00 and \$28,000,000.00 of the significance and importance which the work for the welfare of the wage earners of the United States bears to the whole life of the people of the United States today. This is the way it should be, I think, with an agency which is one of the great service agencies of the Government of the United States, for I am one of those who think, and I know from many conversations that many of you think that the great administrative departments should be of service to the people, that they do not rule the people, they cannot rule the people of a free country. The people rule and govern themselves. That is the very essence of our social contract, our contract with each other in this country.

These specialized departments, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, do serve the people of the United States. They are servants of the community, truly, specializing in this particular function.

Most of you know the work of the conciliation service which was first organized in 1913. It has greatly expanded its staff in recent years to keep pace with the developments in industry, particularly in this last year and a half when the defense industries loom so large in our life. The conciliation service has long enjoyed the confidence and respect of your locals throughout the country, and I thank you for that. And increasingly it enjoys the respect and appreciation of the employers and of the public generally. Today the con-



ciliation service is called in almost as often by the employers to assist in the settlement of labor disputes as it is by the trade unions. This I call a real advance, in that it means that such employers themselves no longer attempt to ride out a storm or labor dispute in the hope that it will collapse, but they are anxious to utilize every agency to assist in the settlement and to cooperate themselves in ways of finding an adjustment.

For many years, for three years, as a matter of fact, the emphasis of this Division of Conciliation has been placed on the prevention of strikes and stoppages of work. I suppose I am led to emphasize this because of the fact that I read an editorial in the Omaha paper the other day, on my way out, which said something like this, that the Department had done pretty well in speeding up its efforts to settle strikes, but it had done nothing at all to prevent strikes. It was a fine-sounding editorial—you know. I would like to say to you informally, if I may, that one of the great advantages and privileges which a public official has—and there are not too many advantages in the life of a public official, as some of you know—but one of the great advantages is that of going around the country and meeting the people in the places where they live and work, and finding them at their realistic level, getting some give and take with them. But it is also perhaps of primary importance that one of the things public officials find in this advantage is that it is a very easy way to discover what their major evils are without the agony of self-examination and self-accusation. I suppose it is very healthy for us. So when I read that editorial and they said we had done nothing to prevent strikes, I thought I would tell you secretly and confidentially, and perhaps this Omaha paper might hear about it in an offhand way, that we have made great effort in the attempts to prevent stoppages of work, and that has met with the approval of the labor movement everywhere. They would rather we would prevent strikes than to take steps to stop them after they have occurred.

Since January, 1941, up through August of this year the conciliation service has prevented 1,068 threatened strikes, cases where we knew about the dispute before the stoppage happened, and we were able to go in and do the things that were essential to bring about an agreement before the stoppage of work actually occurred. That is a good many, and that amounted to 90% of all the cases of which we had advance notice that a strike was threatened before it actually happened.

During that same time we settled a

little over 1,100 strikes and lock-outs that involved a million and a half workers. But it is the prevention of these strikes that took more time, trouble and patience, and perhaps was of more importance to the people of the United States than the settlement of the strikes that did happen.

Early in this year, however, the considerable increase in the number of disputes between the employers and their organized or unorganized workers was noticed, particularly in the defense industries. Some of these offered difficult problems which might have been adjusted by the usual methods of conciliation if the dispute had not been in an industry, the need for whose product was so desperate. Time was the important item.

You and I know that there are some problems in human life for which time is the only real solution. Give them time and the realities come to the surface, and people know who really has won the debate. But in this particular period, time is the essential thing.

Since the methods of negotiations between workers and employers often of necessity are slow, it was thought best to set up a temporary Defense Mediation Board to assist in speeding up settlement of labor disputes having to do with the defense industries. This Board has had a good record and enjoys the confidence of your organization. As you know, it is tri-partite, with members representing labor, members representing the employers and members representing the public point of view. Its sole function is to deal effectively with the most difficult strikes. It was created by the President under executive order, and its strongest card is the fact that if no settlement by agreement is brought about promptly, it may make public findings of fact and recommendations for the settlement of stoppages of work. Your members have served faithfully on the panels of this Board. Naturally it handles relatively few cases, and that is as it should be, but it has handled them successfully.

The Board has handled 84 cases since it was created, and all but four of them have resulted in settlement pending recommendations, which have brought about an immediate resumption of work. The measure of its contribution is not the number of cases, but the energy and skill with which it has unraveled some of the most difficult disputes.

I think we ought to remind ourselves of certain philosophical principles when we come to matters of this sort, and remember that persuasion is one of the great creative forces. It was Aristotle who once said that creation, that is, creative activity, is the victory of persuasion, not the victory of force. What you persuade men to do of their own



free moral consciences is more important than what you can make them do because you say they must do it.

Throughout the years that have elapsed since 1933 these various divisions of the Department of Labor have made labor's problems their problems. Policies which you negotiate here in your annual convention, the advice and criticism which President Green and your officials furnish us in the Department of Labor have contributed immeasurably to our task of administering the labor laws, which have meant so much to all American wage earners in these difficult times.

A great change has taken place in the status of trade unionism in America in recent years. You are as conscious of that as I am. Today everyone expects that trade unions and labor will participate in the councils of our government, together with employers and farmers and other groups. Government agencies call in all interested parties for advice and point of view. The advice of labor is sought not only on questions of wages and working conditions, but on the broad economic and social problems of the total national life.

Trade unionism today is no longer a fighting principle, barely tolerated, it has become an institution. In fact, it is already an American institution. Most of the important aspects of American life are conducted by groups privately organized, but taking the public responsibilities into their own field. Our religious bodies, our National Education Association, the American Bar Association, the Medical Association, the banks, the libraries, the insurance companies, the laboratories, the stock exchanges and commodity exchanges and many others are real institutions which carry on a part of our life and for which we should have to find a substitute if they should cease to function. They determine policy, ethics and programs of public action within their respective fields, and most of us willingly follow them as groups that know the business better than the general public.

Such institutions are really private enterprises, charged with the public interest and with public purpose, and their conduct of the affairs of American life is really the American way of expressing our democratic principles.

Many of our trusted institutions of learning, our colleges, our research institutes, our seminars are all of the same nature. Many of these institutions are highly trusted by the people and have the confidence of the public who follow them when they point the way.

Those who are trusted have imposed upon themselves certain rules and certain discipline. It has been the history of such institutions that so long as they carry out their responsibilities with a

view to the well-being of the nation as a whole, they are permitted to carry on their private affairs and indeed are respected for carrying them on free and unhampered in any attempt at legislation or regulatory control by law.

But when they fail to do that or for any reason they lose the confidence of the people, some kind of regulation always follows. Thus we have seen the regulation of the railroads, private enterprises rendering a most important service to the public, but at times having forgotten their public purpose. We see the regulation of the telephone, the telegraph, the stock and commodity exchanges, the regulation of the banking institutions of America.

American trade unionism today, in becoming an established American institution, has implicitly accepted certain definite social responsibilities, and its policies in the future must be predicated not only upon the welfare of its own members, but upon the welfare of all the people. The history of your organization shows that it has consistently endorsed legislation and promoted social movements which are for the welfare of all the people and were altruistic in their aims. Beginning with the movement to provide free school books for all the children, the movement to reduce and abolish child labor, the movement for widows' pensions, up to the programs for the protection of women in industry and laws requiring safeguards against accident and fire, the labor movement has taken the position that its social duties and obligations lie to the unorganized as well as to the organized, and that because it is strong and informed it can take the lead in securing improvements which help everyone in American society, and not merely the members of their own union.

Probably the National Labor Relations Act, which frees labor from the dread of discrimination in employment because of membership in a trade union, has done more than any other one thing to establish trade unionism firmly as an American institution. Prohibition by law also of the use of the injunction, so often abused, has also freed American labor from the dread of this form of discrimination. Labor's struggle for the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining in regard to good working conditions is practically over. We know that. The struggle is passed. We now move into the organization of the achievement. That right to organize is now guaranteed by statute of law, the National Labor Relations Act.

This statutory protection gives to trade unionism an enormous prestige and a great responsibility. It places labor also in the same exposed position as any other great American private association charged with public responsibilities—responsibilities for the welfare and improvement of the conditions of

the members of the union, certainly; responsibilities for the welfare and improvement in the circumstances of all working people; responsibilities for cooperation in the development and prosperity of modern industry; responsibilities to the whole people of the United States for sound, intelligent, economic, social, political and moral practices, and for the selection of leaders and officers who can be trusted not only by their members, but by the Government, by employers, and by the whole people of the United States; also responsibilities to avoid excesses of action and to regard the rights of others, whether in agreement or not, with consideration.

The private affairs and activities and services, the public attitudes and the private methods of trade unions are today matters of public interest and significance because of this new status with legal protection which trade unionism holds. Collective bargaining procedures, strikes, trade union functions, internal trade union affairs, trade union politics, become the subject of discussion in the press, on the radio, in the open forum. That, of course, is a great compliment. It is because trade unionism is no longer in swaddling clothes, but is an important American institution, functioning in a field of great importance to all the people. Its affairs, therefore, are public property, just as the affairs of the banks or the insurance companies are public property, and it must expect to be judged as other institutions are judged. Trade unions will now be kept constantly under what we may term social surveillance, as other American institutions have been kept, and whatever secrecy or veil may have been effective in the early days when the union and its members were struggling to survive is certainly no longer effective.

The American public inevitably demands of American institutions which it is proud of and which it believes in, certain standards, some of them very old and very simple. First and foremost the public expects its service institutions to exercise the utmost order and exemplary procedure and efficiency in handling what some have called other people's money, it expects a scrupulous accounting for money, regular independent audits of all monies including dues and assessments. That is bound to be expected and it should be done voluntarily by the trade unions, rather than under any compulsion. Many of the best and most successful unions in America have long ago established these modern business and financial methods, and they are to be congratulated upon their far-sighted wisdom. With the trade union's basic right to be protected by statute, no monies need be expended except by authorization of the members and for purposes which can be stated in a public accounting without embarrassment.

The public also expects of its great

institutions that no individuals shall gain at the expense of the public, that no funds will be sidetracked into the pockets of those whose activities serve either their personal greed or anti-social purpose. That is expected by those who operate banks and stock exchanges. It will be expected of all who operate great American institutions.

The public expects such institutions will have constitutions and by-laws and will follow them explicitly. The public expects that labor organizations, like other free associations, will be conducted according to their own rules and constitutions and they will be operated in a sensible, parliamentary way for the benefit of the membership generally, and by and for that membership. The public expects that officers of trade unions will be chosen by the membership in the fairest and most open way. For the most part the public believes that those unions have been wise who, by their own by-laws, have required American citizenship for all their officers.

Again there is another ancient, deep-rooted American belief in the sanctity of contracts, and when a trade union signs a contract the public expects that the letter and spirit of the contract will be observed by both parties.

I think I ought to say at this moment that one of the great contributions which any public officer can render to men of the trade unions is that they have understood this principle of the sanctity of contract and have stood by the contracts made by them or in their name by their officers.

The public sometimes charges labor and trade unions with excessive practices. These, I know, are sometimes but the excess of zeal, but trade unions protected by law do not need to use excessive practices which are sometimes used by some people. For the most part they are not necessary. The practice of closed memberships and high dues, combined with the closed shop, have been effective in securing high wages for particular groups. The public asks today that some of these practices be restudied with a view to the public welfare and to the rights and liberties and opportunities of all the citizens of the United States.

Although it appears to me that most American working people, when given favorable opportunity to belong to a constructive, well-conducted trade union, will want to belong to such a union, I know there are a certain number of rugged individualists—call them cranks if you prefer—who are non-joiners by nature. Some have been conscientious objectors to everything, including organized religion, but these people are also individuals with the rights and dignities of personality, and they have to be thought about in the studying of any policies.

Where relations between employers and employees are good, and by "good" I

mean honorable, effective and permanent, an effective closed shop can often be created out of mutual confidence and stability and a large and loyal membership can have sufficient flexibility to take account of the peculiar situations that sometimes arise.

I agree with Mr. Tracy that unions make a mistake in insisting upon a closed shop where it cannot be won as a matter of relatively comfortable and intelligent agreement between employers and the union.

I don't need to say to you what I am sure you all know, that the present rather exacting emphasis upon a closed shop in some unions and in some industrial disputes is largely brought about by the unceasing competition for members between two divided branches of the labor movement. Almost ten million people in the United States belong to some kind of a trade union. The very size of this group, as well as the prestige that it has, makes its social responsibilities of great significance. Strikes which hamper the national effort have inevitably brought an avalanche of unfavorable comment to the labor movement. It is of extreme importance that the trade unions develop in the near future a pattern of self-imposed discipline, a pattern of public policy which the members really assent to, and that internal cohesion based upon respect for the union itself, understanding of trade union positions and deep faith and aspiration in the noble part which working people can play in the improvement of the life of the whole nation through wise and proper use and development of this significant social institution, the trade union.

Never before has labor in any nation in the world enjoyed the status and the blessing which American labor has today, and as we look at the plight of fellow workers in other parts of the world, we may well thank God for what has grown out of this society of mutual trust, a trust based on the sincerely held motto, printed on our money, our coins, "In God We Trust," in this whole United States of America.

The labor movement has a great part in the future of the United States, and the demand will be made upon labor increasingly for participation in planning and making good our post-war economy. There are bound to be many labor problems, many labor questions in that post-war economy. We do not need to face it with fear, but with courage that we can use well established methods of meeting the possible deflation of the period of demobilization; that we can modify the unemployment that might follow cessation of defense activities by extension of the Social Security method of job separation insurance; that we can take up at once a previously planned program of public works, particularly public housing as a post-defense activity; that we can assume the responsibilities of re-training men and women for peace time pursuits com-

parable in their economic significance to the industrial activities aimed at war.

Yes—and I believe it sincerely—we must primarily look for the great opportunities of prosperity and a good life in the future to the increasing standard of living of the most handicapped and the least-advantaged people of this country and of all the world. To increase the consumption of necessary goods and luxuries will be greatly to improve employment opportunities and at the same time raise the standards of living for people the world over. For instance, in normal times the cotton cloth consumption per capita in Western Europe is approximately 8½ pounds per year. If the per capita consumption of the world at large of cotton piece goods had equalled that of Western Europe it would have required forty million bales of cotton to have produced that piece goods, but the world consumption was only 26 million bales of cotton because the people of the world could not have that much cotton cloth on their standard income and standard of living. While 8½ pounds was the per capita for Western Europe, in the United States the cotton consumption was thirty pounds per person.

That is an important thing. We don't think it excessive, thirty pounds per person, but we in the United States have sheets and towels, and napkins, and underwear and socks and shirts as a part of our standard of living. We are not surprised at it, and our income supports that standard of living, except for that small depressed group, happily so much declined today.

And so it is a part of our whole enterprise in the United States to think in terms of the other people of the world. The ultimate solution of the problems of the textile industry and the cotton-growing countries lie in increasing the purchasing power of the underlying population throughout the world. Then they might approximate our standard, just approach it a little.

This is only an example. In a number of other industries similar opportunities could be pointed out. Certainly labor's effort in the war and post-war period must be and can be to think in terms of human prosperity and to think in terms of a better life for the common man, a better, cleaner and more comfortable life.

May I say at this moment one word about the hazards that we hear so much about, the hazards of our immediate economy? Every working man who thinks at all knows that inflation will bear harder upon the working people and on the poor than anyone else. Therefore, there ought to be at this time full cooperation, with every effort to keep down the cost of living and to participate in every program to that end. This is peculiarly a time for private thrift, for putting money away, for salting it down where it may be taken out of the immediate market for luxuries and put away as savings for the purchase of the necessities of life in the readjust-

ment period after the war. Contributory unemployment insurance, regular purchases of defense savings bonds and savings stamps, all offer easy opportunities for constructive action, and I feel sure that the trade unions, with their central funds and their members, and their wives, may I say, with their personal funds, will participate in the thinking and in every action necessary to keep our economy on an even keel. No one can do more to protect our America—our America—in safety and security for our representative republic and our democratic society, than the working people of America, and no one has a greater stake in that society. If the whirlwind which hovers over the world should sweep away democracy as a pattern of life, as an idea, as a human practice, labor's hard-earned gains and personal freedoms would be lost.

Our defense program is the national need and the concern of every American man, woman and child. I know that it is the concern of the patriotic officials and members of the great American Federation of Labor. I know that they—every last man of them—will join with all other truly American groups in accepting and in discharging their defense responsibilities in full measure for these blessed United States of ours.

A free republic for self-government, a democratic society, and habit of life, the Golden Rule for a moral code, faith in the love of God and neighbor as spiritual strength—this is our idea of America, is it not? Such an America can and always will defend freedom for herself and for all the liberty-loving people of the whole world.

I thank you so much.

President Green: It is eminently fitting and most appropriate that I should express to the distinguished Secretary of Labor the very deep appreciation of the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention this afternoon for her visit with us and for the inspiring and instructive address which she has delivered.

I know you must have observed, as I did, that she included in this address a fund of statistical and economic information, information that will serve us well here in the consideration of the questions that come before this convention and in the final determination of said questions.

I want to assure her in your presence of our deep interest in her work and in the work of the Department of Labor. We hold a special interest in the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor, and I want to personally pay a tribute to that section of the Department and the fine

way in which the Secretary of Labor administers the affairs of the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor. It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon our membership to utilize the Department of Labor and the Mediation Section to the fullest extent in the adjustment of differences that arise between employers and employees.

Now we ask Secretary Perkins to freely take advantage of this opportunity to visit with us as long as she can, to listen to our deliberations, providing she has time to do so. We hope her visit in this city will be a pleasant one, and we wish for her a safe return to Washington.

I thank you so much.

### **Mrs. John Boettiger Presented**

President Green: Inasmuch as I am quite human, I cannot forego the opportunity of reporting to you that we have with us this afternoon a distinguished visitor. She, in her characteristic way, slipped into the hall and quietly took her seat at the press table. I cannot forego the privilege and pleasure, particularly because there are so many charming ladies here this afternoon, of presenting to you Mrs. Boettiger, the wife of a very great friend of the American Federation of Labor, and the charming daughter of the President of the United States.

Will you please take a bow?

(Mrs. Boettiger graciously arose and acknowledged the introduction of President Green, and received the enthusiastic applause of the delegates assembled.)

President Green: It seems quite appropriate now for me to call upon the Chief Counsel of the American Federation of Labor to speak to you and to include in his address a report of some of his activities as the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

I therefore ask that Judge Padway please come to the platform for the purpose of addressing the visitors and delegates in attendance at the convention.

For the information of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention

of the American Federation of Labor this afternoon, may I report that Judge Joseph A. Padway of Milwaukee, Wisconsin is the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor.

During the past year, since he reported to the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor, he and his department have handled many difficult legal questions. You understand because of the changed economic conditions which prevail and the continuing economic changes that many legal questions arise which call for judicial determination. I can truly report to this convention Judge Padway has measured up to every legal requirement which the American Federation of Labor has set. He has succeeded in a wonderful way in presenting the cause of labor, in winning for labor in the courts of the land. He has distinguished himself by winning some very, very important cases which were pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. I merely want to make this report to you in presenting our counsel, Judge Padway, to you this afternoon.

Now, I assure you that I esteem it a very great pleasure to present to you the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

### **JUDGE JOSEPH A. PADWAY** (General Counsel, American Federation of Labor)

Mr. President, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I thank you, President Green, for your kind expressions. I appreciate them very much.

Again I come before you to report on the outstanding activities of the courts affecting labor in the year which has elapsed since the last Convention. A great change has taken place in the Supreme Court of the United States as a result of President Roosevelt's dramatic fight upon the court in 1937.

The fight which the President made upon the Supreme Court had an objective. The objective was to substitute liberal thought on the bench for what the President believed to be conservative thought. The President feared that his entire New Deal program was jeopardized and subject to defeat because of the conservative attitude of the Justices of the Supreme Court.

In Collier's Weekly for September 15, the President directs attention to his planned legislative program to improve the economic and living standards of farmers, workers and the public. But he goes on to say—

"By the time of the election of 1936, however, it had become clear that this new concept of government and of its relation to economic and social problems was in danger of complete frustration. And the road ahead, for further, or even different, effective action to meet these problems, seemed to be completely blocked.

"For a dead hand was being laid upon this whole program of progress—to stay it all. It was the hand of the Supreme Court of the United States."

This dead hand had to be lifted, and the President set about doing it by changing the personnel on the Court. But most citizens are not aware of the tremendous effect on their economic and social status as a result of this change. In fact, a judicial revolution has taken place. The Constitution has been reinterpreted. Lawyers must discard old principles of law and accept new ones. Conservative state judges must abandon their own economic ideas, and conform their decisions to the principles as pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States.

This revolution is nowhere made clearer than in the decisions affecting organized labor. Therefore, I desire to discuss the most important ones with you today.

You will recall that in my discussion last year I directed attention to decisions of the United States Supreme Court invalidating anti-picketing legislation.

I called to your attention the great pronouncement in the Thornhill case wherein the anti-picketing statute of the State of Alabama was declared illegal because the law denied to workers their constitutional right of freedom of speech. I called to your attention the pronouncement of the Supreme Court in the Carlson case wherein a county ordinance passed by Shasta County, California, prohibiting peaceful picketing was likewise declared invalid because it invaded the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech. In spite of these declarations of the United States Supreme Court, reactionary judges in state courts issued injunctions prohibiting peaceful picketing in furtherance of labor disputes. These judges reasoned that unless there were specific laws defining what constitutes a labor dispute and limiting the power of the judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes, as are to be found in the Federal Norris-LaGuardia Act and state Norris-LaGuardia Acts they had a right

to issue the injunctions regardless of what the United States Supreme Court said in the Thornhill and Carlson cases. Not all states have enacted Norris-LaGuardia Acts. There are still about thirty states without legislation of this sort. Illinois, for instance, does not have a state Norris-LaGuardia Act. Consequently, the judges in Illinois held that they had the power to restrain peaceful picketing if, in their opinion, the facts of the case did not involve a labor dispute.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act defines a labor dispute to be any dispute between an employer and a group of employees affecting the interests of any employees and it provides that the employees need not stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee; that is, members of labor unions and labor unions interested in the wages, hours, and working conditions of a particular employer have a right to dispute with the employer over these matters though these union members are not working for him. The Act specifically says that as long as any workers have a direct or indirect interest in the working conditions of a particular employer, they may have a dispute with such employer and exert economic pressure by peacefully picketing and boycotting in furtherance of such dispute.

But the Illinois Court held that since there was no Norris-LaGuardia Act in Illinois defining a labor dispute, a labor union could not have a dispute with an employer over wages, hours or working conditions if none of the immediate employees of the employer were members of the labor union. In other words, the Illinois Court said that before a union could picket an employer in Illinois, it was necessary to have members of the union among the employees of the picketed employer.

As I have pointed out, about thirty states do not have Norris-LaGuardia Acts, consequently the injunction evil would still prevail in these states unless the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech would protect workers in their right to picket and boycott regardless of the fact that there was not a state Norris-LaGuardia Act.

### American Federation of Labor vs. Swing

A case involving that very situation reached the Supreme Court of the United States this year. It is the Swing case. A Union of workers engaged in performing beauty parlor work tried to unionize the Swing Beauty Parlor operated in Chicago, Illinois. The employees would not join so the union picketed the shop. The owner, Swing,

sought and obtained an injunction against the union and its members on the basis that there was here no labor dispute because none of Swing's employees was a member of the union. The case was appealed from the lower court to the Supreme Court of Illinois. That Court sustained the lower Court and held that there was no labor dispute because there was no proximate relation between the pickets and the employer. The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Justice Frankfurter delivered the opinion of the Court on February 10th, 1941. First he posed this question.

"Is the constitutional guaranty of freedom of discussion infringed by the common law policy of a State forbidding resort to peaceful persuasion through picketing merely because there is no immediate employer-employee dispute?"

Mr. Justice Frankfurter in an opinion, the language of which is clear and unmistakable, held that in every state of the union regardless of the existence or non-existence of a state Norris-LaGuardia Act, unions and their members have the right to dispute with an employer over wages, hours and working conditions and to picket in furtherance of such dispute even though not a single employee of the picketed concern is a member of the union. The language of the Court is of such great importance that I ask you to bear with me while I read to you a few lines of this memorable opinion. Justice Frankfurter says:

" . . . . We are asked to sustain a decree which for purposes of this case asserts as the common law of a state that there can be no 'peaceful picketing or peaceful persuasion' in relation to any dispute between an employer and a trade union unless the employer's own employees are in controversy with him.

"Such a ban of free communication is inconsistent with the guarantee of freedom of speech. That a state has ample power to regulate the local problems thrown up by modern industry and to preserve the peace is axiomatic. But not even these essential powers are unfettered by the requirements of the Bill of Rights. The scope of the Fourteenth Amendment is not confined by the notion of a particular state regarding the wise limits of an injunction in an industrial dispute, whether those limits be defined by statute or by the judicial organ of the state. A state cannot exclude workmen from peacefully exercising the right of free communication by drawing the circle of economic competition between employers and workers so small as to contain



only an employer and those directly employed by him. The interdependence of economic interest of all engaged in the same industry has become a commonplace. American Foundries v. Tri-City Council, 257 U. S. 184, 209. The right of free communication cannot therefore be mutilated by denying it to workers, in a dispute with an employer, even though they are not in his employ. Communication by such employees of the facts of a dispute, deemed by them to be relevant to their interests, can no more be barred because of concern for the economic interests against which they are seeking to enlist public opinion than could the utterance protected in Thornhill's case. 'Members of a union might, without special statutory authorization by a State, make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.' Senn v. Tile Layers Union, 301 U. S. 463, 478."

The Illinois Supreme Court was reversed and the injunction was dismissed.

Thus no longer are state judges in a position to issue injunctions against labor unions based on their own false notion that there is no labor dispute because the members of the union are not employees of the picketed employer. This decision ought to complete the long and bitter fight labor has waged to eliminate "Government by injunction."

Of course, some state legislatures, such as the Legislature of Wisconsin, of Michigan, Minnesota and recently of Texas, will not accept the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, and they will pass legislation in conflict with the decisions just referred to, and in all probability courts in these states will uphold such legislation indulging in refined distinctions. Yet this legislation and the decisions of state courts upholding it will be struck down as violating the constitutional guaranties when the cases reach the Supreme Court of the United States.

### **Milk Wagon Drivers' Union Local No. 753, et al., vs. Lake Valley Farm Products, Inc., et al.**

Another important decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States since our last Convention met is the case of Milk Wagon Drivers' Union, Local No. 753, vs. Lake Valley Farm Products, Inc. This case presented a very peculiar and important issue involving the construction of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. I have just pointed out to you in the discussion of the Swing case how important is the

provision in the Norris-LaGuardia Act defining a labor dispute. I have shown that unless the facts in a case involve a labor dispute, courts can and do issue injunctions restraining picketing and boycotting. In this Milk Wagon Drivers' case, the question raised was, does the Norris-LaGuardia Act apply to a dispute between a labor union and an employer when the labor union is accused of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The facts of the case are briefly these.

The Chicago Local Milk Wagon Drivers' Union affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was organized in 1902. It had obtained high wages and excellent working conditions for its members over the years. Employers in an effort to reduce the wage standard and working conditions of the union employees set up what is known as the vendor system. By the vendor system the driver has to buy his own truck, usually from the employer. He buys his own milk and peddles it to the public. He is in a position to chisel on prices and does so. He works long hours. His practices bring down the wages of union drivers and throw many of them out of employment. The vendor or peddler system is found not only in the teamster craft but in other crafts and has become a distinct evil. The union therefore undertook to picket and boycott the dairies that sold to these peddlers and undertook to picket the stores buying from peddlers. The particular milk came to the Illinois dairies from Wisconsin and other states, thus the case involved interstate commerce. The dairies thereupon sought an injunction to prevent the milk drivers union from picketing the dairies and the stores who sold the milk products. The case was brought in the federal courts which are governed by the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Unless these provisions were complied with no injunction could issue. The judge in the District Court refused to issue an injunction. An appeal was taken to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. The United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the District Court and granted the injunction. The Circuit Court of Appeals held that:

"the controversy is not a labor dispute within the meaning of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, but is an unlawful secondary boycott of which the purpose is not to unionize the vendors but to obtain for the defendants' employers a Chicago milk monopoly at a sustained price level, contrary to the Sherman Act."

The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Justice Black wrote the opinion for the Court. Because of the significance of the language used I prefer to read to you Justice Black's own words.



"Whether rightly or wrongly, the defendant union believed that the 'vendor system' was a scheme or device utilized for the purpose of escaping the payment of union wages and the assumption of working conditions commensurate with those imposed under union standards. To say, as the Circuit Court of Appeals did, that the conflict here is not a good faith labor issue, and that therefore there is no 'labor dispute,' is to ignore the statutory definition of the term; to say, further, that the conditioned abandonment of the vendor system, under the circumstances, was an issue unrelated to labor's efforts to improve working conditions, is to shut one's eyes to the everyday elements of industrial strife.

"\* \* \* We agree with the District Court that this case grows out of a labor dispute. Since the requirements of the Norris-LaGuardia Act have not been met, the court did not have jurisdiction to grant an injunction unless by virtue of that phase of the bill which charged a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

"Second. The Court of Appeals concluded that the defendants' picketing activities constituted a secondary boycott in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and that for this reason, regardless of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the District Court had jurisdiction to grant an injunction even though the case arose out of or involved a labor dispute. In this the Court was in error."

Then Justice Black proceeds to point out that simply because a union is charged with violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act it does not lose the benefits of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. He points out that the purpose of passing the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to overcome the many injunctions issued by Courts based upon charges that the union was violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

"The committee reports on the Norris-LaGuardia Act reveal that many of the injunctions which were considered most objectionable by the Congress were based upon complaints charging conspiracies to violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. To end the granting of injunctions of this type, section 5 of the Norris-LaGuardia Act deprived federal courts of jurisdiction to issue restraining orders or injunctions 'upon the ground that any of the persons participating or interested in a labor dispute constitute or are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated . . .'. In reporting the bill, the House Judiciary Committee said: 'This section is included principally

because many of the objectionable injunctions have been issued under the provisions of the anti-trust laws, a necessary prerequisite for invoking the jurisdiction of which is a finding of the existence of a conspiracy or combination and without which no injunction could have been issued.'

"The Norris-LaGuardia Act, passed in 1932, is the culmination of a bitter political, social and economic controversy extending over a half a century. Hostility to 'government by injunction' had become the rallying slogan of many and varied groups. Indeed, as early as 1914 Congress had responded to a widespread public demand that the Sherman Act be amended, and had passed the Clayton Act, itself designed to limit the jurisdiction of federal courts to issue injunctions in cases involving labor disputes. But the proponents of the Norris-LaGuardia Act felt that the jurisdictional limitations of the Clayton Act had been largely nullified by judicial decision. Thus, the Senate Judiciary Committee, reporting the Norris-LaGuardia Act, said: 'That there have been abuses of judicial power in granting injunctions in labor disputes is hardly open to discussion. The use of the injunction in such disputes has been growing by leaps and bounds . . . For example, approximately 300 were issued in connection with the railway shopmen's strike of 1922. . . .'

"Whether or not one agrees with the committees that the cited cases constituted an unduly restricted interpretation of the Clayton Act, one must agree that the committees and the Congress made abundantly clear their intention that what they regarded as the misinterpretation of the Clayton Act should not be repeated in the construction of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. For us to hold, in the face of this legislation, that the federal courts have jurisdiction to grant injunctions in cases growing out of labor disputes, merely because alleged violations of the Sherman Act are involved, would run counter to the plain mandate of the Act and would reverse the declared purpose of Congress. The Circuit Court of Appeals was in error; its judgment is reversed and the judgment of the District Court dismissing the bill for injunction is affirmed."

I repeat, the decision is of great significance to organized labor. If the United States Supreme Court had upheld the Circuit Court of Appeals, then employers would have a way of avoiding the Norris-LaGuardia Act and obtaining labor injunctions on the basis that interstate commerce was involved and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law vio-

lated. The decision prevents this clear attempt on the part of the dairies in Illinois to return government by injunction.

### **Journeymen Tailors' Union vs. Miller's, Inc.**

The effectiveness of the Swing case and the Lake Valley Farms case was emphasized in another decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down one month after the Swing case. I am now referring to the decision in the case of Journeymen Tailors' Union Local No. 195 vs. Miller's, Inc. This case concerned an employer conducting a tailoring shop. Upon the termination of his contract with the union he refused to renew it. In fact he entered into a new agreement with another union. As a result of this inter-union dispute, the Court held that there was no labor dispute since the picketing union had no members in the employ of this tailoring concern, and the New Jersey Court granted the injunction.

No state court has been as unyielding in its refusal to follow precedents set by the United States Supreme Court than the court of New Jersey. The Chancellors of New Jersey have issued injunctions which were plainly in contravention of principles pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States. Yet it was difficult to reverse these state courts, because all cases cannot be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. It is only when a Federal question is involved that the case can reach the Supreme Court of the United States. However, since the decision of the Thornhill case the way was opened to attack the New Jersey Court decisions on the basis that such decisions violated the Federal Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech.

While the facts in the Miller case are very simple and they involve a small employer—if I recall correctly only one employee—yet the same principle of freedom of speech was involved in this case as it was in the cases of Thornhill, Swing and others. The United States Supreme Court showed its impatience with the decisions of the State of New Jersey. It made short work of the hundreds of decisions in which injunctions were issued to employers in that State. It did not ask for final briefs after the petition for a writ of certiorari was filed. I will explain to you what I mean. Before the United States Supreme Court undertakes to hear an appeal on the merits, one must petition for a writ of certiorari. A short brief is filed with the petition. It is not the final brief in the case. If the Court believes the issue is important it will take jurisdiction and direct the filing of final

briefs and set the case down for argument. That is the usual procedure. If it does not ask for final briefs and does not set the case down for final arguments, it usually dismisses the petition and refuses to hear the appeal. In the Miller case the Court examined the petition for a writ of certiorari and without requiring final briefs and without setting the case down for oral argument it promptly wrote a three line opinion reversing the New Jersey Courts not only in this case, but as I have said in all similar cases. The New Jersey Courts will no longer be able to issue their wholesale injunctions in labor disputes. Let me read to you this very significant decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

PER CURIAM: Petition for writ of certiorari granted and judgment reversed. American Federation of Labor vs. Swing, No. 56, decided Feb. 10, 1941; Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U. S. 88; Carlson vs. California, 310 U. S. 106.

### **Milk Wagon Drivers Union of Chicago Local 753, et al., vs. Meadowmoor Dairies, Inc.**

Needless to say that these decisions considered in connection with the great decisions of the Court in the Senn case, Thornhill case and the Carlson case are cause for extreme gratification on the part of organized labor. It would seem that government by injunction had been thoroughly beaten everywhere in the United States.

But unfortunately, I might say tragically, a decision was handed down by the United States Supreme Court which may in a large measure destroy the effectiveness of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, and the decisions just referred to.

The same day as the Swing case was handed down, the decision in the Meadowmoor Dairies, Inc. case also was handed down. The opinion in this case was also written by Justice Frankfurter. Yet there seems to be an unfortunate approach to, and analysis of, the constitutional rights of Labor when some violence has occurred during the dispute. The case becomes more remarkable because of the vigorous dissents on the part of Justice Black and Justice Reed, in which Justice Douglas concurred.

The facts in this case are similar to the facts in the Lake Valley Farms Products case, that is, the dispute between the union and the Meadowmoor Dairies involved the vendor system. The Meadowmoor Dairies brought suit for an injunction in the state courts. The court issued the injunction restraining every form of picketing, even

peaceful picketing on the ground that "there had been violence on a considerable scale." The Illinois Supreme Court upheld the injunction. Thereupon, the union appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States. The union contended that under the decision of the *Thornhill* case, peaceful picketing could not be restrained since it was a form of freedom of speech and thus guaranteed against abridgment by the Constitution of the United States. The union did not deny that the court could issue an injunction restraining violence, but it contended that it could not enjoin peaceful picketing or activities merely because there had been some violence.

So that was the issue in the case, namely, could an injunction issue prohibiting all picketing, peaceful and otherwise, because there had been violence in the course of the controversy. By a divided court the drastic injunction prohibiting even peaceful picketing was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. Justice Frankfurter, who wrote the opinion, Chief Justice Hughes, Justice Stone and Justice Murphy voted to uphold the injunction; Justice Black, Justice Reed and Justice Douglas dissented. It is most interesting to follow the processes of reasoning on the part of Justice Frankfurter, Justice Black and Justice Reed. Justice Frankfurter said:

"\* \* \* The picketing in this case was set in a background of violence. In such a setting it could justifiably be concluded that the momentum of fear generated by past violence would survive even though future picketing might be wholly peaceful. So the Supreme Court of Illinois found. We cannot say that such a finding so contradicted experience as to warrant our rejection. Nor can we say that it was written into the Fourteenth Amendment that a state through its courts cannot base protection against future coercion on an inference of the continuing threat of past misconduct."

Justice Black exposed the basic weaknesses of the majority opinion in the following language:

"On the one hand it is said that 'disassociated acts of past violence' are not enough to forfeit the right of free speech. On the other hand, a 'background of violence' appears to be sufficient. Nor are many more definite standards or guides to be found in such clauses as 'context of violence,' 'entanglement with violence,' 'coercive effect,' 'taint of force,' and 'coercive thrust.'"

"It is my apprehension that a rule embodying such broad generalizations opens up new possibilities for inva-

sion of the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment."

Not only did he disagree on the fundamental law applicable to the case, but also Justice Black exploded, on a careful scrutiny of the record itself, the so-called "background of violence" which loomed so large in the majority opinion. He said:

"In fact, it is stipulated in the record that pickets 'made no threats against any of these storekeepers, but peacefully picketed these stores. They made no attempt to stop any customers or to stop delivery except insofar as their situation and the signs they bore had that tendency.' There was no evidence to connect them with any kind or type of violence at any time or place."

"In my opinion the sweeping injunction here approved is justified by neither of the rules, and is not supported by the record."

Justice Douglas concurred in the opinion of Justice Black.

Mr. Justice Reed also wrote a vigorous dissenting opinion in which he exposed the fallacy of enjoining the Constitutional right of freedom of speech because of alleged past acts of violence. He pointed out to the majority that if the fear engendered by past misconduct coerced the storekeeper during peaceful picketing, the remedy lies in the maintenance of order, not in the denial of free speech. To quote his own words he said:

"If the fear engendered by past misconduct coerces storekeepers during peaceful picketing, the remedy lies in the maintenance of order, not in denial of free speech. Constitutional guarantees against oppression are of value only when needed to challenge attacks."

"The right to picket peacefully in industrial disputes is a recognized means for the marshaling of public opinion on the side of the worker. There is no finding that violence was planned or encouraged by the union. To deny this right of peaceful picketing to thousands because of the violence of a few means the cutting off of one of the constitutionally protected ways in which orderly adjustments of economic disputes are brought about. I cannot see that the constitutional problem is 'totally different' because raised by a court decree rather than a statute. Constitutional guarantees are just as effective for the individual as they are for the general public. The principle contended for by petitioners is the right to tell their side of the story by peaceful picketing despite a state court's view that such picketing may project

fear from past violence into the future. In the last analysis we must ask ourselves whether this protection against assumed fear of future coercion flowing from past violence is sufficient to justify the suspension of the constitutional guarantee of free speech. If picketing is prohibited here, the right maintained by *Thornhill v. Alabama* collapses on the first attack.

"This nation relies upon public discussion as one of the indispensable means to attain correct solutions of problems of social welfare. Curtailment of free speech limits this open discussion. Our whole history teaches that adjustment of social relations through reason is possible while free speech is maintained. This Court has the solemn duty of determining when acts of legislation or decrees of courts infringe that right guaranteed to all citizens. Free speech may be absolutely prohibited only under the most pressing national emergencies. Those emergencies must be of the kind that justify the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus or the suppression of the right of trial by jury. Nothing approaching this situation exists in this record and, in my judgment, the action of the Supreme Court of Illinois in prohibiting peaceful picketing violates the constitutional rights of these petitioners."

How three great liberal minds such as Justice Frankfurter, Justice Black and Justice Reed could come to such different conclusions on so fundamental a problem is difficult to understand. True, Justice Frankfurter endeavored to hem in his decision with certain safeguards, but in spite of these safeguards, the employer has a weapon whereby he can bring back the evil of government by injunction. Many judges are only too ready to issue these injunctions and employers know it. Employers, as in the past, will in the future engage private detective agencies, spies, guards, thugs and strike breakers to create disturbances and assaults so as to furnish a basis for reactionary judges to issue injunctions; and in so doing they will have the blessings of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Even now judges are resorting to the Meadowmoor case to justify injunctions prohibiting all forms of picketing. A few weeks ago the courts of Wisconsin upheld an injunction prohibiting peaceful picketing in a strike of hotel employees affiliated with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance because there had been a few petty assaults. In support of its right to issue the injunction the court quoted

the Meadowmoor case. The Hotel and Restaurant International Alliance by General President Flore has directed an appeal to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. A petition for certiorari is now pending. We hope that the Supreme Court will take jurisdiction, and if it does, I hope we can, through the Hotel and Restaurant case, be successful in securing a reconsideration of the principles in the Meadowmoor case and have the principles modified or reversed.

### State Courts Reverse Their Former Holdings

However, in those cases where there is no violence the Supreme Court decisions which I have discussed settle the law in all the states. As a result of these decisions many states have reversed their previous holdings or clarified their former decisions respecting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

The state of Oregon as I pointed out last year threw out its anti-picketing statute. The state of Michigan in the *Bashaw* case dissolved an injunction issued by the court prohibiting peaceful picketing. The state of Kentucky this year in the case of *Blanford vs. Press Publishing Company* did the same. The Kentucky case is interesting because only three years ago the highest court of that state upheld a labor injunction even though there was no violence. In the opinion handed down in the *Blanford* case the Kentucky court said:

"(7) Since the appellants are members of bona fide labor unions, and, in attempting to compel the unionization of appellee's printing establishment, did not resort to acts of violence, it is wholly immaterial that by advertisements and personal interviews in which the facts were stated and consequences intimated, they induced many of appellee's patrons to withhold their patronage. Appellants were exercising rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution, as construed by the Supreme Court, and lesser courts are powerless to afford appellee any relief."

### California Follows U. S. Supreme Court

The most significant decisions of any state court, however, are those rendered by the state of California in a series of six cases generally referred to as the *McKay* cases. (Vol. 100 California Decisions Pages 347-410.) It would indeed take more time than I have now to dis-

cuss these intensely interesting cases. The decisions were handed down by a divided court. The dissenting Justices wrote vigorous, and I might even say bitter, opinions, criticizing the reasoning of the majority. The decisions form so complete a text of labor's rights that I wish to state in a terse sentence or two what is now the law in California as pronounced by these decisions.

1. In the first case the California Supreme Court legalized all closed shop contracts.

2. In the second case, the California Supreme Court pronounced the principle that no employer has a constitutional right to conduct his business as a non-union shop.

3. In the third case, the California Supreme Court held that a labor organization may picket to obtain a closed shop contract whether or not a dispute over wages, hours, or working conditions exists.

4. In the fourth case, the California Supreme Court held that picketing to obtain labor contracts is not an unlawful interference with the rights of non-union employees, and no individual has an absolute right to remain unorganized.

5. In the fifth case, the California Supreme Court held that boycotts, both primary and secondary are proper and legal methods for labor unions to employ in exerting economic pressure to unionize a business or industrial establishment.

6. Finally, in the sixth case, the California Supreme Court held that those picketed under such conditions have no legal remedy for damages which might be inflicted as long as picketing is peaceful and the purpose is related to working conditions or collective bargaining.

### Courts of New York

But although a number of states have accepted the decisions of the Supreme Court at face value, two courts formerly considered liberal in their attitude towards labor have pronounced most reactionary decisions which fly in the face of the Supreme Court pronouncements I have referred to. These are the courts of Wisconsin and the highest Court of Appeals of the State of New York.

The decisions of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York are extremely serious, because they not only affect organized labor in the state of New York, but they will affect organized labor in many other states, the courts of which have looked to New York for guidance.

The court of New York is quite different today than it was when Justice Car-

doza was on that bench. When the United States Supreme Court was conservative and reactionary, the Courts of New York were blazing a trail of true liberalism. It was the Supreme Court of New York in the famous case of *Rifkin v. Exchange Bakery* which delivered an opinion concerning labor's rights which might truly be termed Labor's Magna Carta. In that case the New York Court of Appeals said:

"The purpose of a labor union to improve the conditions under which its members do their work, to increase their wages, to assist them in other ways, may justify what would otherwise be a wrong.

"So would an effort to increase its numbers and to unionize an entire trade or business. It may be as interested in the wages of those not members, or in the conditions under which they work, as in its own members because of the influence of one upon the other. All engaged in a trade are affected by the prevailing rate of wages. All by the principle of collective bargaining.

"Economic organization today is not based on the single shop. Unions believe that wages may be increased, collective bargaining maintained, only if union conditions prevail, not in some single factory, but generally.

"That they may prevail, it may call a strike and picket the premises of an employer with the intent of inducing him to employ only union labor. And it may adopt either method separately. **Picketing without a strike is no more unlawful than a strike without picketing.** Both are based upon a lawful purpose. Resulting injury is incidental and must be endured."

But mark the tragic circumstance in its new pronouncements.

### Opera On Tour

I can best illustrate the New York court's amazing about face by reference to two recent cases. The first case is *Opera On Tour*.

*Opera On Tour, Inc.*, traveled from city to city performing operas, but used phonograph records instead of musicians for the necessary orchestral accompaniment. The American Federation of Musicians attempted to prevent this encroachment on the jobs and livelihood of its members. The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, in order to assist the American Federation of Musicians, directed its stage hands not to work for *Opera On Tour* if "canned" music was used. The *Opera Company* sought an injunction. The case

reached the New York Court of Appeals.

In substance there were two simple questions submitted to the court:

- 1—Whether a labor organization can lawfully strike or picket for the purpose of combatting the use of labor-curtailling devices or equipment;
- 2—Whether it can obtain assistance from organizations in the same trade or industry.

The Court of Appeals answered "No" to both of these questions. It resorted to the use of that device frequently used by those conservative judges in labor cases who wish to issue injunctions regardless of laws prohibiting the issuance of such injunctions—that is, it held that the strike or controversy was not in furtherance of "a lawful labor objective".

It is interesting to note on what premise the court came to the conclusion that the demands of the Musicians Union and the assistance of the Stage Hands Union constituted an unlawful labor objective. It did it on the plain and bold statement:

"\* \* \* For a union to insist that machinery be discarded in order that manual labor may take its place, and thus secure additional opportunity of employment, is not a lawful labor objective."

This is a most amazing pronouncement coming from the highest Court of Appeals in the State of New York, because almost forty years ago, in the case of *National Protective Association of Steamfitters and Helpers vs. Cummings*, the same court held that workers could go on strike for the purpose of securing "an exclusive preference of employment to its own members."

The effect then, of this injunction, is to prohibit any union from striking against displacement of human labor by machines, because the court holds that such a strike is in furtherance of an unlawful labor objective. The court actually said that an endeavor to prevent the use of labor-displacing devices "bore no reasonable relation to conditions of employment" or "the protection of labor from abuses."

If the desire of individuals to protect their livelihood and to eliminate practices which endanger their very jobs is not a legitimate labor objective, then nothing is. Such an objective is even more fundamental than that of increasing wages or decreasing hours, for before improvements in wages and hours can be obtained, jobs must exist or be found and people put to work in them.

Note, however, the reasoning of the Supreme Court Appellate Division, which is an intermediary appellate court. Its opinion, though reversed by the highest court of appeals, is worthy of attention. Both in law and logic it surpasses the opinion of the higher court. The Appellate Division said:

"Economic pressure may eventually compel the acceptance of mechanical changes, but there seems to be no legal reason why those who may be injuriously affected thereby may not meanwhile make lawful and orderly efforts to prevent or lessen the extent of the injury to themselves. It is well known that employers do not always use the latest technological improvements where such improvements might lessen their opportunity for profits or destroy large capital investments; and no one claims that they owe anyone a legal duty to do so."

In addition to disregarding its own judicial precedent, the highest Court of Appeals majority ignored the mandate of the Legislature as expressed in the state's Anti-Injunction Act. The great abuses resulting from the assumption by the courts of power to forbid strikes and picketing prompted the New York Legislature to declare that, in cases involving labor disputes as broadly defined in the act, no injunction could be issued to prevent strikes or peaceful picketing under any circumstances.

The majority disregards the will of the people of New York, as expressed in the act, by the simple expedient of declaring that no labor dispute existed in the *Opera On Tour* case. The reason for such a declaration is termed a "mystery" in the dissenting opinion. I think it is a perversion of truth.

The dissent of Chief Justice Lehman exposes the many fallacies and errors in the conclusions of the majority. He insists that labor has the right to strike and to combine to strike in situations similar to the present one. He insists that the legitimacy of labor's objectives is for the Legislature and not for the courts to determine. He deprecates the obvious contravention of the Anti-Injunction Act.

The decision of the Court of Appeals is inexcusable. It inflicts a blow from which labor may be many years recovering. The efforts of labor for the last fifty years to achieve justice before the courts of New York may be rendered fruitless by this single decision. Certainly much of labor's hopes are blasted, for it sees in this decision the subtle judicial process of whittling away legislative intent by tortured and refined definitions.



### Wohl-Platzman Case

Drastic as is the decision in *Opera On Tour*, there is hope in the reaction of the United States Supreme Court towards the views of the New York Court of Appeals as expressed in the case of *Bakery and Pastry Drivers and Helpers Local 802, International Brotherhood of Teamsters vs. Wohl and Platzman*.

In this case the New York highest Court of Appeals upheld an injunction issued by a lower court prohibiting the Teamsters Union from picketing peddlers or vendors. Here, again, the lower court had held that there was no lawful or legitimate labor dispute. It said:

"That the plaintiffs are the sole persons required to run their business and therefore they are not subject to picketing by a union or by the defendants who seek to compel them to employ only union labor."

In the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court—which is an intermediary appellate court—the majority upheld the injunction and wrote no opinion. However, Justice Callahan strongly opposed the views of the majority. He wrote a dissenting opinion. He took the view that the injunction was improperly issued and that the complaint should have been dismissed. He said:

"Upon the facts found herein, the injunction should not have been granted, and the complaint should have been dismissed. Though plaintiffs had no employees, they were conducting business as part of a widespread system of 'peddling' that seriously menaced the standards sought to be maintained by defendant union. 'Peddling' means an arrangement whereby former drivers for manufacturers are aided in procuring trucks, and go into business distributing the products of the manufacturers. Such peddlers work seven days a week, and longer than union hours. Defendant union consists of drivers in the same industry. It had a vital interest in maintaining employment of its members, shorter hours, and a day of rest in seven. Therefore, a labor dispute was involved, and it was proper and lawful for it to picket in an orderly manner when defendant wished to protest against the actions of the peddlers. *Goldfinger vs. Feintuch*, 276 N. Y. 281, 11 N. E. (2d) 910, 116 ALR 477."

The decision of the majority of judges in the highest New York Court of Appeals was appealed to the United States Supreme Court. On June 2, 1941, the United States Supreme Court reversed the New York Court of Appeals. The

decision is very short and very terse. It reads as follows:

"\* \* \* The petition for writ of certiorari is granted. The judgment is reversed. *American Federation of Labor vs. Swing*."

Here, again, the United States Supreme Court made no request for final briefs. The Court didn't even set the case for oral argument. In the few words I have read to you it slapped down the majority opinion of the New York Court of Appeals, and virtually told it that it was disobeying the previous mandates of the United States Supreme Court.

The case has a very important relationship to *Opera On Tour*, because the reasoning of the New York Court of Appeals in both cases is the same, namely, that no labor dispute existed, and that the objective was not a lawful labor objective.

If the United States Supreme Court takes jurisdiction in *Opera On Tour*, I feel confident, on the basis of the *Teamsters Bakery Drivers* case, that the principles pronounced in *Opera On Tour* will be reversed.

What I am endeavoring to emphasize in bringing to your attention the adverse decisions of state courts and comparing them with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States is this:

State courts have the right to render their own decisions and construe the law as they believe it ought to be construed. One state is not bound by the decisions of another state. Because of this there has been a multitude of inconsistent decisions throughout the country. State court decisions are uniform only when the United States Supreme Court renders a decision and holds that the question involves a constitutional right; thereupon, all states are bound by such holding. When that is done there can be no inconsistency in the decisions of the state courts, although certain courts endeavor to evade the holdings of the Supreme Court of the United States. They are, nevertheless, soon brought to time, and compelled to reverse themselves.

Thh New York cases I have already discussed and one or two I want to refer to now, indicate my point most clearly.

I have pointed out to you that the New York court was a liberal court under Justices such as Cardozo, Pound, and Andrews. None of these judges is any longer on the bench. The present court has departed from its former liberalism. But it is compelled to uphold its former liberal decisions by the United States Supreme Court.

Let me give you a recent illustration of the effect of United States Supreme



Court decisions on the present conservative court of New York. In 1939 the New York Court of Appeals in the case of *People vs. Bellows* held that an Electrical Workers' Union was engaged in an illegal secondary boycott, and that an injunction could issue against it to restrain the illegal conduct. The facts were simple. The Electrical Workers' Union picketed a retail handbag store whose neon signs were serviced by a CIO union. The then Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals said:

"This constituted a secondary boycott and was illegal. The Munzers were merely purchasers of the product in the market, and not parties to any labor dispute. There was no more right to picket their store than to picket the home or store of any other person who happened to buy non-union material or goods from a rival union. There was here no such unity of interest with the manufacturer as was developed in the *Goldfinger* case."

However, just a few weeks ago in another case, *People vs. Muller*, a similar situation arose. In this case the same Electrical Workers' Union picketed a retail-gents' furnishing store whose burglary system was serviced by a non-union concern. By a four to three decision Justice Lehman, writing the opinion for the majority, held that the issuance of the injunction was illegal. Justice Lehman said:

"\* \* \* Peaceful picketing by the members of a union in front of a business served by the union is the exercise of a right of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States. (Swing case. *Bakery & Pastry Drivers' Local 802 of International Brotherhood of Teamsters*.) Construction of the Federal Constitution by the Supreme Court of the United States is binding on all states. These decisions cannot be ignored and passed over in silence."

### Darby Lumber Company Case

Another important decision rendered in February of this year is the case of *United States of America vs. Darby Lumber Company*, decided by the United States Supreme Court. The importance of this decision is that it finally outlaws child labor in this country and makes unnecessary the passage of the amendment to the Constitution to prohibit child labor.

The case itself involved the constitutionality of the minimum wage and hour law. However, the court overruled the notorious case of *Hammer v. De-*

*genhart*, in which case, back in 1918, another United States Supreme Court had held that Congress had no power to exclude the products of child labor from interstate commerce. The child labor provisions of the Wage and Hour Act, therefore, are now valid in spite of the earlier reactionary decision.

### The Hutcheson Case

I come now to a discussion of one of the most important labor decisions handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the last quarter of a century. It is the decision usually referred to as the "*Hutcheson Case*." No report of court activities affecting organized labor could possibly be complete without a discussion of this precedent-making decision.

Last year I refrained from discussing the anti-trust laws and the decisions pronounced respecting them, because the decisions were all of lower courts. The United States Supreme Court had not yet passed upon them.

The American Federation of Labor unions prosecuted by the Anti-Trust Division for violation of the anti-trust laws were successful in the lower courts. For instance, the indictment against the Brotherhood of Carpenters was dismissed by the United States District Judge in Saint Louis.

I did not try this case. The General Counsel of the Carpenters' Union, J. O. Carson, and associate counsel of New York briefed and argued it, and they did a splendid job.

The indictment against the Building Trades Unions in New Orleans was dismissed by Judge Porterle.

The jury trial, based on the indictment against the Teamsters Union and its officials in the District of Columbia, resulted in a directed verdict of not guilty and the case was dismissed.

Other judges had similarly expressed themselves. The question was, however, what would the United States Supreme Court do?

On February 3, 1941, the United States Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Brotherhood of Carpenters Case which was appealed from the District Court of Saint Louis.

In order fully to appreciate the importance of this decision it is necessary to review briefly the history of the anti-trust laws as applied to labor, and the resurrection of these laws by the present Anti-Trust Division for the purpose of criminally prosecuting labor unions for alleged violation of the anti-trust laws.

In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Organized labor was definitely assured that the laws did not apply to organized labor or its activi-

ties. However, the early prosecutions under the Act were directed chiefly at labor unions and their activities. The case which I discussed with you last year, and which was so heavily relied upon by the Anti-Trust Division in its prosecution of organized labor, is the Danbury Hatters case, in which a judgment for a quarter of a million dollars was entered up against the Hatters Union because of alleged violations of the anti-trust laws.

Organized labor was alarmed over these prosecutions, and thus there was sought an amendment to the Sherman Act, or a new act, exempting labor unions and their activities from the anti-trust laws. Through strenuous efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor, and with the support of Theodore Roosevelt, and later, Woodrow Wilson, Congress was induced to pass the Clayton Act.

As I have pointed out in a previous talk in connection with other matters, Section 6 of the Clayton Act opens with the pronouncement that **"The Labor of a Human Being Is Not a Commodity or Article of Commerce."** That was not mere oratory. It was inserted for a purpose. It was reasoned that since the anti-trust laws dealt with commodities and articles of commerce, if the labor of a human being was not a commodity or an article of commerce, then it was not within the purview of the anti-trust laws.

But we were soon disillusioned by the various decisions of the United States Supreme Court, which held that the Clayton Act did not exempt labor unions and their activities from the anti-trust laws.

However, as a result of the perversion of the Clayton Act by the Supreme Court of the United States, Congress was again appealed to, and the Norris-LaGuardia Act was passed.

The Committee reports on the Norris-LaGuardia Act are most illuminating. Never have the courts of the United States been so castigated as they were in these Committee Reports. The Committee stated definitely that the decisions of the United States Supreme Court were a perversion of the plain provisions of the Clayton Act. They stated that the Clayton Act did intend to exempt labor unions and their activities from the anti-trust laws.

Thereafter there were few if any civil suits brought against labor unions for violation of the anti-trust laws, and hardly any criminal prosecutions until 1933. Then the present anti-trust division of the Department of Justice commenced to prosecute labor unions, not on the old theories pronounced by the Supreme Court, but upon entirely new ones. The head of the anti-trust division set up a new and fantastic economic code for trade unions, and any

departure from this code, or any activity which conflicted with this code, was, in his opinion a crime and was made the basis of an indictment and criminal prosecution of labor unions.

It would take too long to discuss in detail the complete provisions of this amazing code. Briefly, the head of the anti-trust division pronounced it to be a crime for a labor union to—

1. Prevent the use of cheaper materials, improved equipment, or more efficient methods;
2. Compel the hiring of useless and unnecessary labor;
3. Destroy an established and legitimate system of collective bargaining;
4. Strike in furtherance of a jurisdictional dispute.

The first three were virtually knocked into a cocked hat by the United States Supreme Court in the Apex Case wherein the court pointed out—

"... Furthermore, successful union activity, as for example consummation of a wage agreement with employers, may have some influence on price competition by eliminating that part of such competition which is based on differences in labor standards. Since, in order to render a labor combination effective it must eliminate the competition from non-union made goods, an elimination of price competition based on differences in labor standards, is the objective of any national labor organization."

However, the Apex case was a civil case and it did not directly meet the subject of striking in furtherance of a jurisdictional dispute. That was the issue presented in the Hutcheson Case.

The Anti-Trust Division announced that it was going to solve the strike over a jurisdictional dispute by the very simple method of prosecuting the officials of our unions and sending them to jail.

What, to persons who have devoted their lives to the study of labor economics and trade union structure, was an extremely complicated social and economic problem, was, to the Anti-Trust Division a very simple matter. The Anti-Trust Division did not seem to be perturbed over the fact that in fifty years of administration of the Sherman Act no other Anti-Trust Division had claimed that strikes as a result of jurisdictional disputes were criminal violations of the anti-trust laws.

The prosecutions against the Teamsters and the Carpenters could no doubt have been disposed of by a plea of guilty and the acceptance of a small fine. It is to the credit of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, that they refused to enter into any such

arrangement. They determined to fight the cases to a finish. The Bakery & Confectionery Workers International Union was also subjected to a civil suit wherein \$300,000 in damages was sought for the violation of the anti-trust laws but it fought the case to a finish.

The clarity with which Justice Frankfurter pronounced the principle applicable to prosecutions of labor unions for alleged violation of the anti-trust laws cannot be surpassed.

First, he analyzed the true meaning of the Clayton Act. He conceded that the courts had construed the act differently than Congress intended it should be construed. He pointed out that the Norris-LaGuardia Act was in effect a pronouncement by Congress that the Clayton Act exempts organized labor from the anti-trust laws.

In determining whether conduct on the part of a labor union constitutes a violation of the Sherman Act, he said:

"... Therefore, whether trade union conduct constitutes a violation of the Sherman Law is to be determined only by reading the Sherman Law and Section 20 of the Clayton Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act as a harmonizing text of outlawry of labor conduct."

Then he proceeds to annihilate the theory of the Department of Justice in language that cannot be improved upon. Therefore I quote it:

"Were then the acts charged against the defendants prohibited or permitted by these three interlacing statutes? If the facts laid in the indictment come within the conduct enumerated in Section 20 of the Clayton Act they do not constitute a crime within the general terms of the Sherman Law because of the explicit command of that section that such conduct shall not be considered or held to be violations of any law of the United States. So long as a union acts in its self-interest and does not combine with non-labor groups, the licit and the illicit under Section 20 are not to be distinguished by any judgment regarding the wisdom or unwisdom, the rightness or wrongness, the selfishness or unselfishness of the end of which the particular union activities are the means. There is nothing remotely within the terms of Section 20 that differentiates between trade union conduct directed against an employer because of a controversy arising in the relation between employer and employee, as such, and conduct similarly directed but ultimately due to an internecine struggle between two unions seeking the favor of the same employer. . . .

"Insofar as the Clayton act is concerned, we must therefore dispose of this case as though we had before us

precisely the same conduct on the part of the defendants in pressing claims against Annheuser-Busch for increased wages, or shorter hours, or other elements of what are called working conditions. . . .

"... The Norris-LaGuardia Act reasserted the original purpose of the Clayton Act by infusing into it the immunized trade union activities as redefined by the later Act. In this light Section 20 removes all such allowable conduct from the taint of being a 'violation of any law of the United States,' including the Sherman Law."

"There is no profit in discussing those cases under the Clayton Act which were decided before the courts were furnished the light shed by the Norris-LaGuardia Act on the nature of the industrial conflict. And since the facts in the indictment are made lawful by the Clayton Act, insofar as 'any law of the United States' is concerned, it would be idle to consider the Sherman Law apart from the Clayton Act as interpreted by Congress. Cf. *Apex Hosiery Co. v. Leader*, 310 U. S. 469. It was precisely in order to minimize the difficulties to which the general language of the Sherman Law in its application to workers had given rise, that Congress cut through all the tangled verbalisms and enumerated concretely the types of activities which had become familiar incidents of union procedure."

The last sentence is extremely significant because any act which is enumerated in Section 20 of the Clayton Act and in the Norris-LaGuardia Act is lawful. All the activities which the Anti-Trust Division set up in its fantastic code as constituting illegal conduct were embraced within Section 20 and the Norris-LaGuardia Act as legal activities permissible to labor unions.

Thus the Hutcheson decision wipes out at one fell swoop all of the theories of the Anti-Trust Division. Further than that, it strikes a death blow at the ability of the Anti-Trust Division to create fantastic codes of criminal conduct, because of the statement of Justice Frankfurter—that so long as a union acts in its self-interest, the legality of such conduct is not determined by any judgment of the Anti-Trust Division regarding the wisdom or unwisdom, the rightness or wrongness, the selfishness or unselfishness of the labor union objective.

With that statement the Anti-Trust Division's house of cards is completely shattered, for it was the Anti-Trust Division that set up a schedule of crimes, based upon its own judgment, as to the wisdom or unwisdom of labor union activities, and its judgment as to the rightness or wrongness of such activi-

ties, and on its own ideas as to whether the objective sought was selfish or unselfish.

It took a struggle of a quarter of a century to bring about a true interpretation of the Clayton Act. It has been done at last, and done well.

### U. S. vs. International Operating Engineers

While there are a number of other important anti-trust cases which I would like to discuss, I find that there is not sufficient time. However, there is one important anti-trust case which the delegates to this Convention should be informed about. It is the case of U. S. v. International Hod Carriers' and Common Laborers' Union and the International Operating Engineers.

This case was tried before the U. S. District Court at Chicago several months ago. The anti-trust division indicted several unions on conspiracy because it was claimed that the Engineers had threatened strikes against the use of labor-saving machinery in construction work. The International Operating Engineers' Union, which undertook the active defense of this prosecution, contended that it was engaged in a lawful labor union activity which was not in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The trial court agreed with the Engineers' Union and held that to strike or to threaten to strike against the use of labor-saving devices was not a violation of the law.

The Anti-Trust Division appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. That Court handed down its decision on April 7, 1941. The Court quickly demolished the contentions of the Anti-Trust Division in that it used but three lines in which it sustained the lower court that the Operating Engineers' Union was not guilty of any violation of law. The decision reads as follows:

"The motion to affirm is granted and the judgment is affirmed."

Here again credit must be given to the unions that resisted this prosecution. At great expense able lawyers were retained to defend and present the case by the International Operating Engineers. The results will redound to the advantage of all labor since other courts are bound to follow this decision. No longer will the Anti-Trust Division be able to bring prosecutions against labor unions on the contention that the unions struck against the use of labor-curtailling devices.

### National Labor Relations Board (Inland Steel Company Case)

It was not my intention to speak to you today on the subject of the National Labor Relations Board. A most comprehensive

report is included in the Executive Council's report on Board activities. However, since the last meeting of the Executive Council several decisions have been handed down by the Board, one in particular, which impels me to discuss the Labor Board.

It will be observed that in the Executive Council report certain of the amendments sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and introduced in Congress last year and the previous year and now pending are recommended for passage.

Perhaps some of you here are of the opinion that, because of a partially changed attitude on the part of the new Board, the amendments may not be necessary. Recent decisions prove that the necessity is greater now than ever before for passage of these amendments. After all, the basic fight upon the old Board was because of its arbitrariness in fixing units, particularly in denying to workers in well established crafts the right to choose the union of their craft as their bargaining agent. This subject in our amendments was the foremost, and the one concerning which we had the greatest quarrel with the Board.

For a time the new Board showed a disposition to reverse the former policy and grant distinct craft groups the right to vote whether they wished to be a separate unit or merged into a larger unit, particularly in mass production industries. We now find that the new Board has reverted to the policy of the old Board—that is, exercising arbitrary discretion and refusing to grant craft workers the right to select their craft union as their bargaining agent.

I want to call your attention to the Inland Steel Company case which illustrates my point. I consider this case so important that I want to take more than a moment or two to discuss it.

In 1938, a CIO steel workers union petitioned the Board to be certified as bargaining agent of the employees of the Inland Steel Company. The union and the company were the only parties to the case. One of the more serious issues at that time was whether or not the Teamsters and their helpers should be included as part of the appropriate unit. The company contended that the Teamsters be merged with the rest of the employees. The CIO union which at that time did not admit teamsters to its membership, requested that the Board keep the teamsters out of their unit—in other words, the CIO union requested that it shall not be certified as bargaining agent for the teamsters.

The Board complied with the CIO's request and excluded the Teamsters from the CIO unit. One of the reasons asserted by the Board for keeping the teamsters separate was because they had "their own established craft union." Get that—they had their own established craft union—meaning, of course, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which

had proceeded to organize the teamsters employed by the company. Another reason asserted by the Board was that "the truck drivers . . . have not indicated any desire to be included."

In April of this year the Teamsters' Local filed a petition for certification. It asked that the Board, in effect, repeat its former decision and designate the teamsters as a separate bargaining unit. It had every reason to expect that the same Board which separated the teamsters in 1938, because the teamsters did not at that time ask to be included, would certainly separate the teamsters in 1941 when the teamsters expressly asked to be excluded.

In the 1941 case, however, the CIO changed its mind, and this time asked that the teamsters be merged together with the remainder of the production and maintenance employees. The Board, for reasons that continue to remain unclear after several careful readings of its opinion, in an amazing decision dismissed the Teamsters' petition and certified the CIO as the bargaining agent for the truck drivers.

In its first decision, November 12, 1938, the Board said:

"The S. W. O. C. contended that supervisory and clerical employees, timekeepers, technical engineers, technicians, draftsmen, chemists, watchmen, nurses, bricklayers, truck drivers, and monthly paid employees, should be excluded from the appropriate unit. The evidence showed that shortly after the beginning of 1937 the S. W. O. C. started to exclude men in these categories from membership in its organization. The respondent urged that all but 'management' supervisors be included in the appropriate unit.

\* \* \*

"The Indian Harbor plant has a number of truck drivers and bricklayers. The S. W. O. C. would exclude them from the appropriate unit **because they have their own established craft unions.** The truck drivers and bricklayers have not indicated any desire to be included. We shall exclude them."

But now, three years later, in its decision of August 26, 1941, the Board holds:

"Under these circumstances, and particularly in view of the collective bargaining history at the Indiana Harbor plant, and the fact that the work and interests of the truck drivers and helpers **are closely allied with those of the production and maintenance workers in the plant,** we find the unit contended for by the Teamsters to be inappropriate. We shall, therefore, dismiss the Teamsters' petition."

Another decision typical of the foregoing is the American Thermometer Co. case in which Board Member Leiserson dissented.

It should also be observed that the Board is not only denying to workers the rights guaranteed them under the National Labor Relations Act—to form, join or assist labor organizations of their own choice—but it is definitely contributing to the principle of raiding A. F. of L. craft organizations. Its policy runs counter to the policy expressed by President Roosevelt in the Minneapolis Teamster situation, when he condemned the raiding of the Brotherhood of Teamsters Union by the C. I. O.

This policy of the Board will bring about serious difficulties in industry which might affect the emergency program, and we believe that the Board is entirely disregarding the interests of the defense program.

The present Board has evolved another highly improper practice. It has lumped a number of craft unions into one unit against the wishes of several craft organizations. In several cases the Machinists have been particularly affected by this policy of the Board.

It is the right of each craft union to determine for itself whether it will join up with other craft unions in a single unit. Often a well-organized craft unit may be jeopardized, or entirely defeated, in a vote because an unorganized craft unit is lumped with it by the Board for the purpose of voting. The Board defends its position by saying that the American Federation of Labor has requested the lumping of crafts into one unit. That has happened in a few instances but that was because all of the crafts involved wanted to be lumped. Where there was objection by any craft to being lumped, the American Federation of Labor has conceded that the objector had the right to have its own group vote as a separate unit.

Workers will not be denied the right to form, join or assist labor organizations of their choice. Craftsmen will not be denied the right to select the union of their craft as their bargaining agent by majority vote. They will not permit even the Labor Board to substitute their own unlawful notions and choose bargaining agents for the craft workers. I can conceive of no greater disaster in any policy of the Board than this one. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and, for that matter, any craft group, will not tolerate denial of its right to vote on the question of whether such group wants the A. F. of L. union of its craft to represent it or not. Teamsters employed anywhere in the country have the right, and will insist upon the right, to determine for themselves whether they want the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to represent them as collective bargaining agent.

The Board has, by this policy, opened up old wounds, and, I fear very much that it will bring down upon its head the trouble and difficulties which the old Board brought down on its head by similar policies.

The implications of this holding appear to be quite clear. The present Board seems to care little about the effect of its destruction of crafts by refusing them the right to self-organization and to be constituted separate units in mass production industries. What it holds in steel, it will no doubt hold in autos, oil, rubber, aviation and other industries. It is an insidious encroachment upon the lawful rights of craft workers.

The wisdom and necessity for the unit amendment sponsored by the American Federation of Labor can be no more sharply demonstrated than by this trend on the part of the new Board. No matter how well disposed or how just the personnel of the Labor Board may be at any given time, there is too much danger in investing such vital discretion in any human tribunal. The power to determine units is, in effect, the power to shape and mould the structure of trade unions. Such power is susceptible to abuse by bias, ignorance or error. It amounts, in effect, to government by men and not government by law. The American Federation of Labor amendment would remedy this basic deficiency in the Act by substituting a clear definition of law for the vast human, and thus fallible, discretion vested in the Labor Board.

President Green: Judge Padway has presented to the convention some most valuable information. I know we appreciate all the facts and information submitted. It will be included most fully in today's proceedings, and in that way will serve to assist all of us in understanding what our real legal difficulties have been.

I thank you, Judge Padway, for your address this afternoon.

### Committee Substitution

President Green: I wish to announce the substitution of Delegate W. T. Mathews for Delegate Richard J. Gray, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, as a member of the Committee on Legislation.

### Announcements and Communications

President Green: I am requested to announce that the delegates and their wives are invited to attend the Teamsters' mass meeting at Music Hall Theatre, tonight at 7:30 o'clock. The speakers will be Daniel J. Tobin and Governor Stassen of Minnesota.

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

New York, N. Y., October 7, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor  
In Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

United Youth for Defense, which has the honor of having you on its advisory council, extends greetings and best wishes to you and the delegates of the American Federation of Labor. In this time of emergency close cooperation between labor and the youth of America is essential to the welfare of our democracy. The United Youth for Defense is organized to build national morale and to aid in civilian defense and its basic purpose is to make America strong. Success to you.

MURRAY PLAVNER,  
National Director,  
United Youth for Defense,  
30 Rockefeller Plaza,  
New York, N. Y.

Washington, D. C.,  
October 6, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel,  
Seattle, Washington.

Please extend to officers and delegates my greetings and best wishes for a constructive and harmonious convention, and say that I plan to arrive next week.

J. R. STEELMAN,  
Director of Conciliation.

October 7, 1941.

President Wm. Green,  
American Federation of Labor  
Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

Dominion Council Navy League of Canada, assembled for annual general meeting in Halifax, send warmest greetings and wishes for many more successful conventions of the American Federation of Labor and trust that the Executive Council may see fit to recommend to the convention the fundamentals of our work in looking after British and allied sailors whilst in Canadian ports and to recommend to its affiliates financial assistance in carrying on the work in which we are engaged. Warmest personal greetings.

D. H. GIBSON,  
President,  
Dominion Council.

### Resolution Introduced by Unanimous Consent

Secretary Meany: A resolution for which unanimous consent is asked has been introduced by Delegate Frank Gill-



more, Associated Actors and Artistes of America.

President Green: Is there any objection to the introduction of this resolution? There being no objections the resolution will be introduced and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution is as follows:

### **Condemning U. S. Senate Subcommittee Actions**

**Resolution No. 171**—By Delegate Frank Gillmore, Associated Actors and Artistes of America

WHEREAS, A Senate sub-committee has been instigated by Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Clark and Nye to effect an inquiry into the operation of motion picture industry, and

WHEREAS, It is clear that the purpose of the inquiry is to block the production of anti-Nazi motion pictures and is in effect a censorship on the free expression of American culture, and

WHEREAS, The inquiry has quickly indicated that it is designed to breed religious and racial discord, thereby to destroy the unity of the vast majority of the American people who support the foreign policy of the nation, as expressed by our President Franklin D. Roosevelt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby condemn the actions of the sub-committee as an immediate threat to free thought, free speech and to the very fundamentals of liberty upon which our great nation was founded, and strongly recommend that this inquiry be stopped.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Swain, Local Arrangements Committee: The United States Department of Forestry Service are sponsoring and supervising trips to the forests and they will be glad to give you information on them. If you will please register at the information booth to take these trips I assure you will find them very interesting.

Buses will leave the Olympic Hotel beginning at 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning to take delegates and visitors to the Leschi Dock for the trip around Puget Sound.

### **Addition to Committee on International Labor Relations**

Delegate Burke, Plumbers: I desire to move that President Green's name be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Swain: I wish to make a motion that the rules be suspended and that when we adjourn tonight we do so to reconvene Thursday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

At 5:20 o'clock p. m., under suspension of the rules, the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Thursday morning, October 9.



### THIRD DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Seattle, Washington, October 9, 1941

(By previous action of the convention and by request of the local arrangements committee, no sessions were held on Wednesday. On that day the delegates and visitors were guests of the local committee on a sight-seeing trip through the Government Locks and Puget Sound.)

President Green called the convention to order at 9:50 o'clock.

President Green: I am pleased to present to you this morning the Rev. Robert T. McFarlane, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, who will deliver the invocation.

#### INVOCATION

**(Rev. Robert T. McFarlane, Pastor,  
Westminster Presbyterian Church,  
Seattle, Washington)**

Eternal God in whom we live and move and have our being, we humbly bow before Thee acknowledging Thee to be over all and in all and through all. Our lives are in Thine hands, the day is Thine, the cattle on a thousand hills are Thine, we are Thine.

May Thy blessing descend with power and peace upon this assembly, and upon this convention. May our prayer of invocation be no mere recitation of words, but rather with sincere earnestness may we call upon Thee to guide and direct the affairs of this day. May all the deliberations and decisions and actions of this great group be made as unto Thee.

Enable us to be faithful in the performance of our tasks in life. Help us to realize how dependent and inter-dependent we are upon one another. May we never lose sight of our responsibility as citizens, to our country, to our fellowmen, to society, and to God.

Fill this assembly and this convention with Thy spirit. May harmony, goodwill, and brotherliness prevail. Help us to seek each other's good, and to Thee we would ascribe all praise and glory.

Through Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.

#### Escort Committees

President Green: The Acting Director of the International Labor Organization

is in the city at the Hotel Olympic, prepared to address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention this forenoon. I will appoint Vice-President Harvey Brown, of the International Association of Machinists; Brother John Mara, of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and Brother John Gillespie of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, as a committee to call upon Acting Director Phelan at the Olympic Hotel, and escort him to the hall for the purpose of addressing the delegates at 11:00 o'clock today.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Herbert Gaston is in the city, in response to an invitation extended the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Morgenthau, and he will address the convention this afternoon. I will appoint on a committee to escort the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to the hall at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, Vice-President Bates, of the Bricklayers and Masons; Brother James B. Burns, of the American Federation of Government Employees, and Brother John B. Haggerty, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

President Green: I desire to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council to the convention. This supplemental report will be included in the proceedings of today and will be referred to the Committee on Law.

Secretary Meany read the report, as follows:

The Executive Council submits the following recommendations supplementary to those set forth in the report of the Executive Council to the Sixty-First Annual Convention under the title "Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor," page 31.

After giving further consideration to Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the

Executive Council recommends that this section be further amended so as to provide that national and international unions should pay a per capita tax of one cent per month per member upon the membership in excess of 300,000 reported to the American Federation of Labor each month.

This would mean that national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would be required to pay a per capita tax of one and one-half cents per month per member upon a membership of 300,000 or less; and one cent per month per member upon a membership in excess of 300,000.

As an illustration, an international union having a membership of 400,000 would pay a per capita tax of 1½¢ per month per member upon 300,000 members and a per capita tax of 1 cent per month per member upon an additional 100,000 members to the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: This supplemental report of the Executive Council will be referred to the Committee on Law.

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the reading of messages to the convention.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

New York, N. Y.  
October 4, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Washington.

Permit me again this year to avail myself of this opportunity of extending my sincere greetings, felicitations and best wishes to officers and delegates assembled at American Federation of Labor convention. Our national trade union committee for the support of our institution keenly felt the moral support received from you, the great leader of American Federation of Labor, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and the vice-presidents and thereby enabling us also to receive the moral and financial support from affiliated internationals, state federations, central bodies and local unions. It therefore behooves me to extend our heartfelt thanks and appreciation to all assembled at this convention. May I personally add that all of us are aware of the great progress and achievements made for the past year by the American Federation of Labor and confident that all decisions and de-

liberations made by the convention will be crowned with success and greater progress will be made under your splendid leadership. With fraternal greetings and best wishes.

RUBIN SCHWARTZ.

Supervisor Ex-Patients'  
Tubercular Home of Denver,  
Colorado.

## WASHINGTON STATE GRANGE

Office of the Secretary  
3104 Western Avenue  
Seattle, Wash.

October 6, 1941.

National Convention,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Seattle, Washington.  
To William Green, President and to  
All Delegates and Members:

The Washington State Grange is happy to add its welcome to your great and respected organization, and trusts that your brief stay in our Pacific Northwest may be both enjoyable and progressively profitable.

If, at any time during the course of your deliberations, you have need of information we as a farm organization might have available, we shall be only too glad to assist you.

Wishing you a most successful convention and a continuance of your long and useful existence, we remain,

Sincerely yours,

WASHINGTON STATE GRANGE,  
Harry Cheek, Secretary.

Fresno, California,  
October 6, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Washington.

In view of the important convention now taking place in Seattle wherein the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are assembled for the express purpose of discussing the welfare of the labor movement, Packing House Workers' Union 1953 desires to call to the attention of those present that the Sun Maid Raisin Company of Fresno, California, is at the present time engaged in a labor controversy with our union. This company is extremely unfair and its unfairness apparently is condoned by agencies of the United States government which are rendering this anti-union company aid and assistance by furnishing them with finances through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and by the placing of orders totaling twenty thousand tons of raisins, the last order of ten thousand having been placed with this unfair company a week ago through the Surplus Commodity Bureau of the United States. We ask those present at the convention that they make note of this unfair company so that our economic action as against the Sun Maid Raisin Company

will be successful and of benefit to organized labor as a whole. May we ask that this telegram be read at the convention.

WESTERN OFFICE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

John J. Sweeney, Organizer.

New York, N. Y.

William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor  
Olympic Hotel  
Seattle, Washington

The Poale Zion Organization of America sends its greetings to the convention of the great American Federation of Labor. We express our deepest thanks and appreciation to you personally and to the federation as a whole for the support you always gave to every right and just cause. We are particularly thankful for your support to the great undertaking of the Jewish people and Jewish laboring masses to have Palestine rebuilt as the Jewish national home where millions of suffering Jews should reestablish themselves as a free nation. As an American organization of Jewish laboring people thousands of whom are loyal members of trade unions affiliated with the great American Federation of Labor we express to you our sincere thanks for your cooperation. We wish your convention assembled in this grave hour in the history of mankind the greatest possible success in your deliberations.

DAVID WERTHEIM,  
National Secretary  
Poale Zion.

New York, N. Y.  
October 7, 1941.

William Green,  
President, A. F. of L.  
American Federation of Labor Convention  
Seattle, Washington

The Negro Labor Committee sends fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. Organized labor throughout the world faces a most critical period in its history. All that is worth preserving from the storehouse of human experience and progress is being brazenly challenged by the soulless and heartless hordes of dictatorship and reaction. Such a moment calls for unity of the working class regardless of color, sex, creed or craft. Our committee stands ready to serve as best we can in any effort to effect that unity thus preserve democracy and insure orderly social progress toward a higher level of life for all who usefully serve society.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,  
Chairman of the Negro Labor  
Committee.

Seattle, Washington  
October 7, 1941

American Federation of Labor  
Senator Hotel Auditorium  
Seattle, Washington

Sincere greetings. We want you to know we have never forgotten your kind-

ness back in 1913 when we were given a hearing at your historic convention held here in Seattle. I promised you then we would never forget your help and kindness and pledged myself and our organization to serve you at all times when in need of a helping hand during the old days of strike troubles. We have never failed. Today our organization has by sworn statement a membership of over a million members under the incorporation laws of Indiana and may we say again we have enjoyed every day, every year of this continued fraternal interest shown us and again pledge ourselves to not only be boosters of the American Federation of Labor but also your obedient servants at your call at all times. Yours for the cause of labor.

HOBOS OF AMERICA, INC.  
Jeff Davis, King Emperor  
George Siebert, Intl. Secy.

Seattle, Washington  
October 7, 1941

William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor  
Olympic Hotel  
Seattle, Washington

On behalf of the Seattle Council of Churches we extend to you and your co-workers cordial greetings and wishes for a most profitable convention. These are momentous times, and organized labor carries no small share of responsibility for the successful continuance of the American way of life. It is the prayer and hope of our churches that organized labor will measure up to this responsibility at all times and particularly during the current deliberations for which you have come to our city.

Victor N. Nutley, President  
Gertrude L. Apel, General Secretary  
SEATTLE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

New York, N. Y.  
October 8, 1941.

William Green, President,  
Convention American Federation of  
Labor,

Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Washington.  
Accept our most fraternal greetings. May your deliberations promote the cause of labor, freedom and democracy here and in the Old World. We take this occasion to thank you for your wholehearted cooperation in supporting the Histadrut, the Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. In the present world-wide struggle between forces of freedom and slavery, American organized labor must take leading part. It will also vigorously resist efforts to inject into this country the poison of Nazi anti-semitism. We thank you again and look forward to your generous cooperation in the struggle of the Jewish people along with other oppressed nations to achieve peace and liberty.

NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE  
FOR PALESTINE,  
Joseph Schlossberg, Chairman,  
Isaac Hamlin, Secretary.

Rochester, N. Y.  
October 8, 1941.

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Washington.

The four hundred loyal A. F. of L. workers in this company join me in wishing continued success to the splendid leadership of organized labor shown by William Green and yourself. Your decisions at this historic convention will receive active support from all friends of American labor.

W. J. WOLF, President,  
Bastian Bros. Co., and  
400 A. F. of L. Workmen.

Washington, D. C.,  
October 8, 1941.

James B. Burns, President,  
American Federation of Government  
Employees,  
American Federation of Labor  
Convention,  
Seattle, Wash.

U. S. Special Police Association Lodge  
No. 647, American Federation of Government  
Employees, in regular meeting assembled October 8, 1941, request you to present William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, our heartiest greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

America's largest A. F. G. E. Lodge.  
LEROY WESTBURY,  
President.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Ross, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

### **SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT. COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report:

In accordance with communication received from President John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, we, your Committee on Credentials, recommend the seating of Elmer Meinz, with 88 votes, as fifth delegate to represent that organization.

We have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following:

William E. G. Batty representing the United Textile Workers of America, 153 votes.

Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. LeBow, 1 vote.

William Bonallo, who was elected alternate delegate, to represent the Central Labor Council of Willapa Harbor, Wash., in place of Karl Wonnhoff, previously reported.

In accordance with communication received from President Roy Horn of the International Brotherhood of Black-

smiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, we recommend the substitution of W. F. Weibel in place of John Pelkofer, who is unable to attend the convention, with 25 votes.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary,  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN.

On motion of Delegate Ross the report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Auditing Committee, to submit the report of that committee.

### **REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE**

Delegate Grant H. Ross, Secretary of the Committee, read the following report: To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, appointed pursuant with Article III, Section V of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, presents the following report for the consideration of this Convention. We have examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor, covering all the financial transactions for the period beginning September 1, 1940 and ending August 31, 1941.

Your Committee desires to report that we found all books and records correct in every respect. We have personally counted the securities recorded on the books of Secretary-Treasurer Meany as being owned by the American Federation of Labor, and found them correct as recorded. We are listing in this report these securities. We have verified the cash balances on hand through the medium of letters written by the banks where funds are on deposit. These letters certify as to the amount on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31, 1941. We found the amounts certified to be in agreement with the cash balances reflected by the books of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts and the total expenses under each classification are as follows:

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

**RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, August 31, 1940 .....	\$ 716,151.82
Per capita tax.....	\$1,075,309.33
Assessments .....	149,562.01
Advertisements, AMERICAN FEDST. ....	175.00
Paid Subscriptions, AMER. FEDST. ....	1,174.84
Per Capita Tax subscriptions, AMERICAN FEDST. ....	357,490.71
Per Capita Tax from Locals allocated to Defense Fund	302,829.29
Initiation Fees..	153,641.69
Reinstatement Fees .....	7,550.00
Supplies .....	24,659.13
Interest .....	12,068.13
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded thru A. F. of L. ....	22,271.88
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts .....	20,239.56
<b>Total Receipts .....</b>	<b>2,126,971.57</b>
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>\$2,843,123.39</b>

**EXPENSES**

Organizing .....	\$ 609,029.44
Organizers' salaries .....	430,729.54
Office employees' salaries .....	210,583.38
Administrative salaries .....	54,186.77
General Bills....	294,930.49
Printing and publishing AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST .....	87,604.98
Defense Fund....	105,264.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded thru A. F. of L. ....	18,644.83
<b>Total expenses .....</b>	<b>\$1,810,973.43</b>
Transfer from Defense Fund to A. F. of L. Building Fund .....	25,000.00
<b>Expenses plus transfer from Defense Fund.....</b>	<b>\$1,835,973.43</b>
<b>Balance on hand, August 31, 1941 .....</b>	<b>\$1,007,149.96</b>

**RECAPITULATION**

In General Fund.....	\$ 207,095.81
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions .....	800,054.15
<b>Balance on hand, August 31, 1941 .....</b>	<b>\$1,007,149.96</b>

We have verified the cash balances and counted the securities, and find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be invested and deposited as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½ %) \$	225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½ %) .....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½ %) (\$50,000) @ 98-18/32 .....	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½ %) .....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2½ %) .....	1,531.25
U. S. Defense Savings Bonds .....	50,000.00
<b>Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds .....</b>	<b>\$ 427,882.82</b>
Riggs National Bank (subject to check) .....	531,871.14
City Bank (subject to check) .....	5,000.00
Federation Bank and Trust Co., N. Y. (subject to check) .....	2,000.00
300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (stock) .....	15,000.00
396 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. (stock) .....	396.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (collateral deposit) .....	25,000.00
<b>Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1941 .....</b>	<b>\$ 1,007,149.96</b>

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½ %):	
14436F .....	\$ 5,000.00
28631A .....	10,000.00
28632B .....	10,000.00
28633C .....	10,000.00
28634D .....	10,000.00
28635E .....	10,000.00
28636F .....	10,000.00

## U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)—

28637H .....	10,000.00
28638J .....	10,000.00
28639K .....	10,000.00
28640L .....	10,000.00
28641A .....	10,000.00
28642B .....	10,000.00
38459K .....	10,000.00
29974D .....	10,000.00
29975E .....	10,000.00
29976F .....	10,000.00
29977H .....	10,000.00
31874D .....	10,000.00
33783C .....	10,000.00
29981A .....	10,000.00
29982B .....	10,000.00
29983C .....	10,000.00

Total .....\$ 225,000.00

## U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%)—

816F .....	10,000.00
817H .....	10,000.00
1097H .....	10,000.00
1098J .....	10,000.00
17113C .....	10,000.00

Total ..... 50,000.00

## U. S. Treasury Bond (2½%)—

2727H .....\$ 100,000.00 100,000.00

## U. S. Defense Savings Bonds—

X39464G .....	10,000.00
X39465G .....	10,000.00
X39466G .....	10,000.00
X39467G .....	10,000.00
X39468G .....	10,000.00

Total ..... 50,000.00

396 Shares Mt. Vernon  
Mortgage Corporation  
Stock @ \$1.00..... 396.00

300 Shares Union Labor  
Life Insurance Stock @  
\$50.00 ..... 15,000.00

Total Par Value.....\$ 440,396.00

**GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND**

Receipts from December 20,  
1924, to and including  
August 31, 1941 .....\$ 118,073.23

Interest on Fund Invest-  
ments ..... 15,548.87

Total Receipts .....\$ 133,622.10

Expenses, January 12, 1929,  
to and including August  
31, 1941 ..... 122,728.87

Balance on hand August  
31, 1941 .....\$ 10,893.23

We have verified the cash balance in  
the Gompers Memorial Fund and have  
counted the securities, and found them  
to be as listed.

## Funds deposited as follows:

1266 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock.....\$	1,266.00
Riggs National Bank Checking Account .....	2,127.23

## U. S. Savings Bonds:

## Series B:

M21871B	M21870B
M21873B	M21872B
M21875B	M21874B
M21877B	M21876B
M21879B	M21878B

Maturity value, \$1,000.00  
per bond; Maturity  
date, April, 1946.  
Purchased April 10,  
1936 @ \$750.00..... 7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31,  
1941 .....\$ 10,893.23

**INFANTILE PARALYSIS CAMPAIGN  
FUND**

Total receipts from January  
16, 1941, to August 31,  
1941 .....\$ 20,711.69

Amount forwarded to Keith  
Morgan, National Chair-  
man ..... 20,711.69

Account Balanced .....\$ 0.00

**American Federation of Labor  
Building Fund****RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand August 31,  
1940 .....\$ 20,821.34

Rents .....\$ 41,476.41

Dividends ... 36.54

Fire replace-  
ment ..... 9.40

Redeposit  
outstanding  
checks ..... .22

Sale of waste  
paper ..... 21.25

Transfer from  
A. F. of L.  
General  
Fund ..... 25,000.00

Total receipts ..... 66,543.82

Receipts and Balance.....\$ 87,365.16

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

**EXPENSES**

Maintenance:	
Pay roll (building employees) ..\$	19,933.18
Taxes .....	3,219.38
Electricity .....	1,908.16
Fuel (coal) .....	917.20
Supplies .....	2,702.64
Upkeep and repairs .....	6,434.37
Plastering and painting .....	3,423.36
Cleaning windows .....	420.00
Insurance (liability) .....	725.07
Water rent .....	51.17
Hauling ashes and trash .....	176.00
Safe deposit (rent) .....	3.33
Upkeep and repair of elevators ..	1,611.23
New elevator (labor and material) ..	30,150.00
Social Security Tax: Unemployment insurance ..	517.56
Old age benefits ..	191.47

Total expenses .....\$ 72,384.10

Balance on hand August 31, 1941 .....\$ 14,981.06

**RECAPITULATION**

Receipts and balance.....\$ 87,365.16  
Expenses ..... 72,384.10

Balance on hand August 31, 1941 .....\$ 14,981.06

**Moneys deposited and invested as follows:**

Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation (1218 shares) .....\$ 1,218.00  
Riggs National Bank..... 6,263.00  
U. S. Savings Bonds:

Series B:  
M273334 M273333  
M273336 M273335  
M273338 M273337  
M273340 M273339  
M273342 M273341

Maturity value, \$1,000 per bond; Maturity date July, 1946;  
Purchased July 21, 1936, at \$750.00..... 7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1941 .....\$ 14,981.06

In conclusion, we wish to comment that we made a study of the bookkeeping procedure and we were favorably impressed by the manner in which transactions are recorded at American Federation of Labor Headquarters. The system is well adapted to the purpose for which it is intended.

Finally, we wish to extend our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the cooperation extended to us in the performance of our work.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary,  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN.

At the close of the reading of the report, Secretary Grant H. Ross moved that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**Presentation of Badges to Fraternal Delegates**

President Green: The Chair will take advantage of this opportunity to perform a very pleasant duty this morning. Those of you who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years know we have presented the Fraternal Delegates to the convention with beautiful badges especially selected for them, and so we are going to maintain the uninterrupted record which we have made in that respect.

These badges which I will present to our very dear friends, the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, are beautifully engraved, and, in your behalf, I will now present to the Fraternal Delegates these beautiful badges.

I will present first to Brother George W. Thomson, one of our very dear friends from Great Britain, this very handsome engraved badge. The committee designated by the Convention selected this badge especially for Brother Thomson. It is beautifully engraved. It reads:

"Presented to Brother George W. Thomson, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, by the American Federation of Labor, held at Seattle, Washington, beginning October 6, 1941."



Now, Brother Thomson, I present you this badge. We have the same kind of badge, just as beautiful, for his esteemed colleague, Brother Edward Hough. It is engraved in the same manner, and was especially selected for him, and I will present it to him for you.

We have one for our very dear friend, Fraternal Delegate H. C. Simpson, from the Dominion of Canada, and I will present it to him.

President Green: I am going to call upon each one of them to say something to you, because I know they do not want to forego the pleasure of thanking you for these beautiful badges.

I will present to you Brother Thomson first.

### **Fraternal Delegate George W. Thomson**

Brother Green and Brothers of the American Federation of Labor, I may say that I am rather touched at getting this very beautiful badge, although previous delegates from the Congress warned me I was not likely to get back to England. They only gave me a single ticket here and said I should probably be killed by hospitality and there was no use of wasting the return ticket. I assure you my life is in serious mortal danger.

I have enjoyed every minute of this conference. I have enjoyed meeting so many of the delegates, and the courtesy, of course, that goes without saying, of Brother Green. I enjoyed his magnificent address, and only hope the visit of Brother Hough and myself from Great Britain will contribute to that better understanding, if that be possible, between our two trade union movements.

Thanks very much, again.

President Green: Now I will present to you for a statement, the colleague of Brother Thomson, Brother Hough, a Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain.

### **Fraternal Delegate Edward Hough**

President Green, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen — I thought I was getting this medal for nothing, and now I

find you think you are going to get a speech, but at the moment you are not.

At all events I am extremely obliged, and I shall remember the kindness I have received since I have come into your country, I will remember the pleasant conversations I have had, and that will be one of the few things I have contributed in the trade union movement that I will be able to hand down to my sons, who I hope will be able to carry on the movement like I have in my time.

Thank you very much.

President Green: Now I will call upon the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Many of you know him; in fact, we all feel like we know him, because he lives so close to us. I will present to you now Brother Simpson, the Fraternal Delegate from the Labor Trades and Congress of Canada.

### **Fraternal Delegate H. C. Simpson**

President Green and delegates of the American Federation of Labor—I wish to thank you for this lovely badge that you have presented to me this morning, and to assure you that it will remain as one of my most valued possessions, and as the years go by it will recall the many pleasant, and may I say, constructive, hours that I have spent at this, your Sixty-First Annual Convention.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair is pleased to announce at this time that the Fraternal Delegates will present their addresses to the convention on next Monday afternoon beginning at 2:30 o'clock. We invite the public to come and sit with us and listen to the addresses which will be delivered to the convention by the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain and Canada.

Please keep this in mind and make it generally known so far as you can, that the Fraternal Delegates will address the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor on next Monday afternoon, beginning at 2:30 o'clock.

President Green: I presume it is useless to call for reports of committees at

this time, but the Chair will inquire if there are any committees ready to make a preliminary report. Apparently none are ready, so the Chair will afford the opportunity to the chairmen of committees to make announcements at this time.

The Chairmen of the Committees on Local and Federated Bodies, Legislation, Education, Organization, Labels, and Shorter Work Day, announced the time and place of committee meetings.

### **Addition to Committee on Legislation**

President Green: The Chair desires to announce the addition of the name of Delegate Frank X. Martel, of the Detroit Federation of Labor, to the Committee on Legislation.

Now, our speaker for the morning has arrived. Acting Director Phelan of the International Labor Organization, has just come into the hall with the committee appointed to escort him, and I will ask Chairman Brown and his committee to escort Acting Director Phelan to the stage.

(The committee escorted the speaker to the stage.)

President Green: Most all of us, I feel sure all of us who have attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years, are thoroughly acquainted with the work of the International Labor Organization. We became particularly interested in it because of the fact that the European conflict interfered with the functional processes of the International Labor Office, which was located at Geneva, Switzerland. As a result the International Labor Organization was forced to seek a new home and new quarters.

The Canadian Government extended a cordial invitation to the Acting Director and his associates and to the governments interested, to make the home of the International Labor Organization at Montreal, Canada. So the International Labor Organization moved from Geneva, Switzerland, where it had been located

and where it had functioned ever since the close of the last World War, to the city of Montreal, Canada. It is now located in a friendly city. The affairs of the International Labor Office are being administered by Acting Director Phelan. He has been serving as an associate to the Director of the International Labor Office ever since it was formed. Consequently, we can very properly feel that no man connected with the International Labor Organization is more thoroughly acquainted with the work of the Organization than Acting Director Phelan. He is prepared to speak to us out of years of experience and as an associate in the administration of the affairs of the International Labor Office.

I can assure him that we are all extremely pleased because of his visit to this convention this morning. I know he is prepared to submit to the officers, delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention, a most interesting and constructive address. I welcome him to this convention, in your name and in your behalf. I can assure him he is among friends, those whose hearts beat in sympathy with the fine work he is trying to do. We represent a great organization that has steadfastly given unlimited support to the International Labor Organization.

I know he can feel happy indeed that he is privileged to speak to such a delegation as is assembled here this morning.

I present to you now the distinguished Acting Director of the International Labor Organization, Mr. Edward J. Phelan.

### **MR. EDWARD J. PHELAN (Acting Director, International Labor Organization)**

President Green, members of the Executive Council, delegates and guests—I should like to express my thanks for the very cordial way in which you, President Green, have just welcomed me, and I should like to express my thanks, too, for the privilege which you have extended to me in inviting me to address the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is a privilege which I value both for personal and official reasons. For official reasons because it is a manifestation of the close interest of the American Federation of Labor in the International Labor Office of which I have the honor to be the Acting Director. I value your invitation for personal reasons because although it is the first time that I have enjoyed this privilege my association with the Federation and with its leaders goes back over more than a score of years.

In 1919, for three or four months I worked in close daily contact with President Samuel Gompers while he was presiding over the Commission of the Peace Conference which drew up the Constitution of the International Labor Organization. In that Constitution there took shape a world organization in which the representatives of organized labor were given an equal status with the representatives of Governments and employers. Organized labor thereby achieved a solemn recognition of its rights and responsibilities in the determination of international social policy. Certain practical measures of immediate importance were indicated as the first tasks which the organization should pursue, but, more important, the fundamental principles which should inspire and guide its operation were clearly and emphatically stated. They were that labor should not be regarded as a commodity or an article of commerce, and that peace can be established only if it is based on social justice.

I believe that President Gompers had something of that uncanny foresight that is given only to great statesmen, and that he knew at that time that the instrument he was creating would not find immediately its full utilization, but that a time would come when its value would be incalculable. We know, today, how correct his vision was. We have had twenty years of peace that was no peace, twenty years of increasing economic dislocation and of political uncertainty steadily developing into acute political tension and culminating in a world war more widespread and more terrible than the last. Through such a period not even the most optimistic could hope that the International Labor Organization could give its full fruits. It had indeed an astonishing measure of success, astonishing if the unfavorable circumstances in which it had to operate are taken into account. Thousands of legislative measures were adopted in the various Member States as a result of its initiatives, and every one of these meant some measure of increased protection for the workers. In their totality they amounted to substantial progress. But just as peace cannot be established if it is not founded on social justice, so social justice cannot be effectively pursued if peace is

threatened or absent, and if fear distorts the world's economic life. No full achievement was therefore possible during those troubled inter-war years.

When the war itself came, breaking down almost all that was left of the world's orderly life, there were many, even among the friends of the International Labor Organization, who believed that it could not survive, or that at all events it could pursue no useful activity; that it must remain in a state of suspended animation and wait for the tempest to pass.

It has not done so. "No cloistered institution," as Mr. Winant so well said, it has been battered and buffeted, but contrary to widespread expectation it is still a live institution, capable of holding at the end of this month an International Conference which will be attended by some thirty countries. This Conference will meet at Columbia University in New York City on the 27th of this month and I think I can safely say that it will not only mark an epoch in the history of the International Labor Organization, but that its deliberations will be of great importance.

Delegations, most of them tri-partite comprising representatives of governments, workers and management, have been appointed by Great Britain, by all the free governments of the occupied European countries which though driven into exile are still carrying on their constitutional functions, by Canada, by the United States, by Mexico and by practically all the States of South America, by South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, and by India and China.

A conference with delegations drawn from every part of the world may claim, without fear of challenge or contradiction to be a world conference. The names of well over one hundred delegates and advisers have already been furnished to the International Labor Office. Further names are arriving daily. Perhaps this will not seem a large number to this convention, but if we remember the present state of the world and the difficulties of transportation across the Atlantic, and even across the Pacific, it is a significant proof of the importance which governments all over the world attach to this meeting. A further proof is that no less than 14 of these delegations will be headed by Ministers holding full cabinet rank in their respective countries. The purpose of the Conference will be to discuss, on the basis of the report which I have prepared as Acting Director, the present and future policy of the International Labor Organization. That report, which I hope many of you will read sometime, attempts to indicate the lines of future social policy and to furnish a basis upon which international social reconstruction after the war may be under-

taken by free cooperative effort between the nations.

That delegates in such numbers and of so influential a character should be prepared to travel from the four corners of the earth and across the seven seas to a Conference of the International Labor Organization at this time surely indicates in the most impressive manner that the Organization far from being dormant is full of life and energy.

What is the explanation of this remarkable vitality? How comes it that when normal international life in practically all its aspects is at a standstill or subject to grave dislocation, this particular international organization is so surprisingly vigorous? It is worth while to look for the answer. Tomorrow, when the war has been won, when international measures to set going again the world's machinery in the interest of and for the benefit of all free nations have to be taken, statesmen may well turn to the experience of the International Labor Organization to discover what gave it these unique powers of survival and resilience so that they may be guided in their task of providing the world with the best and most effective machinery for the treatment of world problems in the future.

No doubt there is no single and simple explanation. Many factors played their part. But I think it is clear that one important, and indeed, fundamental element in the strength of the International Labor Organization has been the feature of its Constitution to which Samuel Gompers attached so much importance, namely, the full representation of labor and employers with equal and independent status in all its deliberations.

The proof of that is to be found in the experience of the democratic countries themselves, and in particular in that of Great Britain during the war. Sir Walter Citrine described to you at New Orleans last year how the representatives of the organized labor movement in Great Britain, side by side with the representatives of employers, have organized their share of the task of close collaboration with the Government in almost every section of Great Britain's war administration. My friend, Mr. Thomson, will tell you how that process has been carried still further during the past year and how powerfully it has contributed to unity of purpose and efficiency of execution.

This process is precisely the application in the treatment of national problems of the principle on which the International Labor Organization works in the treatment of international problems. And when a principle has been tried and tested both internationally and nationally in time of unexampled

strain and danger, we may well rely upon it with some confidence in the future.

At this moment the vital issue for the democracies is defense and the winning of the war. To that consideration all others are secondary. But the democracies mean that the war shall be won for a purpose—for the purpose of securing a world free from fear in which they can turn to their true task of securing for their peoples a happier life and one which will be richer both materially and spiritually.

That cannot be done without planning and preparation, both national and international. You, President Green, like your predecessor President Gompers, have drawn public attention to this need. The problems of economic dislocation at the end of the war, the unemployment which such dislocation must inevitably bring in its train if constructive measures are not ready in advance, are evidently those which are most urgent and which demand attention now. But the same principle applies to the general problem of securing for the plain man in the post-war world conditions of greater economic security and social justice. The realization of that aim is not of importance only because it would repair the injustices and miseries of the past. As I venture to say in my report to the forthcoming conference at New York, economic security for the workers is closely linked with the political stability of democratic institutions. Social security, like political security, is indivisible and the two are inseparable.

When the war ends deliberate purposeful action, both national and international, will be required to achieve the great social objectives which figured so prominently in the Atlantic Declaration of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and which have been formulated with striking unanimity by the statesmen of many other countries. In the international field, the International Labor Organization provides a unique instrument for the implementation of such a world social policy. Its record, its techniques, its experience all fit it for effective use. And its Constitution provides for that independent and equal representation of organized workers from Member States which affords the guarantee that international social measures will be formulated and applied with a realistic approach to the problems which have to be solved. The instrument is there. But an instrument by itself is not effective. The extent to which it is used will depend on the extent to which organized workers realize its potentialities. I know that those potentialities are known and appreciated by you, President Green, and by your colleagues on the Executive Council of the Federation. But there is urgent need

that they be known and appreciated by the rank and file of all the great free trades union movements in all lands, so that the Organization may have the overwhelming support of public opinion behind its efforts.

If it has that support I am confident that we can hope for successful international action to build a better world than men have built before, a world in which the plain man, as Lincoln called him, can have a place of dignity and security, a world in which the world's resources can be turned to their true purposes of providing for all men everywhere an ever improving standard of life, a world in which economic security for the individual citizens of free states will guarantee and preserve peace between the nations.

Such a world will not be a world of stagnation but a world of opportunity. When man has escaped from the quicksands in which hitherto he has been doomed to struggle, when he is no longer bogged down in the morass of political and economic insecurity, the hills and the mountains of new positive achievement of which as yet he has had but the barest glimpse will be before him to call him to adventure, to stimulate his spirit, to test his courage, and to evoke his initiative. It was, I believe, in the hope that it might one day help to create such a world that Samuel Gompers gave of his best to the foundation of the International Labor Organization. The day is perhaps approaching when we, if we are inspired by his faith and guided by his wisdom, may make of his dream a reality.

President Green: We have listened to the scholarly and instructive address delivered by the Acting Director of the International Labor Office this morning. We accept it as a contribution towards the consideration of the economic and international problems that will be acted upon by this convention. We appreciate very deeply the broad, comprehensive view which Brother Phelan has always held toward social security, social justice, economic well-being, and international cooperation and peace.

I want to thank him in your name for his attendance at our convention this morning, and I express to him our very deep appreciation of the address which he delivered.

I thank you, Brother Phelan.

President Green: Now, I am pleased to call Secretary Miller to the platform, if he is here.

All of us who come to these conventions look forward to the time and opportunity which is accorded to Secretary Miller to speak to the convention. We do so with a feeling of distinct pleasure and satisfaction.

Secretary Miller is the Secretary of the Workers Education Bureau. It is that part of the American Federation of Labor—and I can truthfully put it that way—that we depend upon to carry on educational work and to cooperate fully with the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor in the promotion of a better and more thorough understanding of economic and social problems.

Secretary Miller has done an excellent work. He has served faithfully and well. His report, included in the Executive Council's report, shows he held a very large number of educational meetings during the past year, participated in educational institutes, and in that way carried forward the educational work for the American Federation of Labor.

He is no stranger to you, you all know him, you have listened with profound pleasure and appreciation to the addresses which he delivered at previous conventions, and I know he will bring to us a most instructive and educational address this morning.

Now I present to you Brother Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary-Treasurer of the Workers Education Bureau. Brother Miller.

### **MR. SPENCER MILLER, JR.** **(Director, Workers Education Bureau)**

President Green and delegates to the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: A government which rests upon the will of the people has no other anchorage than the intelligence of the people. To inform that will the intelligence of the people must be directed and disciplined. The movement of labor has a similar anchorage in the intelligence of its members; it can hope to progress only as that intelligence is disciplined and directed. That, in a sentence, is the re-

lation of education to labor in a democracy. Therein lies the hope of a informed leadership and rank and file of the movement.

Today no organization of labor can expect to grow, much less serve its members, unless education is an indivisible part of its policy.

The education of labor may express itself in many ways. A union may not even define as education what it does, but if the discipline of past experience, if intelligence is brought to bear upon the problems in hand, then we have the substance of education in action.

Your Committee on Education last year made this position abundantly clear when it asserted no significant advance had been made in the labor movement in the past twenty years that had not been informed by education. And certainly, in the language of the late Samuel Gompers, "Whatever progress is made in the future, will rest upon an educational basis."

But what could have been achieved by rule of thumb in the past must now be done by training and discipline. In a single year the American Federation of Labor has added 322,000 new members to the roll by actual count. In the past four years 1,708,000 members have been added to the membership in spite of the division in the movement. It is one of the most rapid growths in the whole history of the Federation. But many of these new members never belonged to any organization before. Most of them were unaware of the history, the principles or the policies of the labor movement before they joined.

As each new administrative agency of Government starts to function there is an increasing need for labor representatives who can articulate the labor position, and in turn interpret this new form of government to the new organization of labor. It is not too much to say that the work of these administrative agencies of Government will rise or fall upon the quality of the service that these labor representatives are able to render. And how are we to prepare these labor men for these administrative duties, without a systematic program of training? How else shall these men be trained than under the direction of labor itself? What shall we say about the apprentices that are being enrolled in industry year after year, indeed month after month?

In the state of Michigan alone there are now in training some 20,000 apprentices. Apprenticeship training has come to a new position of importance in industry and in the labor movement of this country. If the apprentices serve their time and are admitted to the movement without instruction in the history of the movement, they will then be unpre-

pared for the discharge of their industrial and civic duties.

Does not this educational responsibility equally squarely rest upon the labor organizations? Have we, in a word, discharged our full educational duties to these 1,700,000 new members? And, if we haven't, will not our liability be a serious one?

These are not rhetorical questions; they are addressed to all of us. Upon our answer to these questions will depend the future, in part, of the labor movement of tomorrow.

We have heard it said that the times cry out for leadership, for statesmanship, no less in labor than in management and in government. But statesmanship is foresight, not hindsight. It uses the tools of intelligence for socially desirable ends. Labor statesmanship, labor representation, and labor membership must ultimately rely upon training and education if it is to fulfill in full measure its responsibilities.

But I come before you this morning to make my annual report to this convention for the fourth time on this Pacific Coast. For me it completes an important cycle, as indeed it does for this Federation. My first address before a Federation Convention was 18 years ago, under the presidency of the late Samuel Gompers. It was the last convention over which he presided in the full plenitude of his power. America was then living in the era of normalcy, in the first years of reconstruction.

When you met in Los Angeles in 1927 America was in the upswing of the business cycle. There seemed no end to our widespread prosperity. Yet four years later, when you met in Vancouver, B. C., we were in the midst of the great depression, with suffering wide spread and demoralizing. The government was trying bravely, though ineffectively, to check the downward trend of the business cycle.

When three years later we met in San Francisco, I was inaccurately charged with starting an earthquake by my address. Some of you will remember that occasion, if not the earthquake. It was the era of recovery under the New Deal.

We meet again today on the Pacific Coast with the world in a vast convulsion which has already engulfed four-fifths of the people of the earth. Nihilistic revolution, unspeakable cruelties, famine and disease are widespread. Little could anyone foresee in the lush days of 1923 that as we began the fourth decade of the Twentieth Century a totalitarian revolution would so convulse our world that men have begun to become concerned with the very future of our civilization.

This then is an occasion when all organizations that are concerned with the preservation of the democratic way of life are bound to take account of stock and discover what inner resources they



possess to aid their members in understanding aright what is the nature of this crisis and what is the proper role of America in the days to come.

Our educational effort during these past eleven months has been addressed to that central purpose, to aid labor in the task of understanding the forces which are at work in the world and the role of labor in these changing and critical times. Never has our educational work been more widely recognized, nor have leaders of labor given us more wholehearted support than in the past eleven months. For if confusion abounds and men everywhere are asking the question—"Where is wisdom to be found and what is the place of understanding?"—there has come the rather widespread acceptance of the fact that the rule of reason and the role of intelligence are destined to have an even more important place in the techniques of democracy.

Perhaps never before have we realized how privileged we are to exercise our freedoms and utilize our minds, when brute force has become the ruling practice of so large a part of Nazi-dominated Europe.

It is sometimes difficult for us to realize that the only free radio, the only free press, the only free lecture platform, as well as the only free labor movement that exists in the world today in its totality exists in the United States of America. At least a billion and three-quarters of the people of the earth are now involved in this life and death struggle, and wherever war is and nations are so involved, there the press and the radio are no longer free and even enterprise and labor are bound to accept a certain measure of regimentation.

But, as I say, the significant thing about our educational effort in the last eleven months is that the responsible leaders of labor and management have come to discover and to recognize the importance of this method of study and research and discussion as a basis upon which to develop not only a common mind but a common purpose. Through our Institutes which constitute the central part of our educational effort we have been able, with the cooperation of scholars from one end of the country to the other, to bring together responsible leaders of labor with representatives of industry and government and education, to take the measure of our present crisis and provide some guidance for a course of enlightened action.

In every one of these Institutes from Dallas, Texas, in the Southwest up to the latest forum held in Minnesota in cooperation with the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, we have found a measure of interest, of widespread interest and opportunity that has been offered for labor to explore with responsible scholars the nature of the present situation and the "shape of things to come."

One of the unique experiences of the last year was the trans-Atlantic broadcast from Great Britain to our Labor Institute at Rutgers University, when we were privileged to hear the Right Honorable Arthur Greenwood, Minister of Reconstruction without Portfolio, a member of the British Labor Party, and a distinguished member of the War Cabinet, and one who for so many years was closely identified with the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain. His challenging broadcast on "Victory—And Then What?" will remain among the eloquent statements of the leaders of Britain in these critical days. Even as we have extended the range of our Institutes and educational conferences during the year, new institutions, new groups have come to us asking our cooperation. It is reasonable to expect that in the next twelve months every important section of America will have an opportunity for setting up these Conferences and Institutes to consider not only the problems of the national defense but the period of post-war reconstruction.

In addition to our Institute program we have been carrying forward a publication program which has been carefully thought out by officers of the Federation, to provide a literature interpretative of the present crisis and suggestive of the kind of questions which must inevitably be wrestled with in the post-war era.

The most recent document which we have published has been The Atlantic Charter, that great document jointly subscribed to by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, which sets forth not only the broad war aims but also the peace aims which the two great English-speaking nations of the world are committed to for a post-war world. It is our conviction that this document would be one of the great state papers of our time and that it was highly important that the members of labor should have copies of this document to read and discuss wherever they met.

Then, too, the Bureau has been cooperating actively with the various educational committees set up in this country for the purpose of considering the problems of defense training and reconstruction. The officers of this Bureau have served on these national committees and have given the benefit of their experience to the formulation of their policies.

More recently we have been invited to consider and discuss the problem of the introduction of a system of education into the United States Army. For it would seem to become increasingly evident to any student of our American affairs that with a million or more of our youth in the selective service of the nation, there devolves upon the government as well as private agencies the responsibility to provide them with adequate educational opportunities.



Certainly it is true that for many of our young men who have had to leave school or college or their chosen vocations to go into military service there is the bounden task to provide them with adequate educational opportunities while they are thus serving the nation.

As I stated to this convention last year, it has become doubly important that so far as labor is concerned, a proper consideration should be given in any curriculum that is prepared for our selectees, some concept, some recognition of the contribution which labor has made to the building of this nation. There can be no sound scheme of education of the citizens in our army that does not give due and proper weight to the place which labor has played and is playing in the shaping of our democratic institutions.

But the year has carried with it also a rather special importance insofar as our Bureau is concerned. In April of this year the Workers' Education Bureau celebrated its 20th anniversary. It was done in a most fitting manner in the Town Hall of New York City. It is interesting to recall that for one-third of the life of this Federation this Educational Bureau has been an indivisible part of its activities and an agency which has been privileged to serve the Federation and its members to the best of its ability. The comments and estimates which have been made by educators and leaders of labor and industry about the valuable service which the Bureau has performed are an appropriate subject for review by the Committee on Education of this convention. At that 20th anniversary celebration Mr. Thomas E. Burke, the President of the Workers' Education Bureau and the distinguished Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, in the course of his address pointed out that there had been five significant contributions made by this Bureau over the last twenty years. I summarize them briefly. Said he:

"In the first place, the Bureau has done more than perhaps any other single agency in our land to make workers' education an accepted part of the larger adult educational effort of the nation. It has, in a word, universalized the various experiments that have been made in this field. Secondly, it has made the labor movement itself conscious of its own contribution to the public education. Thirdly, it has become the recognized bridge between labor and education. Fourth, it has performed an invaluable public relations function. Fifth, it has focused attention on some of the problems of educational reconstruction in the post-war period."

While it is frequently said that it is difficult to measure in concrete terms the value of an educational institution, here we have an appraisal which should persuade all men of good will as to the value of the work of this Bureau.

There is still another service which the Bureau was privileged to perform during the last eleven months namely, in coopera-

tion with the Federation of Labor to arrange the itinerary of Sir Walter Citrine following his attendance and address at the convention in New Orleans last November. Not only did Sir Walter give generously of his time but he brought to the men of American labor a report about the conditions in Britain in the present war crisis which was as moving as it was authentic.

But no summary of the activities of this Bureau during the last year would be complete without making reference to the fact that this year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Educational Department of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. What began 25 years ago as a pioneering activity by this organization has become an outstanding contribution by an International Union to the education of labor. From a modest budget 25 years ago that activity and that work has grown until today nearly a quarter of a million dollars is expended each year for the educational and recreational activities of its members. It has not only proved an invaluable aid in the disciplining of new members, but has provided a range of interest and activities which are so vital for the growth and development of the modern trade union.

One of the other unique opportunities which have come to the Bureau during these recent months has been the privilege of participating in the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Enactment of the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. On September 25, 1791, there were written into the Constitution what is known as the Ten Amendments, or the Bill of Rights. On September 25th of this year we celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that historic occasion. I was invited, in behalf of the Bureau, to participate on this historic occasion, held upon the very site where George Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States. I make bold to repeat in part what I said on that occasion:

"The Bill of Rights is the heart of our constitutional democracy. It is from the heart of the people. The first ten amendments to the Constitution—our Bill of Rights—enacted by the first Congress of the United States one hundred and fifty years ago today were in fact a people's charter. These amendments arose out of the insistent demand of the common people—the farmers and town artisans of that day—together with such leaders of the democracy as Jefferson and Madison. They and the other colonists had seen their houses broken into, their papers ransacked, their charters taken from them, their right to trial by jury jeopardized, troops quartered in their midst, their right to speak, assemble, and print suppressed. They had made heroic sacrifices to secure the recognition of these rights; they were determined that these rights should be preserved.

"Today American workmen have come anew to recognize that the four freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights are their very breath of life. Without freedom to speak, to print, to assemble, to worship, there can be no democracy and no free labor movement; without freedom to think, to teach, and to act in cooperation with others there can be no Great Society. Where labor is not free, there all are in bondage. Under totalitarian dictatorship neither free labor nor free enterprise can long endure. Destroy the trade unions and you destroy the first line of defense of a democratic society. Where labor is free, there enterprise will be free; there is the possibility of democracy and justice for all. For the trade union movement is the very bulwark of the democratic way of life and the fearless champion of social justice."

But the major problem which is destined to confront American labor in the days that lie ahead is the impact of the war crisis upon our national economy. None of us who meet here today on the shores of the Pacific can be ignorant of the fact that already we are beginning to see profound alterations taking place within our national economy which are destined to affect profoundly the life and well-being and future happiness of all our people.

The rising cost of living, the enactment of the colossal tax program, the prospect of inflation, the staggering appropriations already made for national defense, must convince even the most complacent in our midst that we face a world in change that is rapid and may well be revolutionary. Even without a formal declaration of war we are compelled, in making America an arsenal for democracy, to profoundly modify our economic life.

Our task, therefore, remains one of interpreting to the leadership and to the rank and file of labor the nature of this crisis and the role of America in meeting that crisis. The canvas has become so vast, the cross currents so multitudinous, and the issues so prodigious that no single mind can comprehend it all, yet try we must. For it is the very condition of playing our full part that we understand the full meaning of this vast cataclysm.

One thing is daily becoming clearer, namely, that this is a vast titanic world revolution of which war is but an incident, and that the shape of our civilization is being radically altered in a manner perhaps without parallel for mankind; that with four-fifths of the whole human family engulfed in this vast titanic struggle it is futile to talk about America being unconcerned by its consequences and indifferent as to what forces triumph in the end.

To assert that this is not our war, because Hitler started it in Europe, is to ignore the elemental fact that this is no longer a European war. It rages on four continents, the seven seas and in both

hemispheres. A mariner cannot separate himself from the storm at sea, nor the stag from the forest fire.

Five centuries before Christ, Socrates, that great mind of the ancient world, conceived of the state as analogous to the human body. Said he, "When a man receives a wound in the finger the pain is transmitted through the entire body. People do not say that a man's finger is in pain; what they do say is that the man is in pain in his finger."

To apply the truth of this inexhaustible allegory to the distress of our world, the world is in distress in that four-fifths of the human race are involved in this vast cataclysm. That is their world and they cannot escape the consequences must be obvious to anyone. This is our war because this is our world! Anything which concerns and vitally affects the world affects us who are the mightiest single power in that world.

To assert that we are not in this war because there has been no formal declaration of hostilities, no expeditionary force, no soldier dead, is to ignore again what every student of our country has long since recognized, that modern war is waged on all fronts and by all means, and frequently without formal declaration.

No war was declared on Russia by the Nazi, yet today the greatest battle of all history is being waged along a two thousand mile front. Five years ago Japan and China became involved in mortal combat, yet it was called an incident.

The saboteurs, the Fifth Columnists, those who preach racial and religious intolerance are as much engaged in war as those who bear arms. Indeed, total war ignores distinction between the civil and military population, between neutral and belligerent. All powers and peoples that can be used will be used. All methods that serve the major purpose are so much grist to the mill.

But as we ponder the present situation we have come anew to a new realization. What is the nature, the character of this whole program which lies before us? Our financial undertakings since the President of the United States sent his first emergency measure to Congress in May, 1941 almost stagger the imagination. In fourteen months appropriations totalling 53 billions have been passed for defense efforts. In 1942 it is expected that our defense program will represent a total of 30 billions a year, or one-third of the national income, making a total of one hundred billion dollars for these three years.

But lest critics assert our efforts have been without result, I remind you that the total number of new plants which are building or completed for armament alone now total 3,429, representing a total cost of four billion dollars in round numbers. We are coming to see our productive effort come alive.

Among the many notable achievements of this period is the erection of an airplane engine factory with a capacity of

one thousand engines a month, built, tooled, manned and brought to production in 183 days. Nothing like this has ever happened before in the history of this country.

But even beyond this accomplishment there is dawning upon the American people the realization that our undertaking has now become limitless with "neither outline of magnitude nor point of time." We are committed to the defense of freedom everywhere in the world until Hitler is overthrown. It is an unlimited liability for the prosecution of the war and for building the peace to come, though it cost one-third of our national wealth. This has not come by design on our part because we coveted the task of policing the world; it has evolved because we have faced up to our responsibilities as a great power.

But no person who has eyes to see can doubt the fact that so far as our economic life is concerned we are profoundly involved in this armament economy. Already we have appropriated sixty billions of dollars. Already we are beginning to see what is happening, what will be the effect upon our economic life by adding, by draining off the products of our factories to aid Russia as it goes forward in its effort to stem the Nazi tide. We know now, if we did not know earlier, that any all-out effort for the defeat of Hitlerism and the forces of tyranny in the world is bound to make profound drains upon our resources, our raw materials, as well as our consumer goods.

However, not only has this problem come to occupy a place of dominant importance in our economic life, but we are coming more and more to see what is the price of this thing that we have set out to do. For wherever Hitler has gone, there he has created ill will and united in opposition to his "New Order" the peoples that he has suppressed. What we have already seen in the way of revolts and assassinations and the shooting of hostages probably but foreshadows greater unrest and perhaps many more such uprisings, until at long last this revolt will effect the complete unseating of these dictators. Hitler has succeeded in doing this one thing, in uniting all Europe against him because of his barbaric cruelty and his shameless tyranny.

But to the men of labor no stories that have come out of these conquered countries will come with deeper emotional appeal than that story of the underground movement of Poland, the manner in which the brave people of that harried and persecuted land have, in spite of firing squads and concentration camps and the Gestapo, built a movement of power and protest which is destined one day to overthrow its captors.

Certainly no representative of labor could view without deep emotion that story that has come out of Norway, to which the President of this Federation made such moving reference in his opening address on Monday. This kind of

tyranny that is now being exercised has not only shocked the sensibilities of peoples everywhere, but will make the Nazi name and the Nazi New Order a term of reproach among civilized peoples for all time to come.

And yet there are people who even in our own land talk about a negotiated peace with Hitler, who talk about doing business with this evil man and his evil system, who argue about our inability to supply Britain in time to keep up the good fight. These people do not represent the spirit of America nor do they represent the spirit of American labor. It is my considered judgment that no responsible leader of labor in this country believes for a single moment that it is possible either to do business with Hitler or to negotiate a peace with him which he would honor any more than he has honored every other document to which he has affixed his signature. His word is worthless, his pledge a travesty.

But the answer to all of this so far as American labor is concerned is not only in the production of goods and services, not only in making America a vast arsenal for the production of munitions of war, but also in a recognition of the fact that wars are won not only with cannon and with battleships and with planes and tanks, but with ideas and with ideologies.

It must be clear to anyone that we shall face not only a difficult and complex period of reconstruction following this war, but that there will be a tremendously important task devolving upon American labor in helping to shape the world of tomorrow. And in the shaping of that new order American labor must play an important, indeed, an increasingly important role. It must bring its disciplines of mind and heart to bear upon that new order. It must have its place in any peace conference that comes following the war. It must have an indispensable part not only in shaping the peace, but in the role of administering it in the days which are to come.

A year ago in my address to the convention I referred to the important role which labor must play in educational reconstruction. I make brief reference to it in conclusion because it seems to me of increasing importance that American labor should recognize the part which they are destined to play in the development of those ideas, those standards with reference to our social economy and political life which are so much a part of the future. The problem of educational reconstruction in the post-war period is destined to be a matter of increasing importance, but reconstruction after this war will fail unless it is also re-education. By education here we mean not schooling alone, but the influence on man of all that helps him to live decently, productively, and happily with his fellows. To achieve this aim, men must create a free and better world which will provide for all without distinction oppor-

tunity for useful work, happy family life, fruitful leisure and the right to worship according to the dictates of their individual conscience.

But I could not conclude nor could anyone rise in this great parliament of American labor and affirm his allegiance to freedom and democracy in the presence of the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress without a feeling of deep humility and unbounded admiration for the dauntless courage of the working people of Britain. Since Sir Walter Citrine carried this great convention to new heights a year ago in New Orleans by the simple eloquence of his stirring appeal, the British House of Commons which for centuries sheltered the growing spirit of democracy and became known as the Mother of Parliaments has been demolished. Westminster Abbey has not escaped the savage malice of the Nazi hordes. Plymouth, from whence went forth the band of Pilgrims three hundred years ago to found a new nation dedicated to liberty is today a shambles of rubble. These men and women, plain people, have become worthy sons of Shakespeare. One cannot help but think of those stately and prophetic words in that great play, Richard II, through which John of Gaunt, uttered eloquently:

This fortress built by nature for herself,  
Against infection and the hand of War,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,  
This precious stone set in a Silver Sea,  
Which serves it in the Office of a Wall,  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happy lands,  
This blessed plot, this Earth,  
This realm, this England.

America, I assert, is summoned to no simple task and no light undertaking. This is no issue as between interventionists on the one hand and isolationists on the other. What America is confronted with and what American labor is confronted with is the moral responsibility of great power.

We are a great power in the family of nations, just as American labor is a great power in the life of our nation. There are moral responsibilities which attend such power and we dare not as a nation neglect these responsibilities in international life any more than labor dares neglect its moral responsibilities within our own national life.

Men of labor, we must begin now, begin planning, begin thinking, begin dreaming of that new moral order of the ages, which will be the adequate alternative to Hitler's order of tyranny. It will require all our ingenuity, our imagination, and our capacity for cooperative effort to achieve even the first stages of that goal. But we must be prepared for such sacrifices and such heroic efforts if we are to be worthy of our great tradition.

President Green: You have already expressed your appreciation of the very fine address delivered by Secretary Miller this

morning. It will be included in the proceedings today. I know that each and all of you will read it and examine it more closely when you are privileged to look over the proceedings of the convention.

I can assure you that we also deeply appreciate the fine, excellent service, which Secretary Miller is constantly rendering in the development of a better understanding through education of our economic, social and industrial problems. I know I voice your sentiments when I say to him this morning that we express the hope that he may carry on his work in an enlarged way, a broad and constructive way all during the coming year. I thank him for his address and for his attendance at our convention, and we express our assurance to him of a full measure of cooperation and support.

## RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED BY UNANIMOUS CONSENT

President Green: Secretary Meany has two resolutions submitted with a request for unanimous consent.

Secretary Meany submitted the resolutions, as follows:

### Condemning Action of Federal Trade Commission

**Resolution No. 172**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isadore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union; Delegates Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Marx Lewis, Herman Finkelstein, Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Recent trends have made it apparent that the Federal Trade Commission, under the guise of suppressing restraints of trade and unfair competition, has embarked upon a policy of utilizing the Federal Anti-Trust Laws, the Clayton Act and other federal statutes against trade unions in their efforts to achieve stabilization of industry and to prevent retrogression to the chaotic and unbridled conditions which existed prior to 1933, and

WHEREAS, In pursuance of this policy, the Federal Trade Commission has caused complaints to issue against several trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and stabilization boards created by them jointly with

employers' associations with which they are under collective agreement for the purpose of fostering fair competitive conditions in industry; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Trade Commission is also levelling its attack upon the labels adopted by the aforesaid stabilization boards; and

WHEREAS, These labels have attained nation-wide recognition as an insignia of protection under fair labor standards and have won the support of the trade union movement and socially minded organizations and consumer groups representing millions of members, and have been commended and acclaimed by responsible agencies of the United States Government, including the Departments of Labor, Commerce and Agriculture, who have urged consumers to purchase labelled garments; and

WHEREAS, The policy and action of the Federal Trade Commission threaten to nullify the substantial gains achieved by the trade union movement in the various industries where it is part of the stabilizing machinery and to hinder the movement towards industrial self-government by joint control of labor and management; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deprecates the trend towards the misuse by the Federal Trade Commission of the federal anti-trust statutes against the lawful pursuits of the trade union movement in its efforts to protect and promote fair labor standards in industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously protests against the various complaints caused to be filed by the Federal Trade Commission against the trade unions and the stabilization boards of which they are part, as unjustified and contrary to the public interest, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its full support to any of its affiliates who are engaged in resisting and opposing the aforesaid complaints.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Protest Against Nazi Atrocities in Norway

**Resolution No. 173**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Jos. F. Clark, Christian M. Madson, John Oliver, A. W. Wallace, James P. Meehan, International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, On September 10, 1941, two unoffending labor leaders, Vigo Hansteen, Chief Legal Advisor to Norwegian Trade Unions and Rolph Wickstrøen, trade unionist in Oslo, Norway, were executed by order of the Quisling regime that sold out the nation to Hitler and now does his bidding the world over, and

WHEREAS, These two people were

executed because they dared to speak for an independent free Norway. They were not radicals, but the average type of trade unionists, such as we find within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled join with the Swedish trade unionists in sending to our brothers in Norway the same message of solidarity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the President of the United States and the Secretary of State to make known to the German Government that the Nazi outrages and those of their Quisling appeaser stooges have aroused the greatest indignation of our American trade unionists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also take this occasion to call to the attention of President Roosevelt that outrages such as those now being reported from Norway fully justify the present American foreign policy of all-out aid to defeat Hitler and increases the determination of trade unionists to cooperate in every way to make this policy more effective.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: Are there objections to the introduction of these resolutions? If there are no objections the resolutions will be accepted. Hearing none, it is so ordered, and the resolutions are received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

### Announcements

President Green: May the Chair remind you again of the address to be delivered by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Herbert Gaston, at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

I wish to announce also that National Commander Stambaugh, of the American Legion, will visit and address our convention next Monday morning at 11 o'clock. The fraternal delegates will speak in the afternoon.

Chairman Swain, of the local Arrangements Committee, announced that the United States Forestry Service had arranged a trip to the forests on Saturday afternoon, leaving the Olympic Hotel at 1:30 o'clock.

No further business coming before the convention, on motion of Delegate Burns, American Federation of Government Employees, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned at 12:10 o'clock, p. m., to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock.

### THIRD DAY — THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

#### Re-Reference of Resolution No. 65

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce the reference of Resolution No. 65 from the Committee on Industrial Organizations, to the Committee on Resolutions.

#### Committee Member Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute Brother Frank H. Weibel, on the Committee on Shorter Work Day, for John Pelkofer, who is unable to attend the convention.

#### Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Secretary Grant H. Ross submitted the following report:

In accordance with communication received from President Birthright of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union, we recommend the seating of Charles Whitmen, 98 votes, to act as alternate delegate for Patrick H. Reagan, previously reported.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary,  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN.

Secretary Ross: I move that the change be made, Mr. Chairman, and that the delegate be seated.

The motion was seconded and carried.

#### Introduction of Resolution by Unanimous Consent

Secretary Meany: There has been a request for the introduction of a resolution. It can only be introduced through unanimous consent. The resolution is as follows:

#### Federal Grants for Industrial Hygiene Programs

**Resolution No. 174**—By Delegate Thomas J. Lyons, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industrial accidents and occupational diseases cause a tremendous annual loss to American workers in respect to health, physical fitness and even life itself, and

WHEREAS, Such disabilities and fatalities seriously impede the full flow of production so essential to the national defense program, and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of the several states have uniformly given responsibility for supervision of work places to State Labor Departments, or equivalent agencies dedicated to the interests of wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The federal government, through the Social Security Act, has made available to the states certain grants in aid for the purpose of carrying on activities in the field of industrial hygiene, and

WHEREAS, Such allotments to the states have, by administrative regulation, been heretofore denied to State Labor Departments charged with regulatory supervision of work places and conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommends any necessary change in either administrative policy, or in the terms of the Social Security Act to the end that federal grants for industrial hygiene programs be made available to State Labor Departments which now carry on such activities or deserve to do so.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: The resolution seems to be noncontroversial. Are there any objections? There seem to be none, and it is referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Now the hour has arrived when the distinguished visitor who has been assigned to address this convention is scheduled to speak to you.

I will ask if Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Herbert E. Gaston is present, and if the Escort Committee will bring him to the stage.

(Mr. Herbert E. Gaston, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was escorted to the rostrum by the committee previously appointed.)

President Green: Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Herbert Gaston came all the way from Washington for the purpose of meeting with us today, and for the purpose of addressing this convention.

I am sure you will be interested in



knowing that prior to the time that he was appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1939 he was for many years a member of the International Typographical Union; so he is one of us. He was President of the Tacoma, Washington, Typographical Union in 1908. He was the first President and Managing Editor of the Minnesota Daily Star, when that great daily was instituted by the backing of organized labor and farmers of the Northwest. He was responsible for the remarkable growth of that paper from nothing at all to the largest and most influential daily in that section of the country. That is an achievement.

He understands organized labor, so he will speak in our language. When the entire official family of post office clerks in the Minneapolis office was discharged in 1921 under the drastic policies of that period towards unionism among public employees, our good friend, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Gaston, placed every discharged employe on the official staff of the Minnesota Star. That was something fine.

That brief statement, it seems to me, is sufficient. That establishes his standing with the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. But I am sure the subject he wishes to discuss is the one relating to the sale of Defense Bonds. He comes here not only as the personal representative of Secretary-Treasurer Morgenthau, Jr., but he comes as direct representative of that branch of our Government.

I am happy indeed to present to you now, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Herbert E. Gaston.

**Mr. Herbert E. Gaston**  
(Assistant Secretary of the  
Treasury, Washington, D. C.)

President Green, officers of the American Federation of Labor, delegates and guests—Permit me first to thank President Green for that very kind introduction, referring to days on which I look back with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction.

I bring to this convention and to each one of you the greetings and good wishes of Secretary Morgenthau. He has asked me besides to express his keen disap-

pointment that urgent business in Washington intervened to prevent his coming here to Seattle to address you as he had hoped and planned to do. He had tentatively accepted President Green's invitation to speak, but was at the last moment reluctantly compelled to change his plans.

He had looked forward to this opportunity to consult with you, as the representatives of millions of workers in all parts of the country, about the tremendous problem and task of financing our national defense effort. That is the big job of the Treasury today, and, of course, it is one of the biggest tasks any Secretary of the Treasury has had to face.

The cost of defense is and will be so great that it cannot be met from any one source.

A tax bill has just been enacted which will raise revenue unprecedented in the history of our country. Its added burdens will, I am sure, be cheerfully accepted by all classes of the population, but it will not meet the full current costs of our national effort, as I believe you all realize. Still heavier taxation is not only possible but probable. But taxation will inevitably lag behind expenditure, which cannot be delayed. So the Treasury must continue to borrow in large amounts to avoid on the one hand any slackening of our defense effort and on the other danger of disastrous dislocation of our economic life by too harsh or badly planned tax levies.

There is more than one way in which government borrowing could be done. The simplest way would probably be just to sell securities in large amounts to banks and other big buyers, as the Treasury has been doing under Secretary Morgenthau with very great success in recent years.

One very serious fault of that method would be that it would deny to millions who want to take a real part in the defense effort—who want to save and to put their savings into the tools of national defense—the opportunity to perform the patriotic service.

But besides this very sound argument against reliance on bank and broker financing, there is positive danger in that method—the danger of inflationary price increases. A part of that danger lies in increased purchasing power, greatly increased consumer demand for goods the supply of which is becoming sharply limited because of the needs of the defense effort.

These are times when the American people have more money to spend than they have had for several years past. Employment has gone up and payrolls have gone up. Unemployed have been re-employed; part-time employment has in many cases been exchanged for full-time employment. Hundreds of thousands of workers have had well-merited increases in wages. Overtime in a good many instances has helped to fatten pay envelopes.



All this increased buying power is reflected in retail trade and on up through the distributing and manufacturing systems. At the same time, many of the things we buy are becoming scarcer. Our defense program needs raw materials and finished goods in huge and ever-increasing quantities. Supplies of many luxuries and some necessities for civilian use will become less abundant as the months roll by. When more and more people and more and more dollars are bidding in the market for fewer and fewer things, higher prices are bound to follow unless we take resolute action to check the process.

For these reasons Secretary Morgenthau decided upon a method of financing that is the most democratic possible. He decided to go to all the American people for funds to support the defense effort, inviting them—not seeking to compel or coerce them—to invest; inviting them, moreover—and this is extremely important—to save and invest; to make their investment in defense securities out of current income.

This is the purpose and the plan behind the Defense Savings Program, on which the Government has embarked. It is a method of financing defense by borrowing from multitudes of individual Americans who would otherwise be spending these amounts instead of saving them and by this process thus driving prices upward.

It is a commonplace that in a period of rapidly rising prices the workers suffer, as wages do not keep pace with living costs. Thus workers have a great stake as well as a great part to play in preventing price inflation.

This is the program which Secretary Morgenthau planned himself to discuss with you this morning, an effort in which the continuous support of American labor is essential to success.

We have already had generous support from the great labor organizations; in fact, the Defense Savings Program is one in which American labor is practically 100% in agreement. So far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned there is abundant visual evidence of the effort you have been making in the posters I see displayed here which I am told have been widely circulated in great quantities by the Federation. Indeed the whole tone of this convention in its militant support of all phases of the National Defense effort is beyond praise, and I include not only the words and works of President Green, but the activities of the other officers and the rank and file of the affiliated unions generally.

Particularly as to the Defense Savings Program President Green issued a splendid endorsement of it last April, and circulated it to all the unions which make up the American Federation of Labor. Many of the unions have added their endorsements to his, and in particular they have expressed approval of the principle of systematic saving.

These endorsements have been of the utmost value, and we at the Treasury appreciate them, but I have not come before you today to ask for further endorsements. What is necessary now is for us of the Treasury and you of organized labor to do everything possible to translate these pledges of support into actual purchases of bonds by vast numbers of your members. In accomplishing what we seek it is, as usual, deeds that will count. They will count heavily from now on.

In addition to the endorsements actually hundreds of unions have invested their own funds, wisely we think and well in Defense Savings Bonds. Many unions have invested their funds up to the full limit. They are in this way assuring themselves of a better rate of interest and a more secure investment than they could have obtained in any other way. These union investments, like the endorsements, have been of great help to the Treasury and I should like to pay my tribute to the great number of unions which have shown their patriotism in this practical manner. But, again, I am not here today to ask for further investments of union funds. These, after all, are funds that are held in union treasuries and they are not in general circulation competing for the goods that are so urgently needed in the defense effort.

The kind of investment that we need now, and need most urgently, is the systematic investment of savings out of the current earnings of millions of Americans. I mean by that that those who are earning steady pay and higher pay today—to contribute most effectively to defense and to serve their own interests by helping to prevent inflation—should make every effort to put at least a part of that extra pay into Defense Savings bonds and stamps and should do it regularly. Of course, I do not mean that any man should take bread out of his children's mouths to invest in Saving Bonds or should reduce his family below a decent American standard of living. But the prices of Defense Saving stamps and bonds are so graded that almost every worker can make some investment regularly.

If the American workingman does not make a real effort to save some of his increased earnings in this way he will probably find that the cost of living will continue to go up and that the benefits of increases in wages will be wiped out by rising prices. If, however, all American workers should put their added earnings to work for their country this week, next week and each succeeding week, the rise in prices could be kept in check, and the individual worker would have a reserve for his future protection and the protection of his family.

Your President and other leaders of the American Federation of Labor understand these truths and have said repeatedly that they would like the rank and file to under-

stand them too. To be specific, they have approved the principle of systematic saving for organized labor on lines which have been suggested by the Treasury Department in cooperation with the labor unions. The plan which we think the most efficient, and which many of the unions have already accepted, is one by which the individual workers ask to have a certain amount set aside from their pay each week toward the purchase of defense savings bonds.

I do not believe I can explain this proposal in any better way than by quoting from an official pamphlet issued by the Treasury Department. It reads in part:

"Where the relationship between labor and management is cordial, and where the financial standing of the employing company is solvent beyond question, it may be possible for the labor union to arrange with the pay office of the employing company for a payroll allotment plan by which every member of the union is given a chance to sign a voluntary request to the pay office to deduct a certain amount from each installment of pay, to be carried in a separate bank account and used to buy Defense Savings Bonds until such time as the authorization is cancelled by the employee.

"It is suggested that, in all cases in which organized labor units are interested in such cooperative plans, application be made to the Defense Savings Staff, care of the United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., for sample plans, or the labor unions may apply direct to the pay office of the employing company. In general, the company will act only at the request of the labor organization."

I think you will gain from this a clear outline of what the Treasury has in mind. This is simply an easy and practical method of buying Defense bonds by installment payments. The amount of the installments will, of course, be yours to decide; the bonds will be yours to own and to keep. The employing company is asked to grant the use of its pay office as a service to the worker and the government.

Some unions have already used this plan with great success. We hope that the number of them will increase rapidly. I mention only a few of them, knowing there are a great many others.

One is Local 494 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Wisconsin, which has a payroll allotment under which large numbers of its members are saving for defense. Members of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Union in El Paso, have subscribed several thousands of dollars under a similar plan. The members of the Brewery Workers Union in Milwaukee have made great progress with their payroll allotment plan. Many unions in Michigan have done the same.

I cite these instances to you because I believe they point the way by which other national unions and other locals may pro-

tect their members and strengthen themselves while at the same time making a most valuable and necessary contribution to the cause of national defense. My plea to you today is that as soon as you get home from this convention and meet your fellow members of your own unions you discuss with them the adoption by each local of a plan similar to this and do what you can to forward its adoption. By this means I think you can best contribute both to the economic and the military defense of our country in a most critical time. We are now in the midst of one of the most serious emergencies which has ever confronted our nation. More than that, we are at one of the great crossroads of history, and the entire future of the affairs of mankind may well be determined by the decisions we make in this critical year.

Two great concepts are in conflict. One of these is that the average man is not fit to govern himself, that he must be the slave of superiors—superior individuals or a superior race—that he must be regimented and supervised from childhood to the grave. The other concept is that of faith in mankind. It is the basis of what we like to call "the American Way." It offers to every man the hope of climbing from achievement to achievement toward a better life, and of handing on to his children the institutions in which they can live in freedom, in good will and in peace.

No group of Americans has a more direct stake in the outcome of this struggle than organized labor in America. When democracy dies, the organized labor movement dies. The first act of the dictators abroad has always been to destroy the labor movements of their respective countries. At this very moment the firing squads and the secret police are busy throughout the dark continent of occupied Europe. In Norway, in Holland and Belgium, in occupied France, in Czechoslovakia and many other countries, labor leaders have been murdered or thrown into concentration camps for no other reason than that they were labor leaders. Decent, hard-working men of labor, once as free as yourselves, have been deprived of their rights as free men and made to work as slaves of an alien system.

I do not suggest for a moment that such a fate will befall American labor. We are now in process of arming on such a scale both ourselves and those Nations that are fighting for a free world that we shall, I know, tip the scales and win this struggle for human freedom. But I do suggest that the defense of human rights against autocracy, tyranny and aggression is preeminently the fight of labor and the common man.

You have already done great things for National defense, but I believe that labor's effort has only just begun. I hope it may be said in future generations, and I believe it will be said, that American labor understood its responsibilities as well as

its rights in 1941. I hope and believe it will be said that labor rose as one man to meet its greatest challenge, and that American labor did not fail to strike the heaviest blows within its power to preserve our common heritage of freedom.

There is at stake here all that American labor has fought for and won. But I think there is more than that at stake. We have still before us the problem and the task of achieving a better organization—a more just and more democratic organization—of industry, and in fact of our whole economic life, one that will supply stronger incentives to produce efficiently, one that will produce more abundantly because it will distribute the fruits of human energy and ingenuity more fairly.

We cannot look for such a system to be handed down to us from above. No imported and no home-grown Hitler would ever give it to us. It is to the American people under a democratic form of government, it is to the American worker that we must look to think, to organize and to work for that better organization, that better system, that better and freer life.

This is the enduring challenge to organized labor; it is labor's opportunity and responsibility. We all know it to be labor's chief mission.

Today we face the necessity of making sure that we shall not be defrauded of our right to build our own future.

President Green: We are all deeply impressed by the message which Assistant Secretary Gaston brought to us this afternoon. We are in thorough accord, wholehearted accord with the sentiments he expressed, and the suggestions and recommendations made in the address he delivered.

Perhaps I can say to him that the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor are thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of the situation which now challenges the maintenance of freedom, liberty and democracy throughout the world. For that reason we have become aroused, thoroughly aroused, to the seriousness of the situation, and because we are aroused we are conscious of our deep responsibilities.

We must give, not only in the workshop, in the mill, in the factory, and the mine, and the transportation lines of the nation, the best service of which we are capable, but in addition we must give to our government our help and assistance by purchasing Defense

Bonds, and by giving a full measure of support to the financial plan of the Government.

I am happy indeed over the response that has thus far been made by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. I joined with Secretary Morgenthau, when public announcement was made of the financial plan, in appealing to all classes of people, and particularly to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, to give to the Secretary of Treasury and to the President of the United States and to the Government of the United States a full measure of support.

Our International Unions have been and are investing their funds. If the limitations placed upon them might be eventually lifted, I am sure that the officers of our International Unions would invest more in Defense Bonds. And we are wondering whether there may be some way, some plan worked out or devised by which it might be possible for officers of national unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to respond even in a bigger and in a more wonderful way. They are ready to do it, they are looking for an opportunity to do it, and I can assure the Assistant Secretary, if some means can be employed, if some plan can be worked out that will enable the officers of national unions to invest in a larger way, in a bigger way in defense bonds, they will gladly do so.

Then the individuals are responding in a noble way. You referred to some instances where they have been specializing in their efforts to contribute and to help and to assist. I can truthfully say that these instances you have brought to the attention of the convention this afternoon are some, among others, where we know special efforts are being put forth to help the Government. If I could say one thing to you above another this afternoon, it is this, that you may rely wholeheartedly and fully upon the officers and membership of the American Federation of Labor to respond to the needs of the Government and to cooperate with the Secre-

tary of the Treasury to purchase as fully and completely as possible the Defense Bonds offered for sale by the Government of the United States. Please carry that message back to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the President of the United States.

I thank you in behalf and in the name of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention for your visit with us and your fine, inspiring, educational and wonderful address.

Mr. Gaston: Thank you, President Green. I shall certainly be most happy to carry your message back to the Treasurer, and I am sure he will be overjoyed.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I would like to ask a question of the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, through you, Mr. Chairman, and that is if he thinks it is possible to arrange to lift the limit that can be purchased by any one purchaser of the Bonds.

The reason I ask that is because our International, as well as others, I am sure, would invest much more than the limitation if it were possible that we might do so.

Mr. Gaston: I will simply have to say frankly that I don't know. I will be very glad to report back the question that has been raised not only by this delegate but by others, as to whether the limit as to the investment of various union funds could be increased. I shall be very glad to discuss it with the Secretary and others when I go back to Washington.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary-Treasurer Meany read the following messages:

San Francisco, Calif.  
October 9, 1941.

American Federation of Labor Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

Auto Mechanics Union No. 1305 of the International Association of Machinists extend felicitations to the American Federation of Labor convention.

(Signed) S. L. MARTIN,  
Recording Secretary.

Washington, D. C.  
October 6, 1941.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,  
Olympic Hotel,  
Seattle, Washington.

General Secretary S. E. Beardsley passed away this morning. Funeral services will be held Tuesday, 2:00 p. m., from Lewis Funeral Parlor, Elizabeth Street, Derby, Connecticut.

(Signed) LEON WILLIAMS,  
General President.  
International Jewelry Workers' Union.

Seattle, Washington, Oct. 8, 1941.

Leon Williams,  
2440 Bronx Park East,  
New York, N. Y.

Officers and delegates in attendance at American Federation of Labor convention learned with a feeling of sorrow of the death of Secretary Samuel Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers' Union. We are all conscious of the great loss which both the Jewelry Workers' International Union and the American Federation of Labor have sustained through his passing. I extend to you and through you to the bereaved family my sincere sympathy.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,  
American Federation of Labor.

## Tribute to Deceased Members

President Green: At each convention of the American Federation of Labor we pause in our deliberations for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to the memory of outstanding members of our Unions who have passed away during the year. And so at this moment it seems quite appropriate that we should carry out the program which we have followed ever since the American Federation of Labor was formed.

We are always made sad when we go over the list and find that so many whom we knew and who worked with us have passed to the Great Beyond.

With your permission I will call upon Secretary-Treasurer Meany to read the list of names of the departed members of our great Unions who have passed away during the past year, and after the list is submitted the delegates in attendance at the convention may arise and submit the names of any who have been omitted who passed away during the past year. Then after they are all submitted we will rise and stand a mo-

ment in profound silence while we pay a tribute of respect to the memory of our departed.

Secretary Meany read the following list:

### List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1940 Convention

**Michael J. Colleran**, International President of the Operative Plasterers International Association of the United States and Canada. November 18, 1940.

**W. C. Roberts**, Chairman of the American Federation of Labor Legislative Committee. Member of the Chicago Typographical Union. December 12, 1940.

**Thomas Neale**, General Treasurer of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. December 15, 1940.

**Al Tower**, General Organizer for U. S. A., Molder by trade. December 23, 1940.

**Peter Bollenbacher**, General Recording and Corresponding Secretary of International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers. January 8, 1941.

**Edward Barry**, General Organizer, United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada. January, 1941.

**Mrs. Anna Coyne**, Wife of John Coyne, President of Building and Construction Trades Department. January 10, 1941.

**John Hollerbach**, Member of General Executive Board of the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers. January 11, 1941.

**John Barrett**, Member of Dayton Local No. 104 of the Carpenters Union. January 12, 1941.

**Edward A. Sheehan**, Member of Springfield Local No. 669 of the Theatrical Stage Employees' Union. January 17, 1941.

**William J. Fallon**, Secretary of Central Labor Union, Providence, R. I. January 28, 1941.

**William E. Boyd**, Member of the Bricklayers' Union. February 2, 1941.

**Louis Quint**, Member of Youngstown Local No. 377 of the Teamsters Union. February 14, 1941.

**Thomas L. Hughes**, Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. February 20, 1941.

**Perry S. Myers**, National Vice-President, American Federation of Government Employees. March, 1941.

**Dr. Charles Stelzle**, Member of International Association of Machinists. Writer for the Labor News. March 14, 1941.

**Edward L. Carlin**, Trustee and General Organizer, International Association of Firefighters. March 22, 1941.

**Frank E. Simetz**, Member of the Laborers Union. April 18, 1941.

**Adolph F. Weidner**, President of Dayton Local No. 75 of the Roofers Union, Member of Local No. 224 of the Sheet Metal Workers. May 5, 1941.

**Charles C. Callan**, Member of Local No. 99 of the Engineers. General Organizer for International Union. May 12, 1941.

**Dennis Keefe**, Vice-President, International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America. May 27, 1941.

**Roy C. Henderson**, Member of the Springfield Bricklayers Union. May 30, 1941.

**Bernard A. O'Leary**, Business Agent of the Electrical Workers Union No. 26. June 2, 1941.

**Jacob B. Frank**, Charter member of Bricklayers Union No. 1. June 8, 1941.

**Jacob Nussbaum**, First President of Carpenters Union No. 132. June 13, 1941.

**George E. Davis**, Former President and business agent of Painters Union No. 368. June 28, 1941.

**Walter C. Brooks**, Former President, Laundry Workers' International Union. July, 1941.

**Edward J. Tinney**, Veteran Representative of the Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators. July 11, 1941.

**Maurice A. Wolfe**, Officer of Bricklayers Union No. 1. Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary and member of arbitration board. July 11, 1941.

**Carl Van White**, Member of Pressmen's Union No. 1. July 20, 1941.

**Thomas A. Rickert**, Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the United Garment Workers of America. July 28, 1941.

**James R. Menzie**, Fifty-two years a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. August 10, 1941.

**R. C. Bader**, President of Dayton Local No. 104 of Carpenters Union. August 22, 1941.

**William J. Adameo**, Forty-three years continuous membership and for thirty-seven years editor and manager of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America. August 25, 1941.

**A. Rodriguez**, District Organizer. Member of Teamsters, Local No. 502. September 8, 1941.

**George Chadwick**, Third Vice-President, National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. September 23, 1941.

**Emil Camarada**, Vice-President International Longshoremen's Association. October 2, 1941.

**John D. Lengel**, Delegate to American Federation of Labor Convention, International Association of Machinists. March 8, 1941.

**Edward Remus**, Delegate to American Federation of Labor Convention, International Association of Machinists. May 23, 1941.

**Samuel Beardsley**, General Secretary, International Jewelry Workers Union. October 4, 1941.

**Edward A. Soward**, Secretary and Business Agent, Chicago Photo-Engravers' Union No. 5. Former Organizer, International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A. July 1, 1941.

**Joseph V. Egan**, Business Agent, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, Local Union New Brunswick, N. J. October 6, 1941.

When Secretary Meany concluded the reading of the list and opportunity had been given for the addition of names from the floor, the audience arose and remained standing in silence for a short time.

## Guest Speakers

President Green: May I remind you that His Excellency, Most Reverend Gerald M. Shaughnessy, S. M., Bishop of Seattle, will address the convention at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow. I ask all who would like to listen to the address of Bishop Shaughnessy to be here in the hall. This includes not only delegates and their associates, but the public at large if they wish to come in.

The Chair desires to appoint Brother Daniel J. Tobin, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters; Secretary Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and Martin J. Lawlor, of the Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, as a committee to escort Bishop Shaughnessy to the hall tomorrow.

On Monday morning at 11:00 o'clock the National Commander of the American Legion will be present to address the convention, and on Monday afternoon the fraternal delegates will address the convention. Please keep these announcements in mind.

It now seems that we have completed the work of the convention for today, since none of the committees are ready to report. I feel sure that we will be kept going busily beginning tomorrow morning. In view of these facts the Chair will entertain a motion to adjourn.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to Friday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and under suspension of the rules the convention was adjourned at 3:30 o'clock.



## FOURTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Seattle, Washington, October 10, 1941

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by President Green:

President Green: We are happy to have with us this morning Father Edward J. McFadden, Superintendent of Schools of the Diocese of Seattle, who will pronounce the invocation.

## INVOCATION

(Rev. Edward J. McFadden,  
Superintendent of Schools of the  
Diocese of Seattle)

O God, of wisdom, prudence, justice and charity, we beseech Thee to pour down Thy grace for an increase of these virtues in the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor here in convention assembled.

Give them an increase of the virtue of wisdom that they may intelligently, understandingly, and wisely evaluate the needs of the times. Give them an increase of the virtue of prudence that they may consider with foresight, circumspection and caution, the proposals here made.

Give them an increase of the virtue of justice that they may in all fairness, without rancor or prejudice, consider the needs, the requests, of those whom they represent.

Finally grant them, O God of mercy, an increase of the greatest of all virtues, charity, that they and the members of their unions may draw closer to Thee, their loving Father, that they may see, in their fellowman of all ranks and classes, Thy image.

These graces and virtues we ask in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, Our Lord. Amen.

## COMMUNICATIONS

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany to read a message.

Secretary Meany read the following:

Seattle, Washington.  
October 7, 1941.

Mr. William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor  
Olympic Hotel  
Seattle, Washington.

Heartiest greetings to the 61st Convention of the American Federation of Labor from the United Hebrew Trades and all

its individual union affiliates. This convention is an occasion of great significance to all organized labor. You are convening in the midst of the biggest voluntary defense mobilization that any democratic nation has seen in modern times—a defense directed ultimately towards the crushing of the monster Hitler and all his detestable ideas and forces. Every phase of our national life is affected by the defense drive. Big things are happening to industry, to labor, to our political order, to every man, woman and child in every walk of American life. There are going to be sacrifices, of course, but I believe that organized labor will make those sacrifices gladly in order to safeguard our precious heritage of freedom and democracy. The American Federation of Labor is playing an immense part in the crucial job which faces the nation. The American Federation of Labor has been putting all the resources of a free and voluntary labor movement at the service of the United States in the urgent task of building defenses with which to clear the world of the intolerable Hitler menace. The American Federation of Labor merits flying banners for the great teamwork which it is busily encouraging everywhere between labor and management for the one common goal of national defense. This is no mere phraseology, no mere bombast, but a genuine one hundred per cent let's-get-to-work attitude which is materially helping to speed the wheels of defense production. The American Federation of Labor has further placed itself four square behind President Roosevelt, and is backing his declarations on international matters with every bit of energy at its command.

Another, and equally important part of the American Federation of Labor's work in this crisis, is the guarding of labor's hard-won rights and standards of living. While exerting efforts to keep strikes and stoppages of labor to a minimum, the American Federation of Labor daily wages war against those enemies of labor who are trying to use the excuse of defense in order to destroy the historic achievements of the American Federation of Labor. There are some industrialists and misguided legislators who are constantly trying to put through legislation which would undermine the inalienable rights of organized labor. There are vested interest groups who think they can depress labor's standard of living regardless of the social cost to labor and to the country at large. We know from history that a well-paid and independent labor movement is as necessary to any healthy democracy as the right to vote or the right of free press. And no reactionary group or individual is going to reintroduce the



ancient chains of labor in this country so long as the American Federation of Labor stands firmly on the Constitution and maintains the principles of the free working man in America.

At home the American Federation of Labor is on the job. Abroad—well, of course, it is not so easy to speak of an "abroad" from the viewpoint of a free labor movement. But, the workers of America, while enjoying their own rights and freedom, do not give up hope for the re-establishment of similar rights and freedoms among the persecuted workers in Hitler's Europe. The American Federation of Labor has always been part of the great International Brotherhood of Trade Unions. We look forward to the time when the countries of Nazi-occupied Europe will lift up their heads again, and when the workers there will send fraternal delegates to future American Federation of Labor conventions. Until that day, the American Federation of Labor, together with the organized workers of Great Britain, will stand as the hope and bulwark for labor in every portion of the world.

Lastly, I want to point out that the American Federation of Labor is a great force in the fervent efforts of this country to send moral and material aid to the British people and her allies in their heroic struggle against Nazism and the black powers of absolutism. This immediate task is one in which the people of America need every bit of concentration and cooperation—and I know that the American Federation of Labor stands first among the ranks of those who are co-operating in order that a better and more just world may be created tomorrow out of the chaos and confusion of today.

In the name of the United Hebrew Trades and in my own name I wish the American Federation of Labor a successful deliberation at its 61st convention.

MORRIS C. FEINSTONE.

### Re-Reference of Resolution No. 122

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that Resolution No. 122, referred to the Committee on Resolutions, because of an oversight, is re-referred to the Committee on Education.

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

In accordance with request of President Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of T. J. Lloyd with 142 votes, in

place of Delegate Dennis Lane, previously reported, who is unable to attend the convention.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman.  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary  
THOMAS F. HOLLERAN.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair will inquire if any of the committees are now ready to report. I understand the Committee on Law will be prepared to submit a report at this afternoon's session. The Chair, therefore, fixes the hour for the submission of the report of the Committee on Law at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

### Announcement

Announcements of meetings of the committee on Executive Council's report and the Committee on Adjustment were made by Vice-President Bates and Vice-President Knight respectively.

Vice-President Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer a motion that the report of the Committee on Law be made a special order of business for 3 o'clock this afternoon.

President Green: I announced awhile ago, Brother Tobin, I have scheduled the Committee on Law to report to the convention at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

Vice-President Tobin: All right.

President Green: If there are no further announcements I ask the delegates and visitors to be at ease awaiting the special order of 11 o'clock, when His Excellency, the Bishop of Seattle, will appear to address the convention.

(The convention recessed informally for a short time.)

President Green: The committee appointed yesterday to meet the Most Reverend Gerald M. Shaughnessy, Bishop of Seattle, has arrived, and the Bishop is now coming into the hall with the committee. Will the delegates and visitors please be seated.

I know you have been waiting, happily anticipating this event this morning.

Several days ago I announced that His Excellency, the Most Reverend Gerald M. Shaughnessy, Bishop of Seattle, would address the convention this morning at 11 o'clock. I know that from then on you were looking forward to this hour and to the visit of the Bishop with us this morning. He is here. It seems unnecessary for me to tell you who Bishop Shaughnessy is, because he resides here in Seattle. He exercises the duties of his sacred office and conducts the administrative affairs of that office over a very wide geographical area.

However, we know of him outside of Seattle by reason of his reputation. He is regarded as a scholar, a student of economics—social minded, forward looking and progressive. I think I can very appropriately say to him this morning that this great institution, the American Federation of Labor, has within its membership many, many thousands, yes, millions of members of the Catholic Church and we are proud of them.

Then we have men and women who are identified with other religious organizations. But this great movement stands united in defense of the freedom of worship, the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience, and I can say to the Bishop that, come what may this week, next week or throughout the ages, the American Federation of Labor can always be counted upon to stand immovable in defense of that great freedom of the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of one's conscience.

Now I am happy beyond measure in that I am privileged to present to you His Excellency, the Most Reverend Gerald M. Shaughnessy, Bishop of Seattle.

### **MOST REVEREND GERALD SHAUGHNESSY, S. M.**

**(Bishop of the Diocese of Seattle)**

May I ask the delegates to stand and say with me the Our Father for blessing on this particular meeting.

(The delegates and visitors joined with the Bishop at his request in reciting the Our Father.)

To the National Officers of the American Federation of Labor, to the officers of all the affiliated associa-

tions, to the officers of all our local organizations, and to all the delegates to our convention here in Seattle, I extend hearty felicitations and congratulations. And, speaking on behalf of the Church, I venture to extend as well a sincere welcome to Seattle to our See City, to our Diocese.

May I thank Mr. Green for the very kind words of introduction, for I am starting my address this morning with the thought that my presence here upon this platform today really needs no explanation. The Church is very much interested in labor, for it is made up precisely to a great degree of the laboring man, and it is the laboring man's family that is the bulwark and the physical foundation of the Church, just exactly as it is the family and the family life that is the guarantee of our civil liberties and the continuation of the prosperity and success of our beloved country. And the reason for the interest of the church in the laboring man naturally goes further still. It is basic in the very Scriptures, for Almighty God says, through His Sacred Writer, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." And, again, "The laborer is worthy of his hire."

The church takes those Scriptural quotations and applies them in practice. We have Leo XIII in his famous encyclical on the condition of labor, fifty years ago calling attention to the abuses and the remedies therefor. We have Pius XI in his famous "Forty Years After," renewing men's faith in the knowledge of the words of Leo in his equally well-known encyclical on social reconstruction.

What does the Catholic Church stand for, or what, rather, we may say do we consider as the fundamental moral and ethical principles under the virtue of justice which uphold the right of the laboring man to a decent livelihood, to a living wage? Aye, to more than that, to a family wage, whereby man not only has the natural right but the actual possibility of marrying and raising a family and being able to feed them and clothe and house them.

Pius XII, now seated on the throne of Peter, with no less incisive words this very year recalls, a third time, those same fundamental principles, and gives to us the same warnings.

We can become even more specific, and I will cite to you, my dear friends, some instances in which colleagues of mine—now long since departed, however—in the Catholic episcopate have either led the way or so aided that in a certain sense they were responsible for raising labor to the dignity and to the personal worth that it in itself deserves.

In a Germany far happier than that unhappy country of today, Bishop Von Ketteler stood courageously and steadfastly against the Hitler of his day,

Bismarck. Von Ketteler was laying the foundations of labor, freedom, and his name is blessed of memory among those who are still able to think and to preach the doctrine of freedom in that land where freedom lies prostrate today.

Cardinal Manning is a name which I think our fraternal delegates here on the platform this morning will remember, though he, too, has long since gone to his reward. But he fought the fight of labor; he upheld the banner of unionism and of labor high before the populace. He, with Von Ketteler, a friend of labor, I think hastened the day when labor unionism and a juster wage and more humane hours of work became the program in his country.

And here in our own country Cardinal Gibbons, of happy memory in Baltimore, led the fight for Terrence Powderly, and the Knights of Labor, whom I consider, and I think rightly, as one of the lineal progenitors of the American Federation of Labor.

And so, as Mr. Green intimates, even here in the State of Washington there have been certain indications that the church still knows its workers, still moves with even-handed justice among labor and among employer for the protection and the guidance of all. And I consider then that I speak to friends; and to friends, as a father does, I often offer some criticism. And I believe I shall this morning. When I turn to the source of my message today, where can I turn but into a study of the deplorable conditions that engulf practically the entire world. Yes, leave out the word "practically." Wars and bloodshed and ruin and bombs rained on babes and women alike. Oh, my dear friends, what do they signify but only disunity, but only that love has fled and the peace has been destroyed, and Almighty God, as far as the Godless are concerned, no longer is in His Heaven. Because the principles of justice and because the dictates of eternal justice are no longer universally recognized, then universally the opposite extreme takes command and you see today what you see.

Leaders in countries throughout the world have denied God, have driven public worship from the confines of their jurisdiction, have set up themselves at times, or equivalently so, as the gods of the populace.

We must return to God. We must cry, oh, with a heart that is tuned to the notes of repentance, we must beg with arms outstretched in love of Almighty God for that peace of Christ if ever there is to come to the world re-organization and love and peace and the brotherhood of man.

Pius XII well illustrates this in an allocution on last Christmas Eve, when he tells us that the victory must be over hate, that the victory must be

over mutual distrust, that the final victory must be over that false ideal that might is right, that the victory must be over economic inequalities, that it must be over that old, selfish, insensate egoism that looks only to the one individual — and each one is that — to the one individual who is the center of the universe and the Alpha and the Omega of life.

In a similar strain, but not naturally with the same spiritual tone, for that is not his place, our own President Roosevelt in Cleveland, I think in November, 1940, called attention to the four freedoms that also are the framework for re-organization of the world — freedom of press, freedom of religion — or he said worship, which is really the same thing — freedom from want and freedom from fear. May I here interpolate a thought that strikes me now on these four freedoms, for I want to state that among other guardians of liberty the responsibility rests with far greater weight upon the American labor union than on anyone else for the preservation, for the increase of these four freedoms.

Freedom of speech? Why, in this very hall a statesman, an honored man, a member who represents the constituency of many American citizens was denied the right to stand here where I am standing and where, to a certain extent, I would say just what Senator Wheeler said. That is not one of the four freedoms of President Roosevelt. That is not freedom of speech and freedom of press. When you disagree with a man and then say, "Silence him, away with him, don't allow him to speak," oh, that is not American and that is not the way to retain your own freedom to say what some day you would like to say when your enemies, mayhap, may have you down and lay for you the limits beyond which you cannot open your mouth.

Freedom of worship? Let us hope that the day will not come in the United States, when a government will want to lay down what prayers we shall say in Church and what programs of religious worship we shall conduct. Let me cite an incident that did occur. A Catholic Bishop in Mississippi, not so many years ago, was ordered by an army official to conduct his services in a certain way. He refused, as I would were I given such an order from such a source, and he went to jail. But the court said no; the court said that the little hireling had stepped beyond the limits of his jurisdiction.

Freedom from want? Why, I have gone, for example, into some of the cabins in the Deep South where I lived for a time and worked as a priest, and I have seen misery and filth and cardboard houses, not rags but no clothes, not scraps but at times no food at all.

Gentlemen, it is for us to back our President in the program for the in-

crease in these freedoms. It is for us, labor of America, to see that the year, the day will not come when I could not stand before you and tell you the truth that we have men and women and children starving to death in our beloved country.

And again, freedom from fear? I tell you that my mail, if I have a right to consider it as a sampling of the sentiment of this country, and I believe I have because it comes from all over the country in response to many things that I have said—my mail tells me, I say, that there is 80 to 90 per cent of our people, some hundred millions of Americans entertaining fear of war while they are not consulted. Again if they wish the war we know our duty. But let us back the President in the increase of those four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from every fear that should have no place within our hearts.

But, my dear friends, I take these five points of Plus XII and these four freedoms of President Roosevelt, and I interpret them this morning in you in some more immediate terms that I think will bring out the interest that lies in them for you. As I see it, our program is to be a program of three freedoms—freedom of labor, freedom of ownership of property, and freedom of elections.

Freedom of labor—freedom of labor, my dear friends, means that the laboring man, the employer and the consumer shall, in a definite unity, with a definite mutual charity and love of the brotherhood of man, work for a better world. That means that the laborer shall not be enslaved, and any encroachment on the freedom of labor in any way, no matter what the situation, unless it be official martial law, any encroachment means, my dear friends of labor, that it is the opening wedge whereby you will find that your constitutional liberties are going to be destroyed and your status as a free laboring man is gone.

And I say with all the fervor of my being that it should be the duty of the American labor man, of the American Federation of Labor, to stand prudently and patriotically but courageously and steadfastly against any threat to destroy labor and labor unionism.

There are two very classic examples in the world today. Germany did have freedom of labor, but no longer. And I need not dilate on it. Russia needs specific attention, because many men do not understand, I think, all the implications. What I say is with full understanding of what I take to be a fact, that you men are going on record for what we call "all-out aid for Russia." And what I say is precisely because of that fact. In Russia the laboring man

was enslaved under the Czar, and he has been enslaved, and he is today enslaved under the government that has succeeded Czarism. And I speak now not of Russia then; I make the distinction between Russia and international communism. I can make it; I hope to God that you can.

The encroachment came and the freedoms were destroyed, and I repeat again that that fundamental constitutional liberty of right to worship God was also suppressed. I repeat for your benefit, if you did not see it in the press, that my colleagues of today who are listed in the 1941 Official Catholic Directory of Bishops of the World, my colleagues in Russia are imprisoned for their faith. Mark well the word, not merely imprisoned, but they are imprisoned because they are Catholics, and because they asserted their right to continue to be Catholics and Catholic Bishops—they are imprisoned or in exile.

The moral is, defend your unionism as you defend your other rights, and let not the professional patrioteer cry "treason" when you insist on the freedoms of our own Americanism. Remember that that cry, as Dr. Johnson, the old writer of the dictionary, so wittily puts it, is often the last refuge of a scoundrel.

The history of the destruction of labor is found, for example, in ancient Rome, it is found in discriminations against others, it is found in many ways. Let me finish that freedom of labor. If my dear friends, you leave outside the protection of union labor any great class of men, down-trodden, friendless, perhaps starving, they are the fulcrum in the hands of your opponents to thwart you, aye, even destroy you at times; and I tell you until we of American labor solve in an American way the problem of the Negro, then he will always stand, mostly unwittingly, but sometimes knowingly, as the enemy of the union and the seed amongst which subversive thoughts can be planted.

The day came in ancient Rome, when the laboring man cried for "bread and games." Because they no longer had any freedom, they subsisted on public projects, not, by any means, a modern invention.

I think we must actively foresee the time when the oppression of labor can come to us even in our own country. Our remedy is to defend the ownership of private property. You know the history of a laboring man in a regime where he owns nothing; you know the history of a regime where the employer has no rights. Defend yourselves, the employer, because on him—let me add on the little employer, as well—depends your livelihood, the continuation of your organizations and the preservation of your rights.

So let us remember that if we aid a Communist government that suppresses essential freedoms; if we aid in any way whereby we join in that ideology, then I solemnly warn you, my friends of the labor movement, that not in the wildest dreams and accomplishments of the Goths and the Visigoths and Huns of ancient days, when they overran a helpless Europe, was there such a totality of death and destruction as almost inevitably will crush this earth, with rivers of blood and ruin. If in our zeal to overcome one enemy of freedom, we permit the sixth column of Communism, the sixth column that is already in our army camps, looking over our military plans, that is in our airplane factories, that is even at times in the councils of labor, in our legislative halls and in the bureaucratic chambers of our centralized government—if we allow that sixth column to take charge, then beware the day.

Finally then, the third freedom, the freedom of elections and, briefly, this is my earnest word in friendship to you all: Guard always the freedom of election within your union! Never let it be said that in the election, or in the council meeting and the discussion was freedom of speech strangled and suppressed. Never let it be said—and indeed your own leader has given you his warning—that the racketeer or the Communist can worm his way in and take charge of free American citizens.

And finally elections in our American system. I do not know whether it is a trial balloon or not, but some of them do talk, as if there would be no free election in 1942. Let us hope that it is only a trial balloon and let us puncture it by our Americanism, by our steadfastness in defending these freedoms, these constitutional freedoms upon which rests our only hope for peace and happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord. May that blessing of Almighty God descend upon you, upon your deliberations, upon your plans and your projects, and upon all your work, unto the end of days.

President Green: You have expressed your deep appreciation of the visit of Bishop Shaughnessy in a more forcible and convincing way than I could do by words. We interpret the visit of the Bishop to our convention this morning and the very vigorous and earnest way in which he presented his point of view as evidence of his deep interest in the great cause which you delegates attending this convention represent. We are glad to have him as a champion of the cause of labor. We want to maintain the support of such eminent men as Bishop Shaughnessy, and for that reason we must establish for our-

selves a higher standard of moral and religious excellency in order to command the support and approval of such outstanding men as the Bishop who has just addressed you.

I can assure him that the sentiments he expressed, the counsel he gave, the opinions which he uttered will be given the most careful thought and consideration by the officers and delegates in this convention. We were pleased to listen to his scholarly and illuminating address. We thank him for his visit to our convention and we want to assure him that we regard his address as a distinct contribution to a more complete understanding of world problems as well as economic problems.

I thank you, Bishop Shaughnessy, for coming this morning.

### **Escort Committee for Commander Stambaugh**

President Green: The Chair will take advantage of this opportunity to announce that the newly elected Commander of the American Legion, Commander Stambaugh, will attend and address this convention on next Monday morning at 11 o'clock.

The fraternal delegates, as I announced yesterday, will speak to you on Monday afternoon.

The Chair desires to appoint as a committee to meet the Commander of the American Legion and take care of him as our guest while he is in the city Brother David Beck, overseas veteran, if I may put it that way, Brother Arnold S. Zander, of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Brother Maurice Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. I ask this committee to arrange to meet the Commander of the Legion and take care of him while he is in the city and bring him to the hall on Monday morning at 11 o'clock.

### **Communications**

Secretary Meany read the following message, at the request of President Flore, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

New York, N. Y.  
October 9, 1941.

Edward Flore  
General President  
Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America  
American Federation of Labor Convention Headquarters,  
Hotel Olympic, Seattle.

Agreement was reached today between union negotiating committee and Childs Company on renewal of contract, with joint board officers participating, subject to approval of Local 42, general membership meeting. Agreement provides wage increases totaling over \$300,000 and improved working conditions. We consider it a great victory for our organized forces in this city.

DAVID SIEGAL, President.  
WILLIAM MESEVICH,  
Executive Manager.  
J. OBERMEIER,  
Secretary-Treasurer.  
Local Joint Executive Board  
of New York City.

President Green: We are very much pleased over this announcement and over the fine progress which the Hotel and Restaurant Employees have made in the City of New York in the negotiation of this agreement. I commend them highly for this excellent service.

### Announcements

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Swain, of the Committee on Arrangements.

Chairman Swain: We announced yesterday that the United States Forestry Service would take parties up to the mountains. So many registered that they were unable to take care of all of them, but this morning we have made other arrangements so that the committee will furnish transportation to all who wish to go, and there will be a representative of the Forestry Service there. If you go to the registration booth you will be taken care of.

Please don't forget tonight, when the convention ball will be held in this hall at 9:30 o'clock.

Vice-Presidents Brown and Birthright, on behalf of the Committee on Organization and the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, respectively, made announcements as to the time of committee meetings.

There being no further business to come before the convention, Delegate Davis, Boilermakers, offered a motion that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 2:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried and the convention adjourned at 12:05 o'clock, p. m., to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

## FOURTH DAY — FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

### Communications

Secretary Meany read the following message:

New York, N. Y.  
October 10, 1941.

Convention American Federation  
of Labor,  
Seattle, Wash.

The national executive committee of the Jewish Labor Committee and its affiliated organizations send their fraternal greetings to the convention and their best wishes for successful and fruitful deliberations. We express our sincere thanks to President William Green and the delegates assembled for

their cooperation and support in our efforts to rescue the European labor leadership and to alleviate the distress of the victims of Nazi aggression and barbarism.

Jewish Labor Committee:  
ADOLPH HELD,  
Chairman,  
JACOB PAT,  
Executive Secretary.

President Green: I will inquire if the Committee on Laws is now ready to report.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: The Committee on Laws is ready to report. However, Chairman Tobin has not yet arrived because the time was set for 3 o'clock. I imagine he will be here most any minute. In fact, he is here now.



President Green: The Chair presents Chairman Tobin of the Committee on Laws.

### Report of Committee on Laws

Chairman Daniel Tobin: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, there are two important matters to be reported by the Committee on Laws, two changes in the constitution. One deals with the per capita tax to the Federation. The other one deals with the number of membership on the Executive Council. Both of those questions were considered for many hours, and one of them for days by the Executive Council. During the whole year the Executive Council has been making an investigation of its revenues and expenditures, its requirements, its necessities in trying to gauge what would be the necessary expenses for the coming year.

There was a committee appointed by the Council to go into the whole subject of finance. The committee consisted of George Meany, G. M. Bugniazet and George Harrison, and after months of study they brought in their report, and the Council, consisting of 15 or 16 representatives of International Unions unanimously reached its conclusion on which this amendment is based.

The same is true relative to the other amendment referred to, which deals with the membership of the Council.

In both cases the Executive Council was unanimous in reaching those conclusions, and the Committee on Laws yesterday was unanimous in approving those amendments.

The Secretary will now report, Brother Volz.

President Green: Secretary Volz of the Committee on Laws will submit the report of the Committee on Laws and the recommendation of the committee to the convention for consideration and action. Secretary Volz.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

Your Committee on Laws has had referred to it for consideration two subject matters contained in the report of the Executive Council under the captions "Proposed Change in Number of Vice-Presidents," and "Per Capita Tax of the American Federation of Labor," also, two resolutions numbered 43 and 44 proposing an amendment to Article III of the Constitution which would permit directly affiliated local and federal unions to present proposals direct to the convention instead of to the Executive Council.

All of these matters have been given careful consideration by your committee which desires to make the following report:

### Resolutions No. 43 and No. 44

Resolution No. 43 introduced by Delegate Herman Seide of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and Resolution No. 44 introduced by Delegate F. H. Ranney of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, are identical in every respect and are accordingly being reported jointly.

### Amend Constitution in Regard to Introduction of Resolutions by Directly Affiliated Local Unions

**Resolution No. 43**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has organized and chartered directly affiliated local and federal labor unions in fields not generally covered by National and International Unions, and the American Federation of Labor is thus the parent body of such directly affiliated local and federal labor unions, and

WHEREAS, The supreme and final authority of the American Federation of Labor rests in its conventions which most appropriately have been termed the great democratic congress of labor, and

WHEREAS, In line with the fullest extent of democratic procedure so earnestly and sincerely espoused by the American Federation of Labor every affiliated organization paying a regular per capita tax based upon the size of its membership should have equally



full and complete opportunity to a voice and vote on all matters submitted to the convention of the Federation, and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of Article III, Section 6 (3) of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor directly affiliated local and federal labor unions are as a matter of fact deprived of the opportunity to a full and complete voice and vote on proposals emanating from their organizations since under the provisions of this Section the Executive Council is given the sole power to dispose of such proposals without giving a hearing to any representative of the organization making such proposal and without consideration by the convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by the deletion of Section 6 (3) of Article III thus restoring to directly affiliated local and federal unions the same opportunities and rights for the consideration of their proposals by the convention as are enjoyed by other affiliated organizations.

Resolution No. 44, introduced by Delegate F. H. Ranney, Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is identical in language to Resolution 43, and is therefore not repeated here.

The introducers of these resolutions and several other delegates appeared before your committee to advocate their adoption.

After careful consideration, your committee is of the opinion that the law as at present in effect is fair, just and adequate and calls attention to the fact that local and federal unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor are in exactly the same position in regard to the presentation of resolutions to this convention as are local unions chartered by International or National Unions. These latter local unions must present any resolution or proposal for consideration through their respective parent organizations just as the law now provides for local and federal unions directly chartered by the Federation.

We would also call attention to the fact that proposals emanating from State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies must first have received the approval of a previous convention or regular meeting of these respective

organizations prior to being presented to a convention of the American Federation of Labor for consideration. The amendment proposed would give local and federal unions a decided advantage over these state and central bodies.

Your committee is of the opinion that approval of resolutions No. 43 and No. 44 as submitted would not serve any helpful purpose but would tend to retard and interfere with the orderly procedure of American Federation of Labor conventions.

The committee accordingly recommends non-concurrence in both resolutions.

Secretary Volz moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor

(Executive Council's Report, Page 67)

Secretary Volz: The next matter to be reported on comes under the heading, "Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor," from the Executive Council's report on Page 67.

In view of the importance of this matter I think it well that I read the report of the Executive Council and also a supplementary report submitted to the convention and to the committee.

#### "PER CAPITA TAX TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR"

"The Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a recommendation relating to the payment of per capita tax by affiliated unions to the American Federation of Labor, which read as follows:

"1. That a committee of three, one of whom shall be the Secretary-Treasurer, be appointed by the Executive Council for the purpose of making a thorough and comprehensive study and survey of the needs and requirements of the Federation to meet all obligations—financial and otherwise—in such manner as to assure continued stability, progress and advancement, said committee to report its findings to the Executive Council prior to the next convention of the Federation along with recommendations relative to amount of per cap-

ita tax necessary to meet all likely demands without the necessity of an assessment.

"2. That the Executive Council upon receipt of the foregoing report and survey based on definite and accurate information, determine and make recommendations to the next convention relative to the needs and per capita tax requirements indicated as necessary for the Federation to function in a satisfactory and aggressive manner without supplementing assessments.

"3. That pending report of the proposed fact-finding committee above outlined and recommendations by the Executive Council, the per capita tax for national and international unions for the coming year shall be two cents per member per month, and for local trade and federal labor unions, thirty-six cents per member, with the distinct and definite understanding that this is but a temporary arrangement and that a more permanent basis of taxation—based upon the findings of the committee previously referred to and recommendations of the Executive Council—will be decided at the next convention.

"Pursuant to the instructions contained in this official recommendation unanimously adopted by the Sixtieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a committee composed of Secretary-Treasurer Meany, Vice-President Bugniazet and Vice-President Harrison was appointed. The committee proceeded to carry out the instructions of the convention, and after making the investigation ordered and following the completion of its work, reported to the Executive Council at a meeting held August 4-13, 1941. Based upon its investigation and survey the committee made a recommendation relating to the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations, and recommended that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended so as to provide for a change in the amount of per capita tax which would be paid by affiliated national and international unions, local trade and federal labor unions, to the American Federation of Labor.

"The Executive Council approved the recommendation made by this committee. It recommends to the convention that Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended to read as follows:

"Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of 1½ cents per member per month; from local trade

unions and federal labor unions, 35½ cents per member per month, 8½ cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention."

A supplemental report to the above was submitted by the Executive Council and appears in the third day's proceedings. It states, as follows:

#### **"SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**

"The Executive Council submits the following recommendations supplementary to those set forth in the Report of the Executive Council to the Sixty-First Annual Convention, under the title of 'Per Capita Tax to the American Federation of Labor,' (page 67).

"After giving further consideration to Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor the Council recommends that this section be further amended so as to provide that national and international unions pay per capita tax of one cent per month per member upon the membership in excess of 300,000 reported to the American Federation of Labor each month.

"This would mean that national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor would be required to pay a per capita tax of one and one-half cents per month per member upon a membership of 300,000 or less; and a per capita tax of one cent per month per member upon the membership in excess of 300,000. As an illustration, an international union having a membership of 400,000 would pay a per capita tax of 1½ cents per month per member upon 300,000 members, and a per capita tax of 1 cent per month per member upon an additional 100,000 members to the American Federation of Labor."

Secretary Meany appeared on behalf of the Executive Council and made a detailed explanation in a thorough and satisfactory manner.

After due consideration your committee is in agreement with the intent and purpose of both the original and

supplemental reports submitted by the Executive Council and accordingly recommends that Section 1 of Article X of the constitution be amended by striking out the words "two cents per member per month" appearing on the sixth line of the printed copy and inserting the words "one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members," and "one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000," also, by substituting the words "thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents" for the words "thirty-six cents" appearing on the eighth line, and the words "eight and one-half (8½) cents" for the words "twelve and one-half cents" appearing on the eighth and ninth lines making the entire amended section read, as follows:

"Article X—Revenue—Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one and one-half (1½) cents per member per month up to 300,000 members, and one (1) cent per member per month for members in excess of 300,000; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five and one-half (35½) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention."

The committee moves concurrence in this part of its report and adoption of the section as amended.

Secretary Volz moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: It seems to me that we have pending before us at the moment some proposed legislation that, in my judgment, is absolutely contrary to the spirit and the intent and purposes of this great American Federation of Labor. We like to talk about this Federation of Labor as a great democratic organization, where we want it known throughout the world that we are unalterably for equality of opportunity.

Now, it seems to me that this is a fantastic idea of placing membership in the American Federation of Labor upon a cash-and-carry basis for membership in excess of 300,000, that they shall have their per capita tax reduced. It seems to me that that is dragging the standard of the American Federation of Labor down from the high pinnacle where we have at least claimed for years it securely reposed. In this matter of encouraging larger organizations, I believe I am correct in saying that 80% of the delegates in this convention entertain the same thoughts that I have been entertaining, they have been expressing the same fears which I am going to express regarding this trend in the American Federation of Labor of a few organizations that are bringing to themselves such tremendous power.

Some of the largest units are not content to remain in their own particular industry, but they are reaching out on all sides to take in some groups that in reality are not part and parcel of the industries over which they were given jurisdiction, with the result that their voting strength in this organization has now got to the place where some eight or ten absolutely control the whole works.

We have seen what has happened in Europe through allowing the same thing to go on in the nations of the world. We have already said, we read it every day in the papers and we hear it over the radio, about the citizens of those nations of Europe who sat by complacently and allowed these men, the heads of their governments to take unto themselves this privilege and this prerogative, this exclusive and absolute right, until they found one day that they had placed themselves in a position where it was virtually impossible to dislodge them. Then they started to administer the laws of these lands in their own selfish interests.

We have all been saying it is too bad we did not have sufficient foresight to realize what was happening and to have had the backbone to take some preventive measures to prevent these dictators from getting this tremendous power. It seems to me that is the same thing that is going to happen in this American Federation of Labor unless we now take heed and do something to stop this increasing of power in the hands of a few representatives to the American Federation of Labor.

Certainly no one can conscientiously get on their feet and deny that. I repeat again, I have engaged in conversations with quite a number of delegates, and I make this statement very, very guardedly, that at least 80% of the representatives in this convention, if they had an opportunity by secret ballot to record their attitude on this

measure, it would not be adopted. But under our method of voting, all that you can get is everybody shrugging their shoulders, they are expressing great fears for the future and they say, what's the use, they have the votes.

Then there is the fear expressed that under the circumstances, if you oppose a measure of this kind you will probably be marked and you will not enjoy any opportunities on the possibility that there might be some reprisals in the matter of your jurisdiction insofar as your organization is concerned.

Brothers and sisters, to my notion this is of such a serious nature that I think we should here and now take our stand against further entrenching those who already wield this tremendous power. So far as I am concerned myself, if it means that I am to lose any honors, if I am to be denied any privileges, so be it, because my conscience will not permit me to accept any honor or any privilege at the expense of our democratic ways of carrying on in these United States of America.

When you stop to think, these organizations, as I have said before, are reaching out on all sides and taking in more territory, they go to the Executive Council and that is recognized and they are given that additional jurisdictional territory. It is just constant and consistent and everlasting increasing of the power of these organizations, and in view of that, and without any necessity of my going into any detail about it, I say that because you know the truth of my statements that there are only a few organizations that do dominate this situation and they determine policy. You know the truth about it just as well as I do.

So far as democratically arriving at policies and practices, and so forth, it does not happen in the American Federation of Labor any more. It is primarily due to these eight or ten organizations that have corralled this power.

And now you are asked to put a premium on that trend and make that more acute than any time in the past, when you are asking to place the membership of this great, democratic organization on a cash-and-carry basis. The proposal that they pay one and one-half cents per member up to 300,000, and then beyond that one cent per member, in my judgment, is a fantastic idea, and I say again it would be placing a premium upon this trend of further entrenching these eight or ten organizations and further reducing any possible chance for honest-to-God, democratic ways for deciding these questions involving men and women of labor.

I ask the delegates, despite the fact that I thoroughly realize that the thing is already cut and dried, to think seri-

ously about this trend and to do everything in your power to stop it. If you don't I make this prediction here and now, that within the next five or six years you are going to have in this American Federation of Labor a worse situation than you had in 1934 in San Francisco. You are not only going to be confronted with two separate and distinct organized groups in America of working people, but you are going to be confronted with the third, because there are a sufficient number of organizations that are now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that, unless this trend stops, they are going to become parties to a third group, and God forbid that that should happen.

I say again, unless you act now, mark my words, five or six years from now you will be the ones who will come into this convention and ask that something be done. Now is the time, and why not do it here and now, and stop this trend by voting down this proposal wherein it gives this advantage to the larger organizations that have better than 300,000 membership, reducing the per capita tax per member one-half of one cent.

Vice-President Tobin, Chairman of the Committee: I really did not want to tire the delegates. I don't think it is really necessary now to answer the previous delegate, but lest there be any wrong impression left by some of the unreasonable remarks of Delegate Duffy, maybe it is only just that I should endeavor to clarify the report of the committee.

I repeat I don't feel there is need of answering some of the statements, most of them, all of them. I am doing this for the benefit of those who perhaps don't know the history of this Federation. Delegate Duffy does.

In the first place the Federation is not a financial institution; it never was intended to have large amounts of moneys in its treasury, and the founders of the Federation so agreed. It was merely to take from the general membership each year enough to run the Federation for the coming year, in the judgment of the delegates.

I first attended the conventions of this Federation in 1907 in Norfolk, and I have attended every convention since. The per capita tax of this Federation was then one-half of one cent per member. After several years it was decided that the Federation needed a little more money. It had contemplated erecting its own building and spreading out somewhat, and the Executive Council made a request to the convention way back about 26 or 28 years ago that they raise the tax from one-half of one cent per month per member to three-quarters of a cent, and the convention reluctantly at that time, very reluctantly, by a very small margin, consented to

this enormous increase in the revenue of the Federation. I served then on the Committee on Laws, as I still serve.

Later on, just about the time of the war, the tax was again raised. The cost of operation was greater, a larger number of organizers had to be employed, the cost of printing was more; and again, after hours of discussion and considerable objections, we were eventually successful in raising the tax to one cent per month per member. And I will never forget Sam Gompers making a statement to the Committee on Laws that that was the highest that this tax should ever go, that the ambition of his lifetime had been obtained.

Now, I don't know whether Mr. Duffy has read up the history of the tax of this Federation or not. I became Treasurer of this Federation in 1917 and remained Treasurer for eleven years, until 1928. I had something to do with the finances of the Federation, not only handling the moneys of the Federation of Labor, with Secretary Morrison, but I was a member of the Executive Council and knew about everything that was going on in the Federation, and we had plenty of money to carry on.

Now, the highest membership, if I remember rightly, was when we had Federal Labor Unions. At the peak of our power, before we had any secession in the Federation, I think the highest membership we had in Federal Unions directly affiliated was about \$8,000 or \$9,000. That was our membership. And then our membership in Federal Unions after the slump, after the war, fell down again, and so did our revenue from International Unions, which was then one cent per month per member. Now, the revenue on our membership in Federal Unions, directly affiliated unions in this Federation is about \$260,000. Is that right, Brother Meany?

Secretary Meany: Not quite.

Vice-President Tobin: Approximately 260,000. You see the Federation has a large International Union in federal unions. The American Federation of Labor directly chartered federal unions because it is a strong International, and it gets 26 cents a month up to now. We are trying to reduce that one-half cent. Do you know what the International Brotherhood of Teamsters get? We get thirty cents a month, and we give two cents of that to the A. F. of L., leaving us a little less than 28 cents a month to run our International Union, because we pay into the Building Trades and Label Trades.

Now last year the Teamsters paid into this Federation very nearly \$100,000 in per capita tax. And you know the fight we are carrying on everywhere

in this country. The Potters Union, of which this previous speaker is a delegate, paid in \$2,200. Well, if I had a large per capita tax of \$1.25 per month per member instead of 28 cents, and only 16,000 members, I wouldn't hesitate, it wouldn't worry me very much; but when you pay an extra half a cent, a half a cent to a membership such as ours that is fighting on every battle front in this country, means a whole lot, and when we pay \$100,000 per capita tax and maintain strikes with benefits in fourteen different fronts, as of today, and maintain legal departments and do our own printing free for our membership, on less than a cent a day, and we are satisfied we are not doing an injustice to this Federation, then we believe the time has come when we are satisfied that if you have the power to raise your tax in this Federation when it is warranted, you also have the same power to reduce your tax to help your affiliated International Unions when it is warranted, without doing injury to the Federation.

Now, let us talk about the history of the two-cent tax. After the 1933 convention a split obtained, or a secession movement obtained within this American Federation of Labor. Some unions withdrew and set up their own house of labor—pitiful, of course, a criminal injustice to the men and women of labor, and an injustice to business in many places. But that condition confronted this Council, and our membership was depleted by perhaps nearly a million members withdrawing, and we had to face the battle fronts of secession. This Federation had to lead in mapping out a policy. And some few years ago we decided to levy an assessment of one cent per month per member on the membership, but at the time we did that we did not change the per capita tax of this Federation because I, for one, would have been opposed to the assessment at that time if I believed it was going to become stable or a part of the per capita tax eventually. I did not see any need of continuing, of doubling the tax of this Federation immediately or at that time, nor do I see it now; and last year I opposed it. I opposed the change of making a two-cent tax, increasing your tax by 100%, and it was only done for one year for experimentation; and we have gone over that year.

Now, bear this in mind, as I try to remind you of the history of this Federation. This Federation never increased its tax more than 25% at any one time in all of its history. It did not need to. So we went along during the year, we found out many places we could reduce our expenses in the Federation. Men on that Federation Council are all men that are handling organizations. We found we could, without reducing the

efficiency of the Federation, reduce our expenses. So we went along last year and added the one-cent assessment to the per capita tax. Now, why did we do that? There was more than one reason which some of you men may remember. On the flimsiest technical argument, the I. T. U. withdrew from this Federation because they said they were not going to pay the assessment, but it was whispered around amongst those who are always in the "know", to use the slang phrase of the street, that if that assessment was changed to a per capita tax the I. T. U. would re-affiliate. Anyway, the Federation made the change. I had no faith in the promise then. I knew the technical artists then who produced that same argument then, as time went on would produce another technical argument. By changing that assessment to per capita, eliminating the one-cent assessment and making a two-cent tax, we said to the I. T. U., one of the richest organizations in America in proportion to their membership, that we were going to eliminate all their indebtedness, that thousands and thousands of dollars that they owed us for assessment was to be eliminated, and organizations down here on this floor struggling to maintain their solidarity that had paid their assessments, were going to be confronted with an old organization that itself had received assessments from this Federation having thousands of dollars in assessments eliminated.

So we changed from the one-cent to the two-cent tax for an experimental period of one year. And now we come back to you after all this year—and by the way, lest I forget, when we levied this one-cent assessment after the loss of eight or nine hundred thousand members that went into the secession movement, our membership in the Federation had fallen down to around three million and a quarter. Today you see the figures in your report—and the membership of this Federation has been somewhat increased since that report was written, and I will vouch to you the membership will be increased substantially between now and the first of January. We find now we have a larger membership—not much, but larger than we had when the secession movement took place, and we are back to where we were in membership, or better, about a million and a half ahead of where we were when we levied the assessment. I think the lines of demarcation on the battlefield have been pretty closely drawn and well defined, and we know now where we are.

Most International Unions are carrying on their own fight. The Federation is doing the best it can. Nobody who knows the work that the Federation is trying to do could be dissatisfied with its efforts, but each International Union

knows its own peculiar system of defense and organization. The organizations that are out in front with very low revenue and a very large membership must be given some consideration by this Executive Council and by this membership, and consequently it has been decided by the Council, and so recommended to this convention, and approved by the Committee on Laws, that where an organization paid one and a half cents per month per member up to 300,000, there are only two organizations paying that tax now, the Teamsters and the Carpenters—there are others on their way, the Laborers, Machinists, Cooks and Waiters—but after they get beyond that mark some consideration should be given to them as to a slightly reduced rate on all over and above the 300,000. Because, gentlemen, let me say this to you, that a large membership involves large responsibilities, especially when revenues cannot be changed by executive officers. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has never levied an assessment on its membership; it has not had the power to levy an assessment, in all of its history. Our tax is set, our revenues of 28 cents per month per member are set; we have the largest staff of organizers perhaps of any organization in this country, and the highest salaried organizers in this country.

We could, of course, come into the Federation and ask for an assessment but we don't need it. We don't intend to ask for it. We spent thousands of dollars in defending another union in the city of Detroit. We are now putting up a fight, not for the Teamsters in Minnesota and in Minneapolis but for every other organization. We care nothing about the few men that were involved in membership in Indianapolis. We were fighting every subversive element in our country there. That is our job. We happen to be placed in employment where we are first confronted with the attack. We are not fighting the real trade union leaders, we are fighting the secret agents working in the dark, men who would destroy the very foundations of our government in order to satisfy their drunken, blind ambitions.

Who is it that hesitates, then, to say that after the Teamsters pay \$100,000 in revenue to this Federation, or something along that line, that they should not be given some slight consideration, or that if you, or you, or you reach that membership, you should not be given some consideration? We do not ask for charity. We want justice, and not this thing of appealing to the prejudices of men when we are engaged in a fight, this thing of democracy within this movement, control by some few people, as has been insinuated. The Federation has not made very many mistakes in all of its history, and there has not been any selfishness demonstrated on the part of the men who lead this Federation. Those who



wanted to control and dominate and dictate, blinded with their own desires, because they could not do it they left this Federation. That's the story. This is the history of the Federation and its tax and its revenues. It was never intended to be a money making or money saving institution.

This Federation can function within the next year on the revenues mentioned in this report, and if we find next year that we cannot function we have the same machinery to go back and advance the per capita tax from one and one-half cents to two cents.

I thank you.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany: Mr. Chairman and delegates, as a member of the sub-committee of the Executive Council to which was given the job of making a study of the finances of the Federation, I feel I should have something to say in regard to this report. The sub-committee was composed of Vice-President Bugniazet, Vice-President Harrison and myself. We spent considerable time going over the financial picture for the last two or three years and gave deep consideration to the fundamental objective of the American Federation of Labor in reaching the conclusions upon which we based our recommendations to the Executive Council, which is in turn before this convention today.

The sub-committee was in agreement on one thing: That the American Federation of Labor was not a financial institution, that it was not in business for profit and that there was no particular purpose—and mind you, I am speaking now of the Federation and not of the individual International Unions that are the member units in the Federation—there was no particular purpose in building up a large reserve fund.

The account of the Federation in the past fiscal year shows an increase from \$716,000 to \$1,009,000—roughly an increase of \$291,000 over and above the \$700,000 which was in the treasury a year ago. That represents an increase of approximately forty per cent over our balance last year.

We realize that the International Unions, with their obligations to their individual locals and their individual members, must of necessity build up large reserves, if in their judgment they feel that the time is coming when these reserves will be needed. The Federation, however, carries the same financial obligation only as it applies to the members of the Federal Labor Unions.

If we were to carry the same financial obligation to the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor, one million dollars would not be worth talking about. Many, many times that amount would be necessary. But the obligation to support local unions and individual members in times of stress rests on the International Unions of this Federation.

That obligation, as far as the Federation is concerned, only applies to the general membership of the Federal Labor Unions. Our reserve at the present time amounts to more than \$1,000,000.00, and of that reserve over \$800,000.00 is in the defense fund to discharge our obligations to the Federal Labor Unions, our general fund shows a balance of slightly over \$200,000.00.

So when we approached this task we approached it in the spirit that there was no particular reason for concentrating large funds in the hands of the American Federation of Labor itself, that the job of building up reserves to defend our membership belonged to each and every International Union, and if we attempted to assume that obligation each and every International Union, large and small, would jealously resent any such intrusion on our part.

Of course, we realize that we are competing with a ruthless, rival movement that adopts a different policy. If this amendment is adopted today our per capita tax will be less than 35% of that of the rival organization, but I assure you that it is the intent of that rival organization and of its leaders to concentrate all power in the national office in Washington, or in other words, all power in the hands of one single individual. The history of the Miners, the present status of the Miners in regard to finances proves that. Five cents a member per month goes into that office and it is disbursed from that office, and when it is disbursed I say to you that the control of that money implies control of each and every individual unit of the rival organization.

We felt that that was not the policy of the American Federation of Labor, and, strange as it may seem, we felt that if the funds of the American Federation of Labor were growing and on the increase, it was our duty to our International Unions and to our affiliates to keep that balance just where it belongs—just enough to leave a comfortable reserve to meet running expenses—and in reaching that conclusion we had confidence that the delegates representing the American Federation of Labor, individual units who attend this convention would be ready in the future, if sacrifices were asked, or if increases were necessary and demanded by the situation which we faced, they would be ready to shoulder their responsibility and discharge their obligation to the organization. That is the reason for the reduction and the recommendation.

On the basis of this recommendation and on the basis of the figures taken for the last year, it is estimated that if we have the same membership—and we have every reason to believe that we will have not only the same membership but a larger membership—but if we have at least the same membership in the coming year, this proposal, to bring us out even, will need an economy of approximately two per cent on our entire budget.



Our general fund shows an excess of \$119,000.00 in the past year. The additional allocation to the general fund from the defense fund under this proposal—and I say that this still leaves a comfortable margin of safety in the defense fund, a two-to-one margin according to the record—would leave us a deficit in the general fund on the 1½ cent basis of \$165,000.00. Assuming again that we have the same membership and run \$119,000.00 excess, we would have to make up \$46,000.00, which is approximately 2½ % of our budget for the entire year.

As far as the supplemental report of the Executive Council is concerned, it affects one organization at the present time. There is one organization during the past year that has paid on more than 300,000 members to the Federation, and the amount of money involved, assuming again that that organization will pay on the same membership that they paid on during the past year, would mean taking the half cent off for those over 300,000 a loss of \$6,000.00 on a budget of \$1,335,000.00. That is what the half cent means to the organization paying on over 300,000 members per year, on the basis of their membership for the past year.

If, however, other organizations go above that figure, and this one organization increases the figure upon which they have been paying, then of course our revenue will be increased, not reduced.

So, from the standpoint of finances, from the standpoint of what we are able to foresee in the future, I feel that the recommendation of the Executive Council and of this committee is a sound and sane recommendation for this Federation.

Delegate Tracy, Clay Workers: As a member of the committee I have no business on this floor. The subject has been well covered, but Brother Duffy is also a member of the committee and he comes from almost next door to my organization. We are supposed to have jurisdiction between us over all clay products. Once in awhile the C. I. O. comes out and organizes a plant, but that doesn't bother us a great deal. Sometimes, as Brother Duffy has said, some A. F. of L. organization steps over and takes a plant. That doesn't bother us a great deal, either. You can talk to some of them and they come back, and if you don't get them back you don't know how to service them.

The point I want to make, Mr. Chairman, is this: The other day I had the pleasure of passing a very pleasant time with one of the real old-timers, Brother Perham, and he is really one of the daddies of this movement. My colleague, President Kasten, and I are beginning to reach that point where we are old-timers ourselves, and if we haven't learned anything since the last convention in Seattle, which President Kasten attended, we have learned what Sam Gompers so often

told us when we were on the outside one time—we are a voluntary organization. I have never forgotten that.

I was against this resolution, as Chairman Tobin will tell you. I was against reducing the tax one-half of one cent. I didn't agree that when big organizations like the Carpenters, Machinists and others reach the peak—and we all hope they reach the peak—should be extended a donation, or whatever you want to call it.

I represent a small organization, 17,000 members, with a paper organization of 25,000 members, because we have not taken any WPA money and we grant free dues to the non-working member. Nevertheless, we have got to understand what it is all about. We were on that committee. I took up considerable time and was gently reminded by Chairman Tobin on one or two occasions. But that committee voted unanimously for the adoption of this report, because after we heard from Secretary Meany and Chairman Tobin on a thousand things that we could take up the whole afternoon talking about, we were convinced it was to the best interests of this Federation that we do so.

I still do not agree with everything I still think we ought to have the two cents per capita tax, because the C. I. O. is going to say we are cheats. But we know that Chairman Tobin, of our committee, stood up in Cincinnati when he was all alone, and he certainly looked like a cheap institution, until we heard his explanation, and he complained about the one-cent assessment. We should all know by this time that to that big organization a cent means a great deal on 30 cents per capita tax. We have a per capita tax of \$1.05 in our organization. We need that, we have had it for twenty years and we are going to retain it.

But you must listen to the big fellows as we ask the big fellows to listen to us. Sometimes we condemn them and we will continue to do that and reserve that right, but you must listen to the big fellows once in a while. I get a kick out of it when a big organization like Tobin's and others explain to us little fellows that they need certain things. It makes me feel that we have a Federation, as old Sam Gompers used to say, that is a voluntary organization.

I think a great many of us who complained in years gone by of the power of this Federation have lived long enough to see the officers of the Federation clip some of that power. They clipped it very nicely when the Secretary of the Federation said we could live on one-half cent. That means a lot to take home to some of our members who say the Federation is ruled by a bunch of czars, and I think when you take the finances out of the Federation that clips their wings.

I want to repeat again, I come from one of the small organizations. I sat on that committee and I opposed both the recommendation of the one-half cent and

the special privilege to the bigger organizations, until I heard from Secretary Meany, Chairman Tobin, and that very venerable old man, Brother Weber. They reminded me of some of the things that I know took place prior to the time that I began to be part and parcel of this Federation. I voted for this resolution and everyone else voted for it. I don't care what the rest of the delegates do in this convention. That is their privilege. Possibly they didn't have the information. They may vote against it. I would if I didn't understand it. But we on that committee undoubtedly understood everything, and if we hadn't Bill Tracy would have been here with a minority report.

I am whole-heartedly in favor of it, and, gentlemen, if we reach the peak of a one hundred per cent organization we will never have over 45,000 clay workers.

I am for the resolution.

President Green: Are there further remarks?

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: President Green . . .

President Green: May I inquire if there are other delegates who desire to speak? Under the rules, a delegate may speak twice only after all who wish to speak have been accorded the opportunity to do so.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Volz, Secretary of the Committee: I should like to say a word, Mr. Chairman. I should like to call to the attention of the delegates that the matter under discussion is not one of jurisdiction, not one of large or small organizations, it is one of finance, the amount of finance found necessary after investigation to have this Federation function in a satisfactory manner. The proposal is to reduce the per capita tax from two to one and one-half cents for the National and International Unions and to make a like reduction of one-half cent per member per month for the local and Federal Labor Unions. I trust that the issue of finance and the issue of jurisdiction which has been referred to previously will not be confused in this matter, because I believe all of us are anxious to reduce the assessment if the Federation can operate under a reduced assessment, such as is here proposed.

President Green: Are there further remarks? If not, the Chair recognizes Delegate Duffy.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: First of all, I want to correct Brother Tracy of the Clay Workers. Brother Tracy said that I am a member of the Committee on Laws. Now Brother Tracy is absolutely and teetotally wrong. I am not a member of that committee.

I want to say further that I am not unalterably opposed to the recommendation

of the special committee of three for reduction of the per capita tax from two cents to one and one-half cents per member. Brother Tobin gave in total figures the amount of per capita tax which his organization pays into the American Federation of Labor and the amount which the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters pay. I want it distinctly understood that the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters has paid every cent of its per capita tax which it owes to the American Federation of Labor, under the law of this organization, and Brother Tobin should have made that distinction.

Now if it is a matter of his organization being unable to meet that expense—and that is the way I take it from what he says, that his members will not submit to a per capita tax in their own organization enabling them to meet this expense of the per capita tax into the American Federation of Labor, that is something else.

Another thing, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters has a death benefit, a sanitarium treatment for tuberculosis victims, a treatment for members afflicted with asthma. We have unemployment benefits and we pay, very moderate and fair salaries in our organization. We are very conservative in the expense items in the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters also.

I can go along very well with the reduction of two cents to one and one-half cents per member, but I cannot go along with that special concession.

I want to make a motion to amend the report of the Committee on Laws by striking out that part of the report with reference to making this special concession of one cent per member to those organizations having a membership in excess of 300,000 members.

Mr. Chairman, I make that motion, to amend the report in that respect.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

May the Chair take advantage of the opportunity and impose upon your time and patience for just a moment, while I express my views in the matter and submit to you what I think will be information? I want to do so in such a way as to enable you to arrive at an intelligent conclusion, in support of the committee's recommendation, or in opposition to it.

First of all, the American Federation of Labor, as you must all know, is not an organization. We sometimes—and I think altogether too frequently—lose sight of that fact. The American Federation of Labor is a federation of organizations. 106 or 108 national unions have been chartered, and each of these 108 or 106 International Unions—whatever it may be—are separate, autonomous organizations. These are the organizations. The American Federation of Labor simply represents the federation of these organiza-

tions into a federation of unions, formed for the purpose of promoting the common interests of not one particular organization but of all. I hope that point may be clearly established.

Each of these national unions exercises jurisdiction in certain fields. For instance, the Operative Potters exercises jurisdiction over those employed in pottery manufacturing plants. The Brotherhood of Teamsters exercises jurisdiction over team drivers, truck drivers, chauffeurs, warehousemen, and so forth. Now, the potentialities of each organization are different. The potential strength of the Teamsters, of course, seems to be almost unlimited. It operates in a field where thousands and thousands and thousands of truck drivers and chauffeurs and teamsters and teamsters' helpers and warehousemen are employed. The Operative Potters operate in a limited field. I presume that the potential strength of that organization would be less than 100,000. If every potter in the country was organized into that Union it would be less perhaps than 100,000. We cannot help that situation; it is a reality. There are more people employed in the one field than in the other. That is a development of industry, of industrial processes. However, it is the firm purpose of the American Federation of Labor through a federation of these unions to treat each one as autonomous organizations functioning in their own particular field, to protect them in the exercise of their jurisdiction, and to accord each of them equal and exact treatment. If one has 40,000 members it pays tax to the American Federation of Labor on 40,000. If an organization has 400,000, it pays tax on 400,000. And, I repeat again, that is a reality, it is a fact, it is a condition. We don't create it, we merely face it and deal with it just as we are called upon to do.

The committee's report provides that uniformly the per capita tax shall be reduced, the per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor paid by these national and international unions shall be reduced from two cents to one and one-half cents per member. That recommendation is based upon a careful study and a careful analysis of not only the fixed but the contemplated income and expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, you must give those who have examined the record and the facts credit with understanding pretty well the financial needs of the American Federation of Labor. That would be uniformly applied to large organizations as well as small ones, on a cent and a half basis.

Now then, the other objection raised by Brother Duffy, that where they get over 300,000 it should be reduced, let me tell you the need of the moment—and this is the point I want to make—the need of the moment, is that national unions in mortal conflict with the seceding organization, should be accorded the fullest help and support in order that they may carry on the fight. The Teamsters, a big organiza-

tion, has come to grips with the dual movement. I cannot begin to tell you the amount of money spent in the city of Minneapolis alone. But it is that union and not the American Federation of Labor that must fight that battle. The Machinists must resist the raiding tactics of the C. I. O. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees must also do so in their own field.

A cent per capita tax on 400,000 members means \$4,000 a month, \$50,000 a year, and if half of that or all of it can be allotted to a national union after it reaches 300,000, for the purpose of carrying on the fight in its own field against these raiding tactics, then we are making a contribution to our own cause, and the amount of money they will get out of it will be inconsequential in comparison with the cost they must face to save their jurisdiction, to resist raids made by these organizations upon these International Unions.

I hope I have been able to clarify that situation a bit. It is a reality, and we are facing it, and we must face it in a constructive, brave and courageous way, and I am sure this convention is going to do so.

The question recurs upon the amendment offered by Delegate Duffy. Delegate Duffy moves to amend the committee's report by striking out that part of the recommendation of the committee which provides that International Unions shall pay one cent per month per member in excess of 300,000 members. The question will recur upon the amendment. All in favor of the amendment please say "aye"; those opposed say, "no."

The amendment is lost.

The question now recurs upon the adoption of the committee's report. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report hold up your right hand; those opposed, the same sign.

It is clearly evident that the report of the committee has been adopted by more than a two-thirds vote. The Chair decides the report of the committee legally adopted by a two-thirds vote of this convention.

## Proposed Change in Number of Vice-Presidents

(Executive Council's Report, Page 50)

Your committee is in full accord with the foregoing recommendation of the Executive Council and unanimously of the opinion that concurrence with the proposed change will result in greater efficiency and as pointed out in expediting the work of the Federation.

We accordingly recommend an amendment to Section 1 of Article V of the constitution by substituting the word "thirteen" for the word "fifteen" appearing on the second line, making the entire section read as follows:

"Article V—Officers—Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, thirteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council."

Secretary Volz moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: Are there any remarks? If there are no remarks, all those who favor concurrence in the committee's report please say "aye"; opposed, "no."

The motion is carried by a two-thirds vote, and it is so ordered.

Secretary Volz: This concludes the report of the Committee on Laws and is respectively submitted by:

Daniel J. Tobin, Chairman  
Edward J. Volz, Secretary  
Joseph N. Weber  
James E. Rickets  
Frank Hull  
James Killen  
William Tracy  
William J. Gorman  
Ray O. Shuster  
Herbert Rivers  
Jasper N. Davis  
William McCarthy  
John J. Egan  
James L. Kelley  
Sol Cilelto  
George Slater

Committee on Laws

Secretary Volz moved adoption of the committee's report as a whole and as approved by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair wishes to thank the committee for the service it has rendered.

Vice-President Tobin: To cover the law, I think it is necessary that we adopt the constitution as a whole, as amended.

President Green: Yes.

Vice-President Tobin: In recent years we have experienced a great many legal technicalities. The constitution of this Federation as well as the proceedings of these conventions have been before the courts on more than one occasion within the last year. I think we ought to be technically legal.

I offer a motion that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor as a whole, as amended, be approved by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Birthright of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

## Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Chairman Birthright: The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies had two resolutions before the committee, both dealing with matters of affiliation with state and central bodies.

Secretary Quinn will read the report.

Secretary Quinn, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, submitted the following report:

Your Committee has two resolutions referred to it and on which we submit the following report:

## State Federation and City Central Body Affiliation

**Resolution No. 56**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present policies of some international unions makes it mandatory for local unions to maintain membership in city central bodies and State Federations of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Such policies have proven wise and in the best interests of the international unions, the local unions, and for the best interests of organized labor generally, and

WHEREAS, Other international unions have not insisted that their local unions affiliate with the local central bodies and the State Federations of Labor, and

WHEREAS, Federal labor unions are required to maintain membership in local central bodies and State Federations of Labor but have not uniformly done so, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to take such action as will require affiliation of local unions with city central bodies and State Federations of Labor.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution, also that the Executive Council take such action that will bring about compliance of this resolution, in regard to Federal Labor Union affiliation.

Secretary Quinn moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## Central Labor Council Affiliation

**Resolution No. 57**—By Delegate Frank Chinella, Central Labor Council, Juneau, Alaska.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times, many affiliated local unions in most towns of any size, and each craft have their own jurisdiction throughout the land, and

WHEREAS, It has resulted that in towns of small population where locals are few, and the membership of these are small, that some locals, not having the strength in number, are unable to carry on as independent units, because of constant attacks from without, and

WHEREAS, There is usually in each town a Central Labor Council chartered by the American Federation of Labor, which is the coordinating body for that area, and these Central Labor Unions have at all times, through cooperative actions of its affiliates, been able to give added support and strength to the locals of all International and National Unions, and

WHEREAS, Many International Unions require that their chartered locals affiliate with the Central Labor Council within ninety days of receiving their charters, thus resulting in coordinating the labor movement of each town, and

WHEREAS, In many instances locals chartered by Internationals not having such requirements, do not affiliate with the Central Labor Council, consequently weakening the labor movement in that area; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby go on record, making it a prerequisite that all local unions of all Internationals do make it mandatory that their affiliates must, within ninety days of being chartered, become members of the Central Labor Council in their area, thus bringing the labor movement to better cooperation in all smaller communities of our land; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention do urge upon their affiliated Internationals, that they, at their next conventions following, go on record to amend their International Constitution, thus bringing the unions of all areas in closer cooperation throughout the Country and its Territories.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the reasons that the recommendations contained therein involve the International Unions relative to affiliation of their local unions with Central Bodies.

Secretary Quinn moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Quinn: Your Committee wishes to call attention to the work in the various localities that has been helpful to the local unions of the various In-

ternational Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that by affiliating the local unions you build up an organization that can accomplish much for the general membership of organized labor.

Secretary Quinn moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and the report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Quinn: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, and the report is signed:

W. C. Birthright, Chairman  
James C. Quinn, Secretary  
C. C. Coulter  
Joseph M. Marshall  
A. Adamski  
R. E. Woodmansee  
J. B. Boscoe  
Wm. J. Moran  
Alfred Rota  
Lawrence Foley  
Forrest H. Amo  
Wm. McGuern  
A. E. Martin  
Nat Messing  
P. J. Cullen  
Thomas C. Cashen  
Arthur J. Strunk  
Herman Finkelstein  
Bert Swain  
David Levine  
Bernard Shane  
O. M. Jacobson

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Secretary Quinn: Mr. Chairman, I move you for the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies. We thank the committee for its report and service rendered.

## Announcements

There were several announcements as to the time and meeting places of committees; and also miscellaneous announcements were made.

Delegate Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 13, 1941.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Whereupon at the hour of 4:35 o'clock, p. m., the convention stood adjourned until 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, October 13, 1941.

**FIFTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION****Seattle, Washington, October 13, 1941**

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

**President Green:** I am pleased to announce that Rev. Newton E. Moats, Pastor of the First Methodist Church, will pronounce the invocation this morning—Dr. Moats.

**INVOCATION**

**(Rev. Newton E. Moats, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Seattle, Wash.)**

Gracious God of the ages, we pause to acknowledge that Thou art the Author of all truth, all goodness, all love. May it be something more than a pause. May it be an acknowledgment of Thee, deep within our hearts.

As we open with prayer may there be a prayer at the very seat of this convention. O, Thou who art the source of all truth, lead us with clear vision. Give us far horizons. Take the dimness away from our eyes. Thou who art the source of all goodness, help us to know the lessons of the ages past. Learn through the process of trial and error, through much suffering and hardship. May we find those lessons, may we apply them, that there may be an eternal goodness at the heart of this Federation.

And Thou who art the source of all life, bind us together with ties of brotherhood that are eternal. May there be something of that cement that brings men together in inseparable bonds, linked for the common good.

Be with the deliberations of this day and throughout the days and years that this convention shall be giving its influence. We ask these things in Thy name and for Thy sake. Amen.

**President Green:** The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for the submission of messages and for announcements.

**COMMUNICATIONS**

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

Denver, Colorado.  
October 10, 1941.

Honorable William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor  
Convention Headquarters  
Seattle, Washington.

Working farmers of America, through Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union extend to the officers, delegates and members of the American Federation of

Labor fraternal greetings. We feel confident your great organization with fine history of achievement and leadership in American labor movement fully recognizes the problems confronting all who work in field and in factory and faces these problems with broad vision and high courage. We hope our pleasant relationships may find still more effective and mutually helpful expression in days ahead. The Farmers Union believes that unemployment has no place in America; that labor has the right to organize and when necessary to strike to enforce right demands; that adequate income and right living standards can be provided all who work; that the defense program can be promoted successfully without stopping production and use of needed consumer goods; that defense costs must not be taken out of reasonable living standards of workers; that we should plan now for post-war use of our almost limitless capacity to produce and consume useful goods. I hope you can join in support of these beliefs.

Fraternally,  
**FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND CO-  
OPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA.**  
James G. Patton, President.

New York, N. Y.  
October 9, 1941.

William Green, President  
American Federation of Labor Convention.

Chefs, Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Union, Local No. 89, A. F. of L., wishes to convey to you its full approval and extends its congratulations to you and the delegates for the position taken at the National Convention on the question of the United States giving unlimited aid to all nations resisting Nazi aggression and for the repeal of the Neutrality Act and extending full support to the President of the United States. This local unanimously adopted resolutions calling for the giving of unlimited aid to all nations fighting Hitlerism and for repeal of the Neutrality Act at its membership meeting held in New York on October 6th. Wires have been sent to President Roosevelt and Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee making known our position and asking for immediate favorable legislative action on this very vital question.

**HARRY REICH, President.**

Washington, D. C.  
October 10, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Seattle, Washington.

We are sending this appeal to you and to the chief executive of other great labor groups which are now, or soon will be, in



annual convention. We appeal to you now, to have your organization become zealously active in the educational work which will lead to the formation of consumers' cooperative organizations.

When the World War ended farmers were crushed between inflation of war and the post-war deflation. Great farm cooperative organizations then developed. They have performed a great service.

Now we face another crisis which threatens wage earners even more than farmers. Terrific increases in prices is warning of what may come soon. Wage increases alone will not solve the problems because cost of living always rises faster than wages. We feel enlightened labor leaders should act immediately, to inspire the development of cooperative buying organizations to solve cost of living problems. These cooperative buying organizations should be on Rochdale plan of democratic open membership to all, and should not be restricted to any group.

If city wage earners were organized cooperatively now as farm cooperatives are, we probably would not need government price control legislation. Cooperatives would do the job of controlling prices as many cooperatives in farm fields are now doing.

Incidentally, at this time the same forces which always have profited by encouraging farmers to attack organized labor and organized labor to oppose farmers are now at work. If democracy is to be preserved and dictatorship defeated, farmers must understand and appreciate the problems of city workers, and wage earners in cities must understand and appreciate the problems of farmers. Consumer cooperative organizations are working economic organizations which make for good will between farmers and wage earners. Consumer cooperative organizations are now highly successful. More than a million families are now members of such organizations.

Cooperative buying organizations in cities should help the farmer to get more for his farm goods and help wage earners in cities to get goods at less cost. But even more than the money savings involved, consumer cooperative organizations are the bridge of good will and peace between farmers and wage earners. Labor leaders should seize this cooperative method to develop good will and peace. Time is short. When defense preparation ends country will face frightening unemployment and relief problems. Cooperative organizations offer greatest assurance of help in such times.

SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS,  
CONGRESSMAN JERRY VOORHIS.

Denver, Colo.  
October 9, 1941.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel,  
Seattle, Washington.

Please convey to the delegates to the  
Seattle Convention of the American Fed-

eration, my heartfelt greetings and wishes for its most important, far-reaching and significant convention in its history.

The fight for democracy against totalitarianism must go on in a world temporarily given over to mad men, and be continued until democracy may live abroad, and until real and democratic unions as exemplified by the American Federation has finally cleared the atmosphere of dual unions here, and may the time be short when these dual unions shall have gone the way of the A. P. A. and the O. B. U.

America—and the American Federation of Labor are the hope of the world today: they are synonymous and eternal.

Sincerely,  
JAMES R. LORD,  
Denver, Colorado.

President Green: The Chair now calls for a report from the Committee on Executive Council's Report and presents to you the Chairman of the Committee, Vice-President Harry Bates.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Vice-President Bates: The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report will be made by the Secretary, Miss Selma M. Borchardt.

Delegate Borchardt, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

## DEATH OF VICE-PRESIDENT THOMAS A. RICKERT

(Page 50, Report of Executive Council)

Your Committee must make the report of the death of Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert which occurred on July 28, 1941. Brother Rickert has long functioned within our Labor Movement, where his adherence to sound trade union principles won him recognition from his fellow workers, and particularly from Sam Gompers. Thomas Rickert worked hard in our Movement. For twenty-three years he served as a member of our Executive Council. We realize now full well that had he spared himself more he would perhaps still be with us. The record of his work is his greatest tribute.

Your Committee recommends that a message of sympathy be sent from this Convention to the family of Brother



Rickert, and further that the delegates to this Convention stand in a moment's silent tribute to his memory.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

**President Green:** Now, in accordance with the recommendation of the committee, the convention will rise and stand for a moment while we pay tribute to the memory of our departed Vice-President, Brother Rickert.

The delegates stood in silence for a brief time in accordance with the committee's recommendation.

## INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

(Page 55,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee notes with deep regret that as yet the International Typographical Union has not re-affiliated with the A. F. of L. in which for many years it played so vital a role. There are a number of factors which must be observed in this connection; factors which materially affect the attitude of the parties involved in this question. First of all, the I. T. U. is unique among trade union organizations in having within its membership two permanently organized groups; groups which share alike in the benefits of trade unionism to which their membership entitles them, but which nevertheless are frankly rival groups. This basic division within the organization can readily become the basis of further differences which may develop.

Second: The International Typographical Union is one single unit in a very closely knit group of cooperative unions; that is, the I. T. U. is one of the unions in the Allied Printing Trades. This group of unions working jointly for the protection of their members' benefits has been exceedingly effective, as an association in their work. All of these unions and their members have profited richly because of their mutual aid in a common cause. The Allied Printing

Trades of which the I. T. U. is one has the full backing of the American Federation of Labor and of all state federations and city central bodies.

Third: The I. T. U. is one of the unions which, in close cooperation with the other printing trade unions will be called on to play an ever increasing role in our National Defense Program.

From these three factors we realize that while on the one hand internal differences within the union are likely to play an important role in the consideration of any problem, that on the other hand that a way must be found through which a united Typographical Union may function within the Allied Printing Trades as a functional part of the American Federation of Labor and as a part of the well coordinated allied printing industry, as a part of our National Defense program.

The International Typographical Union has contributed richly to the rise and development of our bona fide American Labor Movement, and in turn its members have profited richly from the help that all of organized labor has given to this union. Your Committee would ask that due consideration be given to the fact that the failure of the International Typographical Union to be in the American Federation of Labor may give encouragement to those groups which are promoting trade union piracy, and hence to the ultimate destruction of existing strong unions.

Your Committee would commend the Executive Council for its splendid work in seeking to effect an adjustment with the International Typographical Union and would further recommend that the Committee which has thus far so ably worked be continued, to the end that the I. T. U. may again be in our organization.

Your Committee would further recommend that to protect the interests of the individual worker in each of the printing trades and to protect the good name of the Allied Printing Trades, that pending these further negotiations that no action be taken by the American Federation of Labor regarding the union label of the Allied Printing Trades unless the Allied Printing Trades themselves ask for such

action during the interim of further negotiations.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS-MACHINISTS**

(Page 65,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee notes with gratification the agreement which has been reached between the representatives of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the International Association of Machinists, for the settlement of a long standing jurisdictional dispute between these two organizations. This agreement gives practical expression to the claim of our member organizations that we can among ourselves most effectively solve our own family problems.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS -LONGSHOREMEN**

(Page 66,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee is pleased further to report that the agreement between the National Organization, Masters, Mates and Pilots and the International Longshoremen's Association will contribute materially to the promotion of the best interests of our country and of the individual members of the organizations as well. This agreement well exemplifies our members' desire to adjust their differences in the interest of the promotion of our national welfare.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **BOILERMAKERS, PLUMBERS AND STEAMFITTERS**

(Page 67,  
Report of the Executive Council)

It is gratifying to note further the satisfactory settlement of another jurisdictional dispute; one which arose between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. While such settlement would at all times be pleasing, it is particularly gratifying at this time for the elimination of this jurisdictional dispute will help in expediting our National Defense work, on which the two unions in question are engaged to a large extent.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **ELIMINATION OF COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST INFLUENCE FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS**

(Page 71,  
Report of the Executive Council)

The menace of Communist domination in the American Federation of Teachers was formally first called to the attention of the American Federation of Labor by Dr. Henry Linville, the former National President of this organization, when he appealed to President Green in 1935 to warn the membership of all the dangerous implications of Communist control. In the test vote at that time practically every well established bona fide teacher local voted against the Communists.

The irregularities by which the Communists gained control led the bona fide teacher members to appeal directly to the A. F. of L. Accordingly there was introduced into the 1935 A. F. of L. Convention a resolution asking that the A. F. of L. investigate the charges which the anti-Communist teacher locals had

formally placed before the A. F. of L. The resolution was adopted and the investigation was duly conducted by an A. F. of L. Committee. Communist control was found to be viciously dominant, and the organization was told to clean house.

With the active help of the A. F. of L. and the State and City Central Bodies, the anti-Communist teachers have finally succeeded in getting control again of the organization. They continue their fight under Dr. George Counts against all teachers who support any form of totalitarianism.

Your Committee would commend these men and women who have made this victory for American principles possible and would bespeak the active cooperation of State and City Central Bodies for them in their determined fight to keep the American classroom an institution devoted to the highest principles and best traditions of our America.

Your Committee is particularly happy to report that the bona fide teacher organization which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is the only nation-wide organization of teachers which has taken such a firm, positive action against having Communists, Nazis and Fascists in American schools.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

Delegate George S. Counts, Federation of Teachers: I want to say just a few words in support of this motion. I hope we shall have a very vigorous approval of the motion.

Two years ago at the convention in Cincinnati, as some of you who were there may remember, I made a statement before that convention to the effect that the great majority of the members of the American Federation of Teachers were utterly opposed to totalitarianism in every form, whether Communist, Nazi or Fascist. I imagine some of you who were present at that time thought that those were just words on our part. They were not. We meant those things. At the time I knew there was organized Communist influence within the Federation, and many of us had decided it was time to

stop that, and we proceeded to carry on the battle during these two years. At the time we started we did not know how that struggle was going to come out, we did not know what course it was going to take. We finally had to go the hard way. We had to call for the revocation of three charters, two charters in New York and one in Philadelphia, Locals 5 and 537 in New York, and Local 192 in Philadelphia.

I say we went the hard way, carried it to our own membership in the American Federation of Teachers this last year, and conducted an educational campaign through the Teachers to the extent of what the issue was, and the action culminated, after a vote by the membership, in the convention last August.

I want to thank the American Federation of Labor, I want to thank in particular President Green, Secretary Meany and Mr. Woll, Chairman of the Standing Committee, all of whom cooperated with us right generously in the struggle. I also want to thank the heads of the State and Local Bodies in New York and Pennsylvania. I refer particularly to Mr. Lyons, Mr. Murtha, Mr. Quinn, and Mr. McDonald and Mr. McDevitt, the first three in New York, and the other two in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Now, I think this battle is over, we have won this fight, and I don't believe we are ever going to have to carry this fight through again. We are going to keep the American Federation of Teachers thoroughly committed to the great ideals and values of American democracy.

We know, however, a revocation of charters is a negative thing. We have corrected mistakes of the past, but we have before us the problem of building the American Federation of Teachers. I want to ask the full support of local and state bodies in New York and Philadelphia in our task in building these new locals we have already established and chartered. I also want to ask the cooperation of all of you throughout this country as we proceed in the months and years immediately ahead to build a great American Federation of Teachers, and such a Federation of Teachers I am sure will be of great value and

great credit to the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

## **RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT**

(Page 163,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee notes that the strength of the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated organizations is growing daily. This strength is making itself well felt in the cause of the negotiations seeking to promote the economic security and betterment of the members.

The increase in the volume of traffic has significantly been far ahead of the increase of employment, a fact which may assure the public that there is still a sufficient supply of skilled labor available in the industry to meet the anticipated rise in traffic. This fact is encouraging not only for the assurances which it gives that there will be no retardation in traffic from lack of skilled workers, but also that the ample supply of trained skilled labor available will make it unnecessary to break down apprenticeship standards, which are so important to our Movement.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## **WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS**

(Page 165,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee would urge the members to inform themselves fully of all the facts as they are set forth in Council's Report which are involved in the present negotiations for wages and working conditions on the roads. The problem is not merely one of adjusting wages to the rapid increase in the cost of living, but also one of preventing a virtual nullification of the rules of many years'

standing which governed the whole relationship of the workers to the roads.

The whole question is one of national importance which may soon be before the public in a critical form.

Your Committee recommends that a brief statement of the facts involved in the case be sent as soon as possible after the close of this Convention to all Central Bodies with the request that they inform their affiliated members thereof. It is our wish that our membership throughout the country be accurately informed what the facts in the case actually are, just as the delegates to this Convention may learn through the factual presentation made in the Report of the Executive Council.

Your Committee would further recommend that similarly, as there may develop other industrial disputes of nationwide importance in which we may be involved, that a statement be prepared, setting forth the actual facts of each case, and further that such statement be sent to our city central bodies for dissemination of information among their members.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## **CANADIAN COST-OF-LIVING BONUS**

(Page 167,  
Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee would urge that all delegates call to the attention of their respective constituencies that the Canadian Government, due to the negotiations of the Standard Railway Labor Organization has ordered the payment of a cost-of-living bonus for all employees without delay.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## RAILROAD LABOR AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Page 169,  
Report of the Executive Council)

The tremendous importance of the railroad industry to National Defense cannot be overestimated. This great importance carries with it a high degree of responsibility on the part of the workers, and this responsibility is met by the workers. However, in meeting it, the workers must exercise great skill, and continuously manifest a high degree of morale.

Your Committee recommends that our members who serve on local defense committees call these facts to the attention of the citizens in their respective communities and urge that they consider how essential to the maintenance of morale of the workers is the fact that morale is dependent upon their being fairly treated and their contribution being justly recognized.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Page 170, Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee would cite the Metal Trades Department as one of the fine examples of constructive trade union policy applied in the field of National Defense. We would cite three examples: (1) The Master Agreement on the Pacific Coast covers the terms of the employment and also the whole broad general field of employer-employee relationship. It serves as the basis for the development of an industrial setup which will make possible the necessary high degree of production. (2) The success of the Metal Trades Department in winning recognition for bona fide trade union collective bargaining in lieu of having wages and standards determined by the Shipbuilding Stabilization Committee, as some government representatives had so earnestly insisted. We would point out in this connection that

while the C.I.O. was willing to permit the setting of wages without process of negotiation, that the American Federation of Labor opposed such practices, and demanded, successfully, to have contracts negotiated between unions and employees. (3) The pronouncement of the Metal Trades Department in January, 1941, of a national policy on National Defense in which it was set forth that there should be no stoppage of work on national defense production until all methods of conciliation and mediation had been exhausted.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Turco, Newsboys: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask if the Federation Executive Council has taken any action regarding the acetylene welders, the struggle now going on in the Coast yards?

President Green: That is not dealt with in this section of the report. This is a report upon the Metal Trades Department and upon the work and administration of that Department of the American Federation of Labor. It does not deal with the closed-shop issue.

Delegate Turco: Thank you, sir.

The motion to adopt this section of the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

## RAILROAD WAGE NEGOTIATIONS

(Page 211, Report of the Executive Council)

The negotiations at present being conducted by the Standard R. R. organizations for an increase in pay focus our attention again not only on the demand of the workers for an adequate and proper wage, but also on the machinery through which their case is considered.

The factual data submitted in the case thoroughly justifies the workers' request for a substantial increase in wages. These data show that on the one hand that the volume of traffic has increased enormously thereby increasing the profits of the roads to a very high degree, while on the

other hand, due to the rapid rise in cost of living and the consequent reduction of workers' purchasing power that the real wages of the workers have shrunk at an alarming rate during this same period in which the profits of the roads have so rapidly increased.

The wages of railroad workers must now be raised to enable the men, in the face of the terrific rise in cost of living, to maintain the former purchasing power of their wages. The study shows that the rapidly rising profits of the roads fully justifies the demands of the workers.

The Executive Council therefore recommended that the American Federation of Labor give full support to the demand of the railroad workers for an immediate increase in pay.

Your Committee concurs in this recommendation and urges active support thereof.

Your committee would further submit to your consideration the fact that the machinery for the settlement of disputes in the railroad industry serves well in that industry because (1) the workers are well organized, (2) the organized workers are in a position to determine the qualifications of the workers themselves for the various jobs, and (3) the workers of this industry have a long record of successful experience in working through a medium of legislative control—a medium which the workers themselves conceived and developed as being peculiarly fitted to their definite problems in their particular industry.

Your Committee would point out that this machinery serving well for this highly organized industry would not serve in other industries less organized and engaged in other forms of production.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

(Page 205, Report of the Executive Council)

The American Federation of Labor is unequivocally committed to a policy of

mediation of labor disputes. In the present emergency, testing the very life of our nation and its free institutions, we have pledged our all for the welfare of our country.

On the basis of these premises we are ready to give our hearty support to the National Defense Mediation Board and to the purpose for which it exists. The Board was created "To adjust . . . any controversy or dispute by assisting the parties thereto to negotiate agreements for that purpose; afford means for voluntary arbitration . . ." It is therefore essentially a medium through which to promote voluntary arbitration. It is the recognition of this basic principle which gives us reason to support this Board.

We are ever mindful that it was in the name of the promotion of the National Defense that Italy, Russia, and Germany destroyed the rights of the people. They created machinery for mandatory arbitration which led to the arbitrary destruction of human rights. It is therefore significant that our National Defense Mediation Board is by the very Executive Order which created it, precluded from rendering any decision which would in itself destroy the freedom of the parties to the dispute.

The American Federation of Labor will continue to give hearty support to the Board in its work to promote our national welfare, and it will zealously safeguard as a function of that Board its work of promoting voluntary arbitration, and inferentially of opposing mandatory arbitration.

It must be remembered that such decisions as are made voluntarily by a trade union, however far-reaching their effect, may readily become an intrinsic part of the very life of the union during their duration, but that the same or even lesser decisions which are imposed on our members are destroyed in operation, by the lack of moral support which they would then receive.

We wish for the National Mediation Board great success in its work seeking to promote our national welfare and as a part thereof seeking to safeguard the rights of free labor which are basic in our national welfare.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### TRADE UNION BENEFITS

(Page 179, Report of the Executive Council)

Your Committee would call the delegates' attention to the study on Trade Union Benefits. The study even though all unions did not submit the requested data shows a tremendous amount of service to our members through their respective unions. Were the facts included from all unions the results would be even more impressive.

Your Committee would urge that all unions cooperate with our national headquarters in the gathering of these data; for it is only upon a knowledge of accurate facts that a sound argument for further benefits may be based.

A large number of unions afford their members benefits for sickness, accident, old age, unemployment and miscellaneous other emergencies. The more than twenty-three million dollars of benefits paid out by the unions as reported by the Executive Council represents only the benefits of some of the national and international unions, and so gives us not more than half of the actual financial benefits which unions pay to their members. The good which results from such payments may be reckoned in many ways, for it gives protection to the worker and to his family at times when there is greatest need therefore; and it builds more strongly the union itself which serves the worker.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### PROGRESS IN SECURING OTHER BENEFITS

(Page 179, Report of the Executive Council)

The study reported by the Executive Council shows also a fortunate trend

towards greater social benefits for workers: the shorter work day, the shorter work week, vacations with pay.

Your Committee recognizes that during this grave national emergency the workers would voluntarily limit certain social rights to which they are entitled in order to increase production, but the right to enjoy those benefits, and the recognized need therefor, must not be jeopardized in any way.

Your Committee urges active support of the recommendation of the Executive Council that the principle of the five day week and of vacations with pay for all, be included in the collective bargaining agreements. Thereafter the unions voluntarily may make such adjustments in their agreements as our national safety may require to increase production, with full regard for the health and safety of the workers themselves.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### FRATERNAL DELEGATES

(Page 209, Report of the Executive Council)

The Council has reported that Brother Harry Stevenson, President of the International Molders Union of North America, represented the American Federation of Labor at the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The close and happy relations between this organization and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress exemplify the bonds which tie our nation with the Free Dominion of Canada for our mutual benefit.

The Council reported that both national and international emergencies made it inadvisable for us to send fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress this year, even though we were more anxious to effect an intimate and practical working relationship with our fellow trade unionists in Britain. We are, however, deeply grateful to our British co-workers for sending to us their chosen representatives. Those who have come to us have inspired us; they



have aroused in us a firm determination to give practical expression to the pledges of cooperation we have here spoken. The courage, the vision, the tremendous sacrifice of our fellow workers in Britain as told to us, indeed as exemplified by the British Fraternal Delegates who are here today, assures us that not only shall we win the war, but that we shall win the peace as well.

We thank these fraternal delegates for all that their visit means to us.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### CONCLUSION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 229)

A study of the Executive Council's report shows vast, sudden and complete change occurring in every phase of our life today. We are faced with the challenge of preserving a scale of economic, social and spiritual values, while we actively participate in the tremendous movement which changes the very life from which came some of the ideals which we seek today to preserve. Above all, the recognition of the sanctity of each individual human being must ever be preserved as our basic premise.

The war situation which confronts us today is not of our choosing. But we cannot escape it. We are ready—are determined, in fact, to render the service and to make the sacrifices which may be required of us in this gigantic struggle.

Our free institutions must be preserved; human slavery must be abolished. Less than a century ago our Great Emancipator said that a nation half free and half slave cannot endure. Today we know that a world half free and half slave cannot endure.

We solemnly dedicate ourselves without reservation to the cause of human freedom.

Secretary Borchardt moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Borchardt, Secretary of the Committee: This, Mr. Chairman, concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report. Signed by:

HARRY C. BATES, Chairman  
SELMA BORCHARDT, Sec'y  
ROBERT BYRON  
F. A. FITZGERALD  
HENRY F. SCHMAL  
LEO J. BUCKLEY  
GEORGE Q. LYNCH  
CHARLES M. RAU  
WILLIAM CAMPBELL  
M. F. HEATER  
IRVIN BARNEY  
ARTHUR HUGGINS  
A. C. D'ANDREA  
A. O. WHARTON  
GEORGE L. BERRY  
W. D. MAHON  
M. J. SEXTON  
LUIGI ANTONINI  
WM. SCHOENBERG  
HARRY C. HATCH  
FRANK W. ANDERSON

Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Secretary Borchardt: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Rowe, Augusta, Georgia, Central Labor Union: Apparently, from the committee's report, the Executive Council has had a very busy year, especially the committee from the School Teachers' organization, in cleaning out their own house, and I think we ought to give the Committee on Executive Council's Report, the Executive Council, and the School Teachers, a rising vote of thanks at this time for taking the action that they have, and I so move.

President Green: The committee has completed its report and the motion to adopt the committee's report as a whole was carried by the convention. The delegate moves that as an additional expression of appreciation on the part of the delegates here for the work done by the Council, and for its report, and to the

committee for the very fine report it has made, that we express ourselves by a rising vote.

The Chair entertains the motion. All in favor of the motion will please rise. Those opposed, likewise.

The motion is carried by unanimous rising vote.

### Statement of Delegate Antonini

Delegate Antonini, Ladies Garment Workers: Certain newspaper stories which have come to our attention purport to explain the absence from this convention of President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. As the First Vice-President of our International Union I wish to state from the floor of this convention on behalf of myself and the delegates who are here with me that these amusing stories which merely draw their own conclusions, are unfounded. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is represented at this convention with a full number of delegates and the full voting power to which it is entitled under the constitution and by-laws of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: We are pleased indeed to receive this statement from Vice-President Antonini of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The statement he has just made will be included in the proceedings of today's convention. Thank you, Brother Antonini, for the statement you just made.

Delegate Reisdorf, Federal Labor Union, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: If I am in order, I would like to refer to the proceedings of Friday afternoon, the report of the Committee on Laws, in reference to Resolutions 43 and 44, which were introduced, trying to amend the constitution of the A. F. of L. in regard to resolutions from Federal Labor Unions and directly affiliated unions.

I note by the report Secretary Volz moved adoption of the committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

My information—and I am sorry I was not here, but I have some excuse for not being here—the committee's report was

set for 3 o'clock and I note in the proceedings that Secretary Volz said, "The Committee on Laws is ready to report. However, Chairman Tobin has not yet arrived because the time was set for 3 o'clock."

I certainly wish I had been here and the committee had not reported before 3 o'clock, because I certainly wanted to get up and talk on the committee's report. I may say I certainly was opposed to the committee's report in not granting the things in the resolution. However, my information is that the whole Wisconsin delegation voted against the report besides some of the members in the hall, and the Wisconsin delegation wishes for the records that the record be corrected and they be recorded as having voted against the adoption of the committee's report. If there is a motion necessary, I so move, that the record be corrected and the Wisconsin delegation be recorded as opposing the Committee on Laws report in regard to these resolutions.

President Green: The Chair desires to say that a motion is unnecessary. The statement you just made will be included in the proceedings of today's convention, and in that way you will register your opposition to the committee's report.

However, the Chair was influenced by the vote of the convention. When the Chair ruled that the committee's report was adopted unanimously, so far as I can recall there was not a single vote passed in the negative. It was unanimous.

Your statement will be included in the proceedings of the convention, and I presume that is what you desire.

Delegate Reisdorf: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

### COLUMBUS DAY

#### (Delegate Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers)

The Chair now calls upon Vice-President Antonini of the International Ladies' Garment Workers for a brief statement regarding Columbus Day, a national holiday in many states which of course, was October 12th, Sunday.

I am according to Brother Antonini an opportunity to make a statement regarding Columbus Day to the convention at this time—Delegate Antonini.

Four hundred and forty-nine years ago today, a Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus by name, discovered America. There was thus discovered more than a new hemisphere—the Western Hemisphere—but a new world. Columbus Day is therefore the birthday of our country, the birthday of America as a New World. And it is in this spirit that we today pay our reverence and homage to Christopher Columbus.

In the light of the present world conflagration, Columbus Day takes on the greatest significance—the symbol of a new, a free world and a new life. As Americans, we often speak of England as our mother country. But, as Americans we are more than that. We are citizens of the New World; as such we can speak of our mother-world, the Old World. Ruthless power-mad dictators—the Nazi Fuehrer Hitler and that sawdust Caesar, his obnoxious satellite, Mussolini, have hurled this mother-world of ours into the abyss of terror and torture, into the ghastly suffering and tragedy of infernal war. We, the child of the Old World, to which we owe so much, cannot sit idly by and pretend that we are neither concerned nor affected by this brutal effort to drive the whole world—new as well as old—relentlessly back to barbarism, nay even to savagery—to a savagery made all the more destructive by combining it with the dynamic power of science.

When four-fifths of the world are subjected to the torment and horrors of war, we, the remaining fifth, cannot possibly enjoy the benefits of peace, the blessings of security and freedom. The world cannot be four-fifths Nazi and savage and one-fifth democratic and civilized. The world cannot be four-fifths Fascist and inhuman and one-fifth free and human at the same time. Morally, culturally, economically and politically we dare not attempt to lull ourselves into a state of false and fatal isolation. Militarily, it would be impossible and suicidal for us to attempt to close our eyes, stuff our ears, fold our arms and say we are unconcerned. We must never forget that while it takes two to make and keep a peace, it takes only one to make and wage a cruel war. The moment we forget this, that moment we definitely put America next on Hitler's program of world conquest and domination.

Today, in my happiness at being in Seattle—a beautiful city on seven hills—I do not forget another great city on seven hills, the city of Rome—the Rome that was once the bastion of civilization and progress, now turned into a big prison house of Fascism. Here I would like to stress that in talking of oppressed peoples we should think not only of Belgians,

Czechs, Dutch, French, Norwegians and Russians. The Italian people are today amongst the world's most oppressed. Italy was the first land to be struck by the Fascist scourge. Italy is today an occupied country, a pawn in the clutches of the Hitler war machine.

Today, the Old World cries aloud in anguish for immediate and decisive help from us of the more fortunate New World. It is the cry of the many millions of human beings, of workingmen and working women, of helpless children of all nationalities, tongues and races—all under the iron heel of a bloody dictator and longing for life and freedom. Let us not forget for even a moment that it is the men and women of these same tongues and blood who have made our country what it is today—a mighty fortress of democracy—who have made our New World a beacon light of all humanity and all freedoms. We must not turn a stone ear to those oppressed millions in their hours of calamity. America has never before failed the oppressed. In these fateful hours for all humanity, when everything we cherish so dearly, when all human decency, welfare, and progress are at stake we Americans, we citizens of the New World, we Americans by choice and chance will not forget our debt and our duty to our brothers over there.

We of the trade union movement can never forget how much we owe to the British working people, to British trade unionism. We, as workers, can never forget how much we are indebted to the armies of labor that once streamed to our shores from Europe and felled our forests, plowed our soil, dug our coal, laid our railroad tracks, built our giant factories, helped fight and win our wars—in short, helped so much to lay the foundations for making America the arsenal of democracy. It is now our turn to help those who have helped us to our all.

More than that! This year, Columbus Day takes on an even greater importance because of the vital and urgent need for Western Hemisphere solidarity to beat back the ever-rising and encroaching threat of Nazi barbarism to all the twenty-one republics of the New World. Today, more than ever, is our Good-Neighbor-Policy not one of sentiments and phrases but of dynamic action and life. On this day, we must pledge ourselves, our all, to ever greater cooperation, economic, cultural, political, and military—among all the republics of the New World. Here is a two-fisted answer to the Nazi menace now drawing closer to the shores of the New World.

And on this occasion it is particularly timely to underline the fact that next year—1942—we celebrate the 450th anniversary of the discovery of the New World by the Italian navigator Christopher Columbus. It is fitting and proper for the American Federation of Labor, as the strongest free trade union movement in the world, to take the lead in organizing a grand inspiring celebration on this

great historical occasion. Approaching this anniversary with a full realization of its vital meaning, we should vow our unbreakable solidarity with and our unstinted support of the forces of freedom and progress now engaged under many flags and banners in a life and death conflict with the hordes of darkest reaction and savagery.

The cause of America has always been the cause of democracy, of freedom, of humanity. The cause of humanity and freedom and democracy must today—Columbus Day, 1941—more than ever before be the dearest cause of a united America, of an America marching forward, of our country as we think and feel about it, and as we are stirred by it when we devoutly and devotedly say those three immortal words: GOD BLESS AMERICA!

President Green: The fine statement just presented by Delegate Antonini will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention. I thank him very sincerely in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, for the fine sentiments expressed in the statement just submitted.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Flore, of the Committee on Labels.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Vice-President Flore: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Labels is ready to make its report. The Secretary of the Committee, Brother Beisel, is suffering from a sore throat and the Chairman will therefore read the report.

Vice-President Flore submitted the report, as follows:

### Recognized Union Labels

**Resolution No. 90**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In some industries a number of Union Labels are required on a product to indicate that said product has been produced in its entirety by Union men and women having jurisdiction of the various operations, and

WHEREAS, Labels recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should not be used with labels that do not have such recognition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as advising affiliated Local

Unions not to allow their label to be used on any product with other labels that are not recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge its affiliated bodies to only allow the use of their label in connection with labels recognized by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 90, introduced by Delegate Soderstrom of the Illinois State Federation, deals with a change of policy in the use of union labels by International Unions and the Label Trades Department. Delegates that were interested in the resolution were invited to a hearing. After the hearing, the Committee came to the conclusion not to recommend the adoption of resolution No. 90 and therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Recommendations of the Committee on Union Labels

In behalf of the Committee on Union Labels we have the pleasure in submitting a unanimous report, with recommendations which indicate remarkable progress on the part of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department. This report and the activities of the Union Label Trades Department merit the continued full cooperation on the part of all trade unionists and their friends with the officers of this militant subdivision of the American Federation of Labor.

Before analyzing the report of label activities, as submitted by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the report of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, we believe it worthy of note that again this year, as was the case last year, no affiliated organization has found it necessary or expedient to appeal to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for help or assistance in promoting the demand for products or services which are identified by the union label, shop card or button as the product of trade unionists.

The moral of this omission is plain and is the highest type of endorsement of the militant and constructive policies so well and efficiently carried on by the officers of the Union Label Trades Department.

Today, the symbol of trade union pro-

duction or services—the union label, shop card or button—is in most industries the rule rather than what in other years was the exception. This means that today there are but few trade unionists who can any longer successfully contend that he or she must make sacrifices to secure products or services which carry the union label, shop card or button.

The products which bear the union label or the services of workers which are identified by the display of the shop card or button might well be recognized as the products or services of free men in contrast with those products or services of non-trade unionists which, too often, we regret to say, are the products of economic slaves. Freedom, whether such be political or economic, is the American way.

The American flag signifies to the world that America is the home of the politically free. The product of industry or the services of workers identified by the union label, shop card or button is identified as the product or services not only of politically free Americans but also the product or services of those Americans who are free men and women.

The Union Label Trades Department has pursued its usual policy of promoting and publicizing union labels, shop cards and service buttons. Every available means of advertising these official emblems of American Federation of Labor unions have been used to urge consumers to buy only union label products and to use only union services. In fact, our Department urges union label-conscious consumers to demand union made goods where union label goods are not available and to employ union members for all services regardless of the fact that they do not display a shop card or service button. We feel that the purpose of our Department is to obtain the loyal support of all members of labor unions, their families and friends for everything "that is union." We are confident that by increasing the demand for all things that are union, those labor organizations which have not adopted a union label or some emblem to designate their services will adopt an official emblem and become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department.

It is a fundamental fact in economics that if union-earned money is not spent

for the products and services of union workers American union labor standards cannot be maintained. To state it positively, we repeat the principle that in order to obtain union wages through collective bargaining, members of labor unions and their friends must buy collectively. Only in this way can the American labor movement sustain the wages, hours and working conditions that have been gained in the past sixty years of struggle and sacrifice.

Your Committee, on behalf of the Union Label Trades Department, wishes to take this opportunity to express its appreciation for the splendid cooperation it has received from all national and international labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We also desire to express our deep gratitude to several railway labor unions which, while not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have given splendid support and cooperation in every campaign. In addition, we have received unusual support from various cooperative and business organizations, which, of course, are not in any way associated with the American labor movement.

Among the most ardent advocates of buying union label goods and using union services are the members of the union label leagues, directly affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department, and the members of the international, national, and local women's auxiliaries. These organizations add great impetus to the efforts made by officials of state federations of labor, central labor unions and local labor unions throughout America. The growing demand made by these members and their friends is placing the union labels, shop cards and service buttons on the map of America.

Thousands of manufacturers are now displaying the union label and thousands of industrial and business firms are designating their services by the shop card and service button because they realize that the collective buying power of the millions of trade unionists, their families and friends is a most valuable market. This union label-conscious market has increased the business of firms that have collective bargaining agreements with American Federation of Labor unions by

increasing percentages annually for the last six years. The constant aim of the Union Label Trades Department has been to prove to employers that the union label is an emblem of mutual benefit. It means a square deal for both the employer who unionizes his plant and the employees who are members of a trade union. Collective bargaining spells higher wages. Higher wages means more purchasing power for the members of organized labor. Increased purchasing power means greater demand for the raw products of our farming, mining and lumbering industries. It means greater orders for the manufacturers, the processors and for the transportation of these commodities. With the shortening of working hours, millions now idle will obtain employment. This is the program of organized labor. It will create mass purchasing power. It is the only way to absorb mass production.

Among the various activities for the promotion of the union label, shop card and service button formulated by the Union Label Trades Department are local union label exhibits and union label weeks. Local union label committees, in conjunction with the central labor unions, union label leagues and women's auxiliaries, have held some very successful union label "shows" in various cities. Several governors and mayors have issued proclamations declaring union label weeks. This six-day period set aside for the sole purpose of promoting the union label, shop card and service button has created great interest among consumers.

The American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor is being sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department. The Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department urges all local unions to form women's auxiliaries with the hope that central auxiliaries will be formed in every city, and state federations in every state in order to form a strong international women's auxiliary. Many temporary certificates have been issued to local auxiliaries, central auxiliaries and some state federations.

Union labels, shop cards and service buttons are emblems on the banner of the allied forces which are combatting industrial dictators in America. They are the symbols of democracy. These trade

marks of unions are the very antithesis of industrial totalitarianism. This great army of union-label-conscious consumers are pitted against the axis forces composed of sweatshop employers and low-wage chiselers. These official insignia which are displayed on union label goods and designate union services represent the mobilized consumers, who, with union-earned money, patronize only those firms that display the union label, shop card and service button.

Union-earned money is the greatest weapon for the defense of American labor union standards. Members of trade unions, their families and friends form these union label-conscious battalions. Like bombs in an air raid, union labels, shop cards and service buttons are the greatest weapons to drive out unfair bosses and open-shoppers from the consumer market.

Loyal labor editors are now sending forth voluntary columns of union label publicity to reinforce the oral barrage of union label boosters. When the engagement is over the field will be cleared for only American-made and union label merchandise. The women's auxiliary units are also in the front line trenches of this great conflict between unionized industries and unfair manufacturers.

We request and suggest that all national, international unions, state organizations, city central bodies and local unions do all they can to help the officers of the Union Label Trades Department in forming women auxiliaries in the local unions because we men claim that the women hold the purchasing power. We want the women of union men to spend their union-earned wages for union label goods and recognize union service cards and buttons. We believe that women should be educated in regard to union label shop cards and buttons. Therefore, we believe the best way to get the women union-label-conscious is by belonging to a Trades Union Auxiliary.

We recognize the fact and compliment those especially responsible, namely, President Matthew Woll and Secretary-Treasurer I. M. Ornburn for the militant activity of the Union Label Trades Department, which has not only substantially promoted the welfare of the affil-



ated National and International Unions but in many cases has contributed mightily to the workers in many industries whose employees have become members of the American trade union movement.

In closing, we believe all those who have contributed to the success of the Union Label Trades Department and those who are specifically referred to in the report of the officers of the Union Label Trades Department, submitted to the Convention, should be accorded the thanks of the delegates to this Convention.

Vice-President Flore, Chairman of the Committee, moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Flore: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Union Labels, which is signed by the committee:

EDWARD FLORE, Chairman  
PETER BEISEL, Secretary  
JOSEPH OBERGFELL  
CHARLES HANSEN  
ANTHONY MERLINO  
M. S. MAXWELL  
MARTIN LAWLOR  
MORRIS BLUMBERG  
MELVIN FERRON  
JOSEPH ADDY  
JAMES A. TAYLOR  
JOSEPH C. ORR  
JOSHUA CHADWICK  
JOHN ZITELLO  
ANASTASIA BECKER  
ROBERT L. FREY  
R. E. VAN HORN  
CHARLES A. SUMNER  
ABRAHAM PLOTKIN  
ROBERT LESTER  
W. G. DESEPTE

Committee on Union Labels.

Vice-President Flore moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Union Labels as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Our distinguished visitor scheduled to speak to the delegates this morning has arrived. He is prepared to submit to this convention a message which I know will be inspiring, educational, and interesting.

In presenting the speaker of the morning it seems quite appropriate for me

to repeat what I have stated heretofore, that ever since the American Legion was formed we have maintained a close, I might say fraternal relationship between that great patriotic organization and the American Federation of Labor. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor respond to cordial invitations extended to attend and address the American Legion conventions. In turn the distinguished Commanders of the American Legion have responded to our cordial invitations extended by the American Federation of Labor to attend and address conventions of the American Federation of Labor. This policy has been followed without interruption from the beginning.

When I make this statement I do not mean that there is perfect accord and perfect agreement between the two organizations on all questions, but I think I can truthfully say that we agree at least 90% or more.

The one outstanding feature of it all is that there is no difference of opinion between the membership of the American Legion and of the American Federation of Labor regarding Americanism and our American form of government, the American way of life, and the American philosophy. We stand together there. We are united now in a general, common understanding, a common policy regarding the support of our Government's defense program and of the extension of all aid possible to Great Britain and her Allies.

It occurred to me that I could very properly make this brief explanation in introducing the distinguished visitor who is with us this morning. I attended the convention of the American Legion, which was held in Milwaukee last month. There I spoke in your behalf and presented what I believed was your message. I can truthfully report to this convention that I was most cordially received and was extended a most warm welcome. I know that the attitude of those in attendance at this convention this morning is just the same. We extend to the distinguished Commander of the American Legion, who is here, a warm and cordial welcome. We are happy to have him with us. He comes to us now,



the recipient of high honors just recently conferred upon him. Among the thousands of members of the American Legion the distinguished visitor of this morning was selected to serve as the Commander of the American Legion, the great leader of that patriotic organization, for the ensuing year. He resides in Fargo, North Dakota, not so very far away as we measure distance in America. We are happy to have him with us. I know he will bring to us a most helpful, constructive and interesting message.

I now take great pleasure in presenting to you the Commander of the American Legion, Lynn U. Stambaugh, of Fargo, North Dakota.

### LYNN U. STAMBAUGH (Commander of the American Legion)

President Green, my good friends of the American Federation of Labor:

As National Commander of the American Legion, I come here to return the visit of your President, Mr. William Green, who so graciously came to our Milwaukee convention in furtherance of a long standing friendship existing between our organization and the American Federation of Labor. It is a friendship that has continued since the days when the Legion was founded immediately following our participation in the Great War. It is a friendship cherished and nurtured by every National Commander who has preceded me. To say that I am honored to be the bearer of a message conceived in such a spirit of fellowship is to state the simple truth.

If there are any regrets in my mind as I stand before you today they are not compounded of a lack of regard for labor and for the American Federation of Labor which is so important in its expression of the will of organized labor. Any regrets that may be in my mind are solely and entirely due to the fearful state in which the world finds itself today. There is little satisfaction to any American in the knowledge that we must superimpose a whole new concept of military affairs on the scheme of living in which we have taken so much pride down through the generations. There is even less satisfaction in the knowledge that the brotherhood of man is so far sundered that many nations are at war and that men, women, and children by the scores of millions must kneel in slavery and bow to the will of a hideous

form of dictatorship. How much happier all of us would be were it possible for the nations of the world to conduct their relations in the spirit that constantly has guided the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor.

But it is idle and futile for me to stand before a busy gathering such as this and indulge in that type of wishful thinking. More purposeful it is, I believe, to state, as briefly as I may, the position of the American Legion today, and to avail myself of the offer extended by Mr. Green to have the American Federation of Labor stand with the Legion in defense of our government. There is this long-time friendship between our two groups to lend strength and reason to such a stand. I think it is needless for me to detail the reasons why such a partnership is desirable as a step towards those elusive and important qualities we call national unity or morale or national esprit de corps.

Since the very inception of the American Legion it has been a constant problem to have the American people, and even some sections of organized labor not represented in this audience, understand that the Legion is not concerned with internal labor problems as such.

Of course the Legion, like any other large group of citizens, must be interested in the condition, welfare, and progress of everybody who works. We realize that the general welfare is not going well when any large segment of the population, such as that represented by labor, is not living under satisfactory conditions.

The American Legion, as you well know, is not a labor organization, though many thousands of our members are also members of labor groups. The Legion has no purpose to deal directly with the intricate problems of wages, hours, and conditions of labor. Though its meetings with labor have been frequent, such meetings have come when the issue was no longer merely a labor problem. Usually we have become concerned when there have been problems of law and order, or of Americanism versus some other kind of foreign "ism," or something having direct relation to the problem of national defense.

Since the so-called labor problems bring on many other forms of activity, it is natural, indeed it is a certainty, that sooner or later an organization such as the Legion will have a definite interest in some of the situations that develop. Always the Legion has been particular about defining its interest in such matters with precision and clarity, so that every one interested may know why the Legion is interested, and may know that it is not interested in settling questions of wages, hours, and the like. Those are activities outside the Legion program. It is an interesting fact that

the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have worked harmoniously together for many years, each organization clearly understanding the purposes and principles of the other. Nevertheless there are those who do not understand, and perhaps some who I believe do not want to understand, where the Legion stands on various questions in which labor groups take an active interest.

I think it may be of interest to you to know that the Legion, in its national convention at Milwaukee last month, stated that the defeat of Hitler and all that he represents, is the main objective of the Legion this year. We stated further that we believe all diverting controversies should be subordinated to the achievement of that great purpose.

You will not consider that as the statement of a neutral organization. In the light of present national commitments, it need not be so considered. The day has gone by when we can speak truthfully of the neutrality of the United States. If it were practicable to gather into this one great northwestern state all the men, women, and children in our country; if it were then practicable to ask those who will the defeat of Hitler to stand on one side of a line, and for all those who wish the success of Hitler to go to the other side of the line, there would be no doubt left as to the will of our people.

The issue on the score of neutrality has been decided. It was decided when we repeal the Embargo Act. It was decided again when we traded destroyers for British bases in the Atlantic. Fresh strength was given the decision when, after weeks of debate, we adopted the lend-lease legislation. Great impetus was given the decision when we made it obligatory on a great mass of young Americans to serve in the armed forces. If these things were not enough then there is the manner of our national acceptance of legislation authorizing the expenditure of upwards of sixty billions of dollars to prepare ourselves for any emergency. Such a decision with regard to neutrality was implicit in the acceptance our people gave to the historic meeting at sea between our President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and of the 8-point program they announced as the result of that meeting.

All that remains is the charred hulk of the legal neutrality laws of 1935 and 1939, and the American Legion has asked that the surgical procedure of excising these measures from our statute books shall not be unduly delayed.

From the expressions of your president, delivered at our Milwaukee convention, I believe your organization is in practical agreement with the Ameri-

can Legion as to the status of our neutrality, or rather the lack of it. Under existing agreements and commitments between this nation and every other nation where there is hope for the rights of free men, and the will to fight for the overthrow and destruction of Hitler and all that he represents, there no longer exists the spirit of neutrality.

I know you will agree with us that any remaining vestige of even a technical neutrality went out the window when the first American warship was attacked by a Nazi submarine. It is inconceivable to us that American labor, any more than men of the American Legion, should accept piracy on the seas as a condition conforming to either the letter or the spirit of neutrality.

The American Legion always has been deeply interested in keeping enemies of the American form of government out of places where they can do harm to our country and our liberties. Definitely we have been the enemies of Communism and Fascism and Nazism. We have favored dealing with the advocates of these totalitarian schemes by lawful American process, wherever they are found.

And it is my earnest request that you will place no faith in those who say the American Legion has changed its position with regard to Communism. We not only reaffirmed our defiant opposition to Communism in any form at our Milwaukee convention, we went further and, recognizing that Communism in the United States is not a legal party under any standards we know, demanded that it be outlawed by the legislatures of our several states.

Now it is a positive and often proved fact that the Communists in particular have tried steadily for years to bore from within the labor organizations of this country. I think they were discouraged, by the reception they received when they attempted this course in the American Federation of Labor, but in some other labor avenues they have been more successful. When what purports to be a labor movement turns out to be a Communist movement, it is quite likely to run up against opposition from the American Legion.

Our opposition to the alien Harry Bridges is a case in point. This man who jumped ship and originally gained illegal entry into this country has been declared a supporter of Communist doctrines in a fair trial conducted after exhaustive examinations of his record. But our opposition to Bridges, the alien, is not an attempt to speak in opposition to organized labor save as we believe it is our duty and responsibility to be watchful of organizations whose leadership stems from philosophies inimical to the welfare of all labor—

and harmful to the well-being of our nation.

The American Legion adheres to the idea that Bridges is not a citizen of the United States, that he has flouted our citizenship laws, that he is a troublemaking radical who opposes our form of government, and that he should be deported. We think it is unfortunate that any important segment of labor should be led by those who condone his illegal acts and who thereby endow any part of the American labor movement with a leadership that is un-American, is revolutionary in character, and that hates the United States instead of loving it.

In cases such as the Bridges affair, it should be perfectly clear to any interested person that the American Legion does not and never has asked the deportation of Harry Bridges as a labor leader. We have asked for his deportation solely because he is an alien and an enemy of our form of government. We think the time has passed when his case merits sympathetic consideration. It is time now to take positive action on the special examiner's report calling for his deportation.

The whole question of Communism in labor has become an acute problem since the national defense emergency has focused the attention of the nation upon the production of the tools of war. There is danger that in our sympathetic provisions of these tools to Russia, solely because Russia is a government opposing the further spread of Hitlerism, our guard may be lowered, and Communism in the United States may get an opening that hitherto has been denied. Since labor is a key factor in all production of weapons, and since organized labor has every encouragement of our government to maintain its rights and privileges, a special duty rests with organized labor to keep its ranks clear of enemies of the United States. This I know has been the constant concern of the American Federation of Labor. The American Legion, always the friend of organized labor, remains the unqualified enemy of every Communist or Nazi who attempts to hide himself within labor's ranks.

What is the situation that faces the American people today in achieving the defeat of Hitler and all that he represents? We know that we must transmute the huge appropriations and authorizations of funds into a cohesive Army and Navy prepared to fight anywhere, any time, and to defeat any aggressor or any grouping of aggressors before they reach our shores. That is the view of the American Legion.

We recognize the part that labor must play in the essential actions leading to such an achievement. The problems facing America today have been defined

as those of production, of training, and of welding production and training into the most efficient Army and Navy the world has known, fully supported by every segment of the American population. We know that without the last ounce of strength and skill and determination that American labor can put into this effort, we shall risk grave danger of defeat.

But we also realize that labor's problems are difficult. It takes a wealth of planning to bring out the increased supply of labor necessary to keep essential industries going; to prevent excessive turnover in labor; to maintain labor efficiency in the face of all the demands made upon it; to improve the workers' morale by removing the cause of industrial unrest, including bad housing, bad transportation facilities, and the lack of properly adequate wage scales and working conditions. These are the problems that are directly a joint responsibility of labor and management. They are among those activities in which the Legion acknowledges it has no authority.

From the outside, however, we have pleaded for a method of settling labor questions without abrogating the right to strike on the one hand, or abusing the right to strike on the other. We have believed in the correctness of your attitude that there should be no work stoppages against the national defense program, and that labor could best protect itself by seeing to it that steps were taken to solve its problems without stopping the production of weapons for the defense of America. We see no gain for American labor when the Army is called in to administer a plant, as we are also fearful for labor when it becomes necessary for the Navy to take over a shipyard.

We believe the labor statesmanship exhibited by the revered Samuel Gompers in the last war, with the necessary adjustments to meet changed conditions, offers a course of action which might be acceptable to the American Federation of Labor in the present national emergency.

In the American Legion we have been utterly frank in expressing our lack of faith in the ability of Madame Frances Perkins to function efficiently as the Secretary of Labor. We do not attempt to assay all the negotiations that have taken place between management and labor, between government and labor and management, and to say what is right and what is wrong. We believe it is not helpful to the cause which is so extremely vital at this juncture, to have it necessary for the government — to achieve its purposes — by following roundabout and devious courses designed to circumvent the obvious inability she has displayed to bring anything ap-

proaching a solution of the problems of management and labor into the picture.

Our national executive committee last May, and our national convention in Milwaukee, stated unequivocally that we believed much good would come from the tender and the acceptance of her resignation. The lack of effective leadership in this important position has been a serious menace to the national defense program. This is said without prejudice to Madame Perkins as a woman and as a social worker. It is concerned solely with her failure to meet the needs of the crisis that have followed one upon another in the years she has been in the cabinet.

The American Legion has no quarrel with the Secretary of Labor, nor with any other individual. It has a strong quarrel with any one in power who fails to exercise the responsibility conferred by that power for the welfare of the United States. We must make democracy function now, or watch democracy fail. The American Legion will not stand idly by and watch it fail.

Years ago a learned prelate discussed capital and labor at length. He reached many conclusions in his discussion, with some of which I think you might be in agreement. Among other things he stated:

"Due consideration must be had for the double character, individual and social, of capital and labor, in order that the dangers of individualism and collectivism be avoided. The mutual relations between capital and labor must be determined according to the laws of the strictest justice . . . Free competition and still more economic domination must be kept within just and definite limits, and must be brought under the effective control of the public authority, in matters appertaining to the latter's competence. The public institutions of the nations must be such as to make the whole of human society conform to the common good."

It is in this respect regarding matters appertaining to the public authority's competence that we believe Madame Perkins has failed.

These things I have discussed with you, not as a labor expert, but merely as the bearer of a friendly message from the American Legion to the American Federation of Labor. Not the least of the evils attendant upon the threat of Hitler domination of the world is the plight of labor wherever he rules today. I know the danger to labor, from the expansion of Hitlerism, is far more apparent to you who compose this gathering than it is to us in the Legion who view it in general terms, and solely with regard to its effect on the general well-being.

It is enough for us to say that we anticipate the awareness of your organization to the dangers inherent in Hit-

lerism. Having this constantly in your minds we know you will do nothing to increase the threat of such a danger here — where men still are free, where labor maintains the right to express its opinion and to work for a better standard of living; in short to garner the utmost from the skills with which man is endowed as he uses the materials nature has so lavishly bestowed on this Nation.

One other viewpoint of the American Legion with which you are familiar concerns the question of universal service in time of national emergency. This is one place where you have not always agreed with us, though I but repeat the statement of my predecessor in the office of National Commander in stating this is largely an academic question at the present time. We reaffirmed our belief in the principle of equality of sacrifice by all with excessive profits for none when the national welfare is at stake.

The government is proceeding with the piece-meal adoption of the principle of universal service. We are hopeful that it will be the means of avoiding the creation of a great new crop of millionaires whose sole claim to wealth will be their ability to capitalize on the needs of the nation in an hour of stress.

Long ere this I know the veterans of the last war who are active in organized labor have taken, with the rest of you, a determined vow to keep the production lines rolling to the end that the man in arms — be he doughboy, gop, or leatherneck — shall never want for the tools of war he must have. Along with all the rest of America you will make comparable sacrifice to equal those accepted by the man at arms.

As I close my remarks to this representative group of labor leaders I ask you to bear in mind that in all of its relationships with organized labor, for more than twenty years, the American Legion has kept in mind the Constitution of the United States as the greatest charter of liberty for the common man existing in the world today. Members of the American Legion are common men. They fit that comment of Lincoln who said, "The Lord must love the common men. He made so many of them." Almost every one of them works for a living, and a great number of them are members of trades unions. As a group who have fought in defense of American liberty, as men who have upheld the one government that today stands as the hope of free men, the Legion is necessarily for the legitimate improvement of labor conditions.

We oppose the attack upon labor from within, by the infiltration of either Communist or Nazi, as a movement that would drive labor to destroy itself by destroying the American Constitution and taking power away from the people to give it to a dictatorship. Against

that destruction of labor and its rights, against that elimination of free labor and the substitution of slave labor, the American Legion stands and will continue to stand. It is in that spirit that we ask you to join in the partnership that will go so far towards building the national will to make secure all our freedoms, all our liberties.

Thank you.

President Green: I express to Commander of the American Legion, Stambaugh, our deep appreciation of his visit with us this morning, and we are grateful to him for the interesting and educational address which he delivered.

Perhaps it might be quite proper for me to state to the Commander and his colleagues who are here this morning that just before he came to the convention hall this morning the Committee on the Executive Council's Report dealt with Communism, and particularly the efforts of Communists to capture and control a great organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers. This splendid organization, inspired by the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, figuratively speaking, performed an operation in order to rid itself of Communism and Communistic influences. In the city of New York and in the city of Philadelphia, where chartered local unions of the American Federation of Teachers had been established, the officers of that organization who administer its affairs discovered that the Communists were constantly and assiduously using these local unions for the purpose of promoting Communism and the acceptance of Communistic philosophy. Those in charge of that splendid organization decided to revoke the charters of these unions and re-organize the Teachers Union in New York in order to get rid of this Communistic activity and Communistic influence, and they courageously proceeded to carry out that opinion and that policy. It required courage and fortitude and faith, but they exercised all of these splendid virtues and ultimately won. The convention of the American Federation of Teachers approved the action taken. The membership, by a referendum vote, approved the action taken, and now a report

made upon it to this convention this morning was approved by a unanimous vote just before you entered the hall.

Now, there is concrete evidence of the attitude of a great International Union chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself, toward Communism, and I can truthfully say to the Commander and his associates that the American Federation of Labor stands now, as it did in the days of Gompers and in the beginning, immovable and uncompromising against the acceptance of Communism in any form, shape or manner.

I am sure this will be heartening to you and to those you represent in the American Legion.

Now, may I sincerely thank you in behalf of the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention for your visit with us this morning and for the fine address which you delivered.

Thank you very much.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Ross, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

### **SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union  
—Marion D. Lambert, 1 vote.

In accordance with communication received from Secretary H. W. Strickland of the Railway Mail Association, we recommend the seating of William E. Howard in place of delegate L. C. Macomber, previously reported, with 113 votes, for the remainder of the 61st annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary.  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN,

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green. The Committee on Union Labels concluded its report just prior to the delivery of the address by the Commander of the American Legion. The Chair wishes to thank the committee for its report and for the service rendered to those in attendance at the convention.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Zaritsky, of the Committee of Education, for that committee's report.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Zaritsky, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Education has selected Brother Irvin R. Kuenzli, as Secretary of the Committee, and you will now hear the report by Secretary Kuenzli.

Delegate Kuenzli, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

### EDUCATION

(Page 147—Executive Council Report)

Education, once conceived as our great national commitment and largest single business in America, is now recognized as the very basis of our democratic faith. The perpetuation of a free society and a free labor movement depends in increasing measure on the perpetuation of our free schools. Where the minds of men are not free, where education is not free, there can be no free society nor free labor movement. When men's minds are free and education is free then the society and its institution will be free. Freedom is indivisible and education the universal condition of its perpetuation.

When the very foundations of our democratic way of life are being challenged by ruthless dictatorship it is appropriate that labor which has played so important a part in the building of the public school system should reaffirm

its faith in the principle of education for all and rededicate itself anew to the militant support of that principle.

An education which will vitalize the social faith of democracy will be an education in the responsibilities of the citizenship. Democracy is distinguished from autocracy in this that in an autocracy rights are restricted to the few and duties imposed on the many, whereas in a democracy rights are shared with the many in the conviction that they will be translated into responsibilities by all the citizens. At no time in our national life has this education in civic responsibility become a more important task than at present. For the willing cooperation of a free people to secure the welfare of all is the sufficient answer to coerced regimentation of dictatorship.

Within the past year America has experienced some profound changes in the social and economic life of the nation, even before the declaration of an unlimited National Emergency by the President of the United States. Dislocations wrought by the National Defense program have inevitably presented new and difficult educational problems. The vast migration of workers from non-defense to defense areas has placed new and unexpected pressures upon the educational resources of these centers of defense industries; it has left behind difficult problems due to loss of populations. The burden of meeting these dislocations caused by the defense effort of the Government must be met ultimately with the Federal Government. The Federal Government can and should aid State and localities in meeting these pressures on educational facilities.

The national emergency has also revealed anew the fact that to neglect the education of the citizen is to imperil the democracy. For by his intelligent consent the processes of democratic government are carried forward. When democracy is being threatened by dictatorship we dare not fail to buttress it with education. The true defense of democratic education is in its extension. Education must be extended and



equalized for all groups in all sections of the American community. The emergency has likewise disclosed that the most efficient way to provide equality of educational opportunity for all sections of America is through federal aid. The Federation believes that the emergency has thus reinforced the argument for such aid. Legislative appropriations for public education therefore should be adequate to accomplish that purpose. But in any comprehensive educational program there should be ample provision for such basic principles as security of tenure for teachers and responsible academic freedom.

Your committee therefore would urge upon the delegates to this convention that the policy of Federal aid to education as a method to remove educational inequalities be reaffirmed. We further recommend that the Federation take a firm stand in support of adequate appropriations for our schools during the national emergency. There is no declaration which labor can make which will have a greater effect upon the America of tomorrow than the steadfast support which labor gives today for adequate support of our system of public education.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### DEFENSE TRAINING

(Pages 207-211, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council's Report relates to changes in the past year in provisions for defense training up to the writing of their report. The problem was a difficult one which grew out of the transition of our major industries from normal to defense production. Defense production will increasingly displace civilians during the gigantic world conflict. Scarcity of certain key commodities as well as limitations on expansion of plant facilities make it impossible for us to maintain

and operate unrestrictedly both civilian and war economies simultaneously.

There is no work that does not require some degree of training and aptitude. The quick organization of large industries vital to defense immediately created a training problem which was further complicated by the sharply increased number of jobs for which craft training is necessary.

Certain fundamental decisions have been such that determination of occupations for which training can be given, the responsibility of recommending training of occupations and the number to be trained was lodged with the U. S. Employment Service, the training to be done by the vocational schools with the advice and cooperation of local advisory committees.

Local advisory committees, as the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly said, should provide equal representation for management and workers and should have policy-formulation responsibility. Technicians should serve these committees as consultants and not be voting members of the committees. They should be on tap but not on top. Such a procedure would bring to vocational education the needs and methods of the work shop as well as the changing conditions of industry and enable plants to adjust to needs under normal and emergency conditions. This plan of operation is necessary to attain the social and democratic objectives of our free school institutions as well as essential to practical training and education for work.

The Federation maintains that for all defense training of a pre-vocational or refresher type, and for additional training and related instruction of those learning on the job, the vocational schools should be responsible.

#### In-Plant Training.

Training within industry under work conditions is the best way to learn an occupation. Such training, of course, assumes related instruction and additional information that will help the workers to understand and master the underlying sciences necessary to real



craftsmanship and professional work. The Federation program proposes that all in-plant training shall be under the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training and locally under plant apprenticeship committees. All in-plant training programs are for the purpose of overcoming lack of skill and, therefore, can best be directed by the agency responsible for promoting skill. Standards for the guidance of local short-time training or up-grading programs should be formulated by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training.

#### **Policy Committee—Committee on Labor Supply.**

In accord with the suggestions of the American Federation of Labor, Assistant-Secretary of Labor Tracy proposed to the Associate Director of O.P.M. that a Policy Committee consisting of equal representatives of employers and workers be established for the Committee on Labor Supply. This proposal was approved and John P. Frey and George Masterton were appointed by President Green to serve on the policy committee. This constructive program will doubtless be the means to the development of systematic and effective planning in the field of defense training.

We feel that the protests and suggestions of the Federation are bearing fruit.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **NON-DISCRIMINATION IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION**

Among the problems which have arisen in connection with the Defense Program is the existence of certain cases of discrimination against minority groups because of race, creed, color or national origin. The prevalence of such conditions prompted the President of the United States to issue a statement early this summer setting forth the Government's policy of non-dis-

crimination against minority groups in all defense industries.

Difficulties that certain minority groups have faced in defense industries is their inability to secure work because of a lack of vocational training and an inability to secure such training because of the lack of employment opportunities. It has been a vicious circle which has produced some severe tensions.

The United States Office of Education has issued specific instructions to prevent such discrimination in publicly supported vocational education. The Office deserves commendation for this forthright action.

There still remains certain evidence of discrimination against minority groups which is not only un-American but is in violation of the spirit of democracy.

Your Committee in reaffirming its support of our system of Vocational Education recommends that the Federation record its conviction that all citizens should have equal access without discrimination to the vocational training program which have been set up for the defense program.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA**

(Page 229—Executive Council's Report)

The Workers Education Bureau of America, which was established in 1921, celebrated during this year its Twentieth Anniversary. In order to appraise the educational service of this Bureau to the American labor movement and the community over the past two decades a special conference was held at the Town Hall in New York on April 26. One session of the conference was devoted to a presentation of some recent methods in workers' education which have proved effective. Such meth-

ods as Labor Institutes, Education in the Central Body, Drama as an Educational Medium, Panel Discussions, State Universities and Labor, International Cooperation through Workers' Education, and Cooperation with Refugee scholars were in turn presented. In the evening a distinguished group of speakers addressed the banquet session, headed by the United States Commissioner of Education, including a special broadcast over a nation-wide network to the banquet by President Green from Washington. In the course of this address President Green said in part: "In the educational campaigns which brought about these constructive and progressive results, the Workers Education Bureau of America, whose twentieth anniversary the American Federation of Labor and all its officers and members join in celebrating tonight, played a highly important role. This Bureau under the active and painstaking directorship of Spencer Miller, Jr., has consistently and tirelessly spread the truth about organized labor and its aims and objectives. . . . In paying this deserved tribute to the Workers Education Bureau and its fine record, I feel privileged to call upon this educational arm of the American Federation of Labor to enlist all of its energies now in the cause of democracy. . . ." Other greetings by cables and letter were received from leaders of adult and workers' education agencies in this country and abroad. Perhaps the best summary of the work of the Bureau was given by Thomas E. Burke, President of the Bureau, when he outlined in his presidential address the following achievements of the Bureau: (1) its service in making workers' education an accepted part of the educational program of organized labor in this country; (2) its assistance in making the labor movement conscious of its notable contributions to the development of public education in this country; (3) its exemplification as the recognized bridge between labor and education; (4) its public relations function to the organized Labor movement; (5) its intelligent consideration of, and planning for the

educational problems of post-war reconstruction.

But no account of the work of this Bureau over the past twenty years would be complete without a tribute to the tireless and able service of Spencer Miller, Jr., its Director. His interpretation of the place of education in the labor movement and his unselfish devotion to the cause of labor has seldom been equalled in the entire history of this federation. Such educational foundations as have been builded for our labor movement the past twenty years owe much to his genius and persistence.

The addresses which the Director delivers each year to the conventions of the Federation have become among its most valuable contributions. As educational leader, scholar and humanitarian he has lifted the sights of the men of labor about their place in our national life. He has earned for himself by reason of his activities the title of Dean of the Educational Leaders of Labor in America.

Your committee recommends that this convention convey to the Director their deep gratitude for his long and faithful service.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## LABOR INSTITUTES

### (Page 230—Executive Council's Report)

The largest single educational activity of the Bureau during the past year has been focused on the Labor Institutes and Conferences. These have been set up in various strategic centers of the country. The main topic has been Labor and the National Defense. The need for such Institutes and Conferences has been great and the service rendered to labor by these educational discussions have been of a high order. In many cases these meetings were the first to be held in the local communities which brought together the representatives of Labor, Industry, Education and Govern-

ment in conference to explore the problems of National Defense. They have thus performed a unique public relations function. For labor these meetings have been invaluable in developing a better understanding of its responsibilities in the defense program.

These Institutes moreover have been set up at separated points where it was felt they could serve groups of labor on a regional basis. The facilities of State Universities, Public Schools, Public Libraries, Labor Temples in these localities have all been generously provided. Many of these conferences have held their meetings at a specially designed time and place; others have been held immediately prior to State Federation Conventions. The Institutes which have been held in such places as Dallas (Texas), Manhattan (Kansas), Harrisburg (Pa.), Boulder (Colorado), Buffalo (N. Y.), Albany (N. Y.), New York City (N. Y.), Muncie (Ind.), New Brunswick (N. J.), Amherst (Mass.), Lincoln (Neb.), Durham (N. H.), Berkeley (Calif.), Charlotte (N. C.), International Falls (Minn.), Madison (Wis.), Chester (Pa.) have all made their own general as well as special contribution to an understanding of the crisis and the role of labor in the National Defense.

These Institutes are rapidly becoming National sounding boards for labor. One of the significant statements on Peace Aims of Great Britain which has been issued by a responsible leader of the War Cabinet of Great Britain was an address broadcast from London to the 11th Annual Labor Institute at Rutgers University last June. It was an address which is already regarded as among the most significant thus far issued. It gives further indication of increasing importance attached to these Institutes by representatives of Government and education throughout this country.

Your committee, therefore, recommends to this Annual Convention that it record again its feeling of profound appreciation to the Bureau for the manner in which it has carried forward its work during the year. It has performed a service of unique educational value

unequaled by any other agency in our country which is serving labor. But in addition to the immediate work there is the larger service performed of building a bridge between the world of labor and the world of education. Such a closer cooperation of labor and education is destined to be mutually advantageous.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

(Workers Education Bureau of America)

During the past eleven months the Workers Education Bureau has made another important contribution to the education of labor through its research activities and in its various publications. A regular economic series of articles on the National Defense have been sent out each month to all affiliated members and the labor press; a series on consumer credit by a competent authority has also been issued which in turn have been published in pamphlet form.

In connection with the National Defense a series of pamphlets and reprints have been issued concluding with The Atlantic Charter with its eight points as the War and Peace aims of Great Britain and the United States.

The Bureau has continued its research in preparing brief histories of the National and International Unions. Fifty such histories have been prepared, a representative group of which have already been published in the Laymen's Library for the use of new members and students of labor problems.

For the second successive year the Bureau has published and distributed the volume Labor and Education—which contains all the reports and discussion on education as adopted by the 1940 convention. This practice which was begun three years ago in conjunction with the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of

Labor has proved to be an invaluable service to students and teachers in the field of education.

Your committee cordially recommends to all of the National and International Unions that their own histories be brought into this important series so that any student of labor problems as well as the newly acquired members can get in brief and readable form the story of each of these unions that compose the Federation of Labor.

Your committee commends the Bureau for its useful research and publication services and recommends these services to the members of Labor. It commends further the National and International Unions for the publication of their brief histories in the Laymen's Library for the benefit of students and new members.

Your committee further recommends that the practice of issuing the Committee on Education Report in a separate pamphlet for the benefit of students and teachers be continued.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **AFFILIATION AND SUPPORT OF BUREAU**

The work which the bureau has rendered to the labor movement over the years has been carried on with the most prudent expenditures of funds. At times the funds have been quite inadequate for the need. Today with the vast increase of members in the Federation of Labor the demands on the educational service of the Bureau have multiplied manifold. It is essential for the future welfare of the movement that these needs be met. It would appear obvious that a service which has been carried on now for twenty years and has proven of such concrete help to the members of labor should be adequately supported by labor. One of the best tributes to the service of the Bureau has been the increasing manner in

which the National Unions have created their own Educational Departments to provide for more educational and research services to their members. The Bureau however remains the nerve center of the workers' educational activity of the Federation; it is important that this center should be adequately supported.

Your committee therefore is unanimous in its recommendation to this convention that the Executive Council be empowered to increase the annual affiliation fee of the American Federation of Labor to the Workers Education Bureau so that this agency will be enabled to provide for the service of the unions affiliated to the Federation.

Your committee further recommends that all National and International Unions not now in affiliation undertake such active association with and support of this Educational Bureau. It will not only materially aid the Bureau in its activities but bring to the members of such union the service of this Bureau.

Your committee also recommends that all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Federal Labor Unions undertake active affiliation with this Bureau and thereby share in the privileges and services which are made available to its affiliated membership.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR UNITED STATES ARMY**

When the Selective Service Law was passed by the Congress of the United States it was the considered judgment of most of the leaders of the Federation that under the national emergency such a law was necessary to provide adequately for the national defense and that this was the most democratic way to recruit a citizens' Army. Now that nearly a million men are being trained in the Army each year it has become clear that such training is likely to be

the policy of this government for some time to come—at least for five years. Already it has become recognized that the problem of morale in a citizen army can best be promoted by the active co-operation of voluntary agencies in the field of character building and recreation. Labor has wholeheartedly supported the campaign of the United Service Organization.

But a problem still remains—a sound educational program for the United States Army. A citizens' army has a special need for education in the skills of the citizen as well as military skills. The citizen soldier returns to civilian status from his service and should return better equipped physically, militarily and civically than when he went in. There are vocational problems while in the service, and guidance and placement problems as he leaves the service. Then, too, there is the important question of morale.

The experience in the British Army has made abundantly clear that education has become necessary to preserve the intellectual alertness and morale of the men. The Canadian Government has similarly discovered that education is necessary to preserve morale as well as the mental and physical health of the soldier.

Thus far the efforts for the development of a system of education into the United States Army have been makeshift in character and inadequate in its variety. Moreover the available resources of education have not been used.

Your committee strongly recommends to this convention that the President of the American Federation of Labor convey to the Secretary of War the conviction of this Federation that an adequate system of education and recreation be introduced among the selectees of the United States Army. Your committee would further assert that any system which could be described as adequate would include a discussion of the place of labor in the institutional life of our nation. We would urge the Permanent Committee on Education of the Federation to cooperate with the War

Department in the preparation of such material as it pertains to labor history.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## LABOR AND EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

That a new order will arise after the present world revolution is now beyond any doubt. The single question remains what minds, what broad purposes, and under what controls will that new order be shaped. In a word, whose world revolution is this to be, Hitler's or ours?

No one can predict with certainty when the end will come, but one thing is certain that there will be an end to the present period of ruthless and reckless destruction either through defeat or exhaustion, or both. Then the period of reconstruction must begin. But we do not need to wait until men and nations are completely exhausted before we begin to plan the new order—indeed, we must begin now such planning. For the shape of things to come must begin to take shape first in men's minds. We cannot build a new order without a new mentality. We cannot reconstruct our world without reconstructing our minds. Reconstruction in a word is re-education.

A year ago the Committee on Education in a notable report on "Labor and Education in a Period of Reconstruction After the War" recommended that Labor should cooperate in planning educational reconstruction. The report adopted on this subject at New Orleans in November, 1940, was one of the first statements adopted by Labor or any responsible national agency in our land. Since then the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction has become a clearing house for much of the thinking on this important subject. With that committee the Workers Education Bureau of America is actively associated. At the World Conference of the New Educational Fellowship held at Ann

Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1941, a Commission on Educational Reconstruction, on which the Bureau was represented, prepared a report on the subject of Educational Reconstruction which supplements the report of last year.

Your committee therefore submits herewith this historic report for the study and consideration of the members of labor throughout this country.

### **Proposal to Men of Good Will for Educational Reconstruction After the War**

Reconstruction after this war will fail unless it is also re-education. By education we understand here not schooling alone, but the influence on man of all that helps him to live decently, productively, and happily with his fellows. To achieve this aim, men must create a free and better world which will provide for all without distinction opportunity for useful work, happy family life, fruitful leisure, and devotion.

Reconstruction in post-war education must reach into every form of our economic, political, and social life. What is done in the post-war phase will matter more than in normal times, and will be more deeply felt. Without careful planning and preparation of the educational element in this reconstruction, Europe will again collapse.

Reconstruction through education depends upon increasing the cooperation of all in a common civilization. A vindictive policy defeats itself. Only by reconstruction through education will youth be reassured against a new betrayal and their full energies enlisted in this cause.

While the group responsible for this proposal centered its discussion primarily on the post-war situation in Europe, it recognized throughout that the phenomenon called Hitlerism is an extreme form of a world-wide disease. Its recommendations reach to the very causes of which Hitlerism is a symptom and are therefore world-wide in their application. It urges that similar intensive studies be made of situations in all continents and countries.

To guide and sustain those in all countries who share these aims, we solemnly affirm:

- (1) The first duty of society is to guarantee to every man, woman, and child equal opportunity for education without regard to race, birth, sex, income, or creed.
- (2) This equality of opportunity must include the fullest nurture of every special ability, talent, or skill.
- (3) Every man is an end in himself, and may not be used merely as a means. And this is the dignity of man.
- (4) No education can be complete unless everyone through the years after school has opportunity to form himself through useful work.
- (5) Every man can come to his full being only by serving society. And this is the ground of society's claim upon him.
- (6) No society stands still. A healthy society moves towards freedom and responsibility for all. A diseased society moves towards the tyranny of the few. And herein lies the cause of the present war.
- (7) No existing society is a perfect democracy. Democracy is the standard by which societies and their governments are judged and the idea and goal towards which they strive.
- (8) The well-being of every society springs from a brotherhood of nations. As are the duties of man to man, so are the duties of societies to one another. And this is the only basis for a durable peace.
- (9) To respect man's dignity while recognizing his duty to society is to advance towards a democracy of citizens and of states. To perfect, maintain, and defend such a democracy is the end of education.
- (10) To embody these principles into a society of the future, men must be inspired by forces which spring from a deeper dimension of life. This has often been overlooked or forgotten in recent generations and this is the cause of the crisis of our civilization.
- (11) To develop, men need action; to act, men need faith; to keep faith, men need reason; to direct all three, men need a vision of excellence; and all this is empty unless it is pervaded by love; and love is action and outgoing.
- (12) Reconstruction through education includes a myriad of small and seemingly unimportant acts. But these will not be rightly done, and will therefore fail, unless every doer, however modest his work may be, draws his strength from the whole.

#### **Action at War's End**

1. The following tasks will be immediate and paramount:

- (a) The immediate feeding and care of all children of all nations.
- (b) Both individual medical care to repair the ravages of war and public health measures to prevent the outbreak and spread of epidemic diseases.



- (c) The reconstruction of schools, housing and public services.

Whatever is done toward these ends must be so done that both those who help and those who are helped go through and grow through a fundamental educational experience.

2. In every local community, even in the defeated nations, there will be a nucleus of suitable people ready to undertake local leadership in aggressive and cooperative planning and in action for reconstruction. It is essential that all who go in to help shall cooperate fully with these local people of good will and experience and recruit locally as many workers as possible, particularly from the ranks of youth.

3. Plan, organize, and finance the employment of all available human resources, especially of the 16-25 age group, on all the manifold tasks of reconstruction. The Chinese cooperatives, the British Youth Councils and Youth Movements, the NYA, CCC, WPA and others all furnish useful patterns for this effort.

4. Develop a comprehensive plan of education for children, youth, and adults, adapted to the conditions of the different cultural areas and making the fullest use of the experience and wisdom of the great educators.

#### Application to Educational Institutions

Speaking of education in the more specific sense, we as educators know that essential improvements are needed in many school systems. But we are not tempted to offer blue-prints. Blue-prints may work elsewhere, but education is creative and is the expression of personalities, not the product of formulas and prescriptions.

Nevertheless, some principles can be stated. They are in no way new ones. In all countries there are and have been educators who have provided models of true education. What is needed is the general and more courageous application of these principles:

- (a) Break down the walls that stand between school and community. Schools should be one of the main sources of new power for the community. It is to the schools that young and old should look for advice and encouragement, in their search for greater knowledge and more sympathetic cooperation.
- (b) Uproot the idea that book knowledge in itself can be a guide in living; that credits and degrees are the main aim of education, and that secondary schools should be a shortcut to selfish social advancement or to the preservation of class privileges.
- (c) Make the schools institutions where the ideal of equality becomes a reality. Combine learn-

ing and doing to the utmost. Develop everywhere "hand and brain." Send out from the schools new generations of young citizens eager to cooperate and to serve, eager to apply the art of serious learning in their daily life and work, and devoted to the master art of self-instruction and self-perfection.

- (d) Encourage and support everywhere and in every form the willingness of youth to serve. Make it easy for youth to practice the art of cooperation, self-responsibility, self-reliance and service through the youth movements. Encourage this in school and continue it in the years that follow. Enroll youth as partners in reconstruction work; they will be the more able and willing to build with us, and after us a new world. To support and strengthen these youth movements in all countries, an active world youth movement devoted to service and reconstruction is essential. Its formation should be encouraged in every possible way.

- (e) Recognize the fact that youth everywhere faces a grave crisis. Educators and education should share responsibility in the care of youth up to the age of maturity.

Unemployment among youth must be eliminated by a common effort of all, not by government action alone. In this youth must be inspired to the largest possible measure of self-help.

- (f) Protect teachers everywhere in their efforts to do better work. Encourage the best amongst youth to enter the profession. In times of crisis increase and not decrease educational funds, especially in poorer areas. In all reconstruction schemes give priority to youth serving institutions.
- (g) Work for the regeneration of faith. Not only are towns in ruins, millions of souls are devastated. Millions of youth in Europe have accepted false religions. When the false gods fall let not the altars be empty. Democracy must restore faith, not by words alone, but by deeds. Educational reconstruction furnishes the vision and provides the opportunity.

#### Steps Toward Realization

To promote the plans for educational reconstruction, a strong action group is called for which can be expanded as the task develops. The nucleus for this action group exists in the United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction. Some of the functions of this action group will be as follows:

- (1) To mobilize organizations, institutions, and individuals in the



United States and elsewhere in preparation for post-war reconstruction through education, and furnish them with the necessary material.

- (2) To approach the United States governmental authorities and urge them to include educational reconstruction in their post-war plans and budgets; and to do the same with any representatives of other governments in this country.
- (3) To secure the widest possible discussion of the problems of post-war reconstruction.
- (4) To arrange for the establishment of centers for the education of workers in such a program.
- (5) To promote the study of the international situation in relation to education both in educational institutions and in the programs of many of the organizations mentioned in (1) above.
- (6) To take steps toward the formation of a commission of men and women in democratic countries who enjoy the confidence of educators and people of similar interests. This commission shall offer its cooperation to the Allied Governments and all other agencies entrusted with the task of re-establishment of peace. It must see that educational reconstruction becomes an integral part of post-war international policy. The commission will also act as a liaison agency between governmental authorities, educational institutions and the public, with a view to securing the fullest possible measure of coordination of effort and support of this program.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Kuenzli: We now come to those resolutions which were assigned to the Committee.

### Local Advisory Boards on Vocational Education

**Resolution No. 58**—By Delegates Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, Nat Messing, Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of some of the delegates

from some of the local unions that in many parts of the country the National Youth Administration has been setting up training programs in the culinary industry, and

WHEREAS, It is the belief of organized labor that all vocational training programs should be carried on in conjunction and in cooperation with and upon the advice of organized labor and the employers as represented on the local advisory boards on vocational education, and

WHEREAS, Unless a careful check is made of the training given through the interested organizations, there is great danger of flooding the market with semi-skilled competitive labor to the detriment of the worker already in the field; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as endorsing the program of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders International League in their recommendation to all their affiliated locals that they file a protest with the officials of the National Youth Administration, the Federal authorities in Washington demanding that wherever National Youth Administration classes are set up in the field of food trade education that it be carried on through the local advisory boards on vocational education and in communities where there are no such advisory boards in existence that the local boards of education be requested to set up a committee of employers and organized labor to cooperate in the development of the plan.

In the N. Y. A. educational program as in all other programs of vocational education, advisory committees representative of both labor and industry should be established on local, state and national bases. It is only through such advisory committees that adequate standards may be established for vocational training and the number of trainees adjusted to the actual needs for skilled workers in the trade. It is unfair—both to the students and to the labor movement—to train large numbers of young people in trades in which there is no demand for workers.

The American Federation of Labor is emphatically opposed to the inclusion of apprenticeship and trade training in the program of the National Youth Administration. The Permanent Committee on Education after conferring with officers of the National Youth Administration

has established a working agreement with the N. Y. A. providing that no trade training or apprenticeship training shall be included in the program of the N. Y. A. It is distinctly understood that vocational training under the N. Y. A. shall be exploratory in nature and designed merely to determine the aptitudes of young people and provide work experience. Apprenticeship training and actual trade training are to be left to other agencies of education.

Your committee therefore concurs in this resolution and urges that the subject matter be considered carefully by the Executive Council and the Permanent Committee on Education in studying the whole problem of vocational education.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Federal Committee on Apprentice Training

**Resolution No. 138**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There is a demand for additional training of workers because of the responsibility of industry to produce with the greatest of speed possible the goods and munitions required for national defense, and it is imperative that training programs be established for training workers for production needs, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International Unions have consistently and actively supported all sound and practical programs for training workers so that skilled workers will be developed to replace those continually being removed because of death, and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that an adequate number of young workers be trained so as to become thoroughly competent and informed mechanics through a method of apprenticeship, which assures apprentices a guarantee that they will be afforded the full opportunity of acquiring complete knowledge of the trade to which they are apprenticed, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has recognized the necessity for a permanent governmental agency to assist in the planning, the placing and the guidance of a system of apprenticeship, and

WHEREAS, Through the active assistance of the American Federation of Labor the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship was established as a separate bureau of the Government operating under its own budget appropriations from Congress, and

WHEREAS, Under the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, management and labor in equal numbers participate in its policy making and its other activities, and

WHEREAS, This principle of equal representation by management and labor applies whenever State apprenticeship committees are set up under the guidance of the Federal Committee, and

WHEREAS, Through this system of equal representation labor is given a direct voice and a participating responsibility in the Federal Committee, in the State committees, and in the apprenticeship program of the separate industries in each state, and

WHEREAS, Under this system of apprenticeship which is subject to the rules and regulations and the minimum requirements provided by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, related and supplemental instruction for apprentices is provided for, this supplemental instruction being in part a responsibility of Federal, State and local vocational educational authorities, and

WHEREAS, Some local boards of education have been unable to provide this supplemental technical education during the period of apprenticeship, because of insufficient funds, or the small number of apprentices in the community, and

WHEREAS, The field representatives of the Division of Labor Standards, Department of Labor, have consistently given evidence that they have a practical understanding of the proper method and standards for training workers on the job; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this 61st annual convention, reaffirms its previous endorsements of the rules and regulations, and the purpose and activities of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship and State Apprenticeship Councils, and endorses the policy that all governmental advisory service in connection with the employment and training of apprentices by the standards of supplemental training during the period of apprenticeship, and that the sole authority for directing and administering the training of short term trainees, be placed in the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, Department of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to demand adequate appropriations from Congress for the effective operation of the Federal Committee on Apprentice training; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor give its support to securing sufficient appropriations for the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education, and that these funds be earmarked for the exclusive purpose of giving supplemental training to bona fide apprentices, so that an immediate end will be made of a practice developed during recent months in some communities under which apprentices are charged a fee for the supplemental training they require during their period of apprenticeship.

All activities in the field of public education, whether temporary or permanent, should be under the control of regularly established educational agencies. The existence of several overlapping programs of vocational education, responsible to different agencies and subject to various standards, can result only in confusion and inefficiency. It is especially important that all apprentice training whether for long or short periods of time be under the supervision of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.

It is equally important that adequate appropriations be made for proper functioning of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. Adequate appropriations should also be made to the Federal Bureau of Vocational Education so that all vocational schools may operate as part of our free public school system. The practice of charging tuition for vocational training in public schools is contrary to the fundamental philosophy of free education in a democracy. This is a practice which has long been advocated by the enemies of both labor and the free public schools.

Your committee therefore concurs in the resolution and recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to make every effort to carry out the provisions of the resolution.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Vermont Apprenticeship Council

**Resolution No. 60**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The Congress of the United States has established the Fed-

eral Committee on Apprenticeship within the U. S. Department of Labor for the promotion of bona fide apprenticeship, and

**WHEREAS**, This committee, on which organized labor is represented, has established minimum standards of apprenticeship for the training of young persons employed in the skilled trades, and

**WHEREAS**, Numerous State Federations of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and many national and international unions have endorsed the program and standards of Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, and

**WHEREAS**, The membership and procedures of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council have been endorsed and approved by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention assembled, endorse and approve the work of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all local unions be urged to consider the establishment of apprenticeship standards in accordance with the recommendations of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council.

Your Committee believes that the subject matter of this resolution is closely related to Resolution No. 138 and recommends that the Executive Council and the Permanent Committee on Education carefully study the program of the Vermont Apprenticeship Council in relation to the whole question of vocational education and apprenticeship training. We recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council and the Permanent Committee on Education for further study in relation to the general problems involved in federal aid to education and adequate standards for vocational education.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 59 and 61, which are as follows:

### Adult Education

**Resolution No. 59**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Adult Education Program, established under the Works Projects Administration as an emergency project, has proved to be one of the most vital movements in the United States, as shown by its large class attendance, and

WHEREAS, A definite need for such a program is acknowledged by leading educators as well as the public at large, and

WHEREAS, The value of adult education in democracy is without question because it opens the channels of the individual's mind to a freedom of constructive thinking to the end that we, as a nation, both individually and collectively may live more abundantly; and that we may realize in all its fullness the joy of self-expression which is the sovereign right of every human being, and

WHEREAS, Many of our handicraft teachers of middle age, both native born and naturalized citizens, were unable to obtain institutional training owing to lack of educational facilities of pioneer days, and

WHEREAS, These teachers are rendering a valuable service to society through their instruction in the arts and crafts, thereby preserving the interests and abilities which are native in a free people, and which are in danger of becoming extinct because of the present machine age, and

WHEREAS, The present Adult Education program as administered by the Works Projects Administration is dual and competitive with the State Public School System, and

WHEREAS, It would be an act of economy to transfer the supervision of the Adult Education program to the Department of Public Instruction of the State; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we urge our Congressmen and Senators to establish the Adult Educational Program as a permanent project to be supervised by the State Superintendents of Public Instruction, County and Local Superintendents and School Principals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a federal fund be established to pay salaries of adult education teachers and that expenditures of said monies be under the direction of the State Superintendents of Public Instruction through the established county and city authorities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That preference be given to qualified teachers who need employment and that no persons to be employed on these projects who are employed full time in any other capacity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the teachers of the

Arts and Crafts be certified to teach their arts and crafts solely upon the basis of their technical craft abilities without regard to academic or other prerequisites; and be it further

RESOLVED, That teachers with three or more years of successful experience under W.P.A. be certified without examination to teach the type of work in which they have been engaged; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the prevailing wage scale for public school teachers be paid to adult education teachers.

### Adult Education on a Permanent Basis

**Resolution No. 61**—By Delegate Archie V. Carmichael, Trades Council, Everett, Washington.

WHEREAS, The adult educational program, established under the Works Projects Administration as an emergency project, has proven to be one of the most vital movements in the United States, as shown by its large class attendance, and

WHEREAS, Many of our handicraft teachers are of middle age, both native born and naturalized citizens, were unable to obtain institutional training, owing to the lack of educational facilities of pioneer days, and

WHEREAS, These teachers are rendering a valuable service to society through their instruction in the arts and crafts, thereby preserving the interests and abilities which are native in a free people, and which are in danger of becoming extinct because of the present machine age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we urge the establishment of Adult Education on a permanent basis, to be supervised by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, County and Local Superintendents and School Principals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a federal fund be established to pay salaries of adult education teachers, and that said monies be under the direction of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, through the established county and city authorities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in regular convention assembled, adopt the principles of the resolution and support legislation towards this end.

The Committee is of the opinion that all educational agencies, whether temporary or permanent, should be under

the control of regularly established educational agencies and subject to the standards which have been built up over the years. However, these resolutions are closely related to Resolution No. 63 which urges the enactment of a general program of federal support for public education. It is the opinion of the committee that the subject matter of these resolutions should be included in the study and investigation of the whole subject of federal aid to public education. The Committee, therefore, recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council for further study in relation to the general problem of federal aid for public education in America.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **Adequate Financial Support for Public Schools**

**Resolution No. 62** — By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The labor movement of America was largely responsible for elimination of the pauper schools which existed in the early history of the nation, and for establishing our free public school system supported by general taxation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor throughout its entire history has taken the position that widespread public education is indispensable to successful democratic government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its 1940 convention declared:

"The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that widespread public education is essential to the successful operation of democratic government and to the very existence of a free trade union movement. Simultaneous destruction of regimentation of both the public school systems and the trade union movements of the totalitarian states have proved the soundness of this educational philosophy. The attempts in certain cities of our nation to curtail educational facilities, in the name of econ-

omy, to balance additional taxes for building the national defense, is not only unfair to the children of the nation, but also dangerous to the future welfare of democratic government."

and

WHEREAS, In numerous American cities from coast to coast certain powerful organized business groups are attempting to avoid their financial responsibility of national defense by advocating cuts in school budgets—thus compelling the nation's children to pay for the defense program by sacrificing the educational opportunities to which they are entitled, and

WHEREAS, Such practices are dangerous to the very foundations of democratic society and to the very existence of a free trade union movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, emphatically protest the practice of reducing school budgets to "save" funds for defense purposes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That state federations of labor and central labor bodies be urged carefully to watch expenditures for schools in local communities and to give all possible assistance in providing adequate revenue for the important task of educating the future citizens of the nation.

The American Federation of Labor in numerous pronouncements has declared its unequivocal stand in favor of adequate financial support for the public schools and has expressed emphatic opposition to cutting school budgets during periods of economic depression and national emergencies. The 1936 convention of the American Federation declared:

"Every central labor union should maintain a standing committee on education which shall be responsible for advancing educational opportunities for all children. . . . It is particularly important that this committee watch that adequate appropriations are made for buildings and institutions and that the widest use be made of public school buildings. Where curtailments were made during the depression, special effort may be necessary to restore revenues and educational opportunities.

"Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments

we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively. Continued and unceasing interest in and application to the task must be maintained, not only to further extend educational opportunities to every child, but to develop and improve educational facilities to keep pace with an ever-changing and advancing civilization."

The 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans declared:

"Local and state labor bodies are urged, therefore, to be constantly on the alert to prevent curtailment of the educational facilities of the country, shortening of school terms, or actual closing of the schools because of retrenchment programs sponsored by well organized and highly financed pressure groups. Central Labor bodies are urged to maintain active functional committees on education, carefully to study the needs of the school system, to assist in providing adequate financial support, and see that school funds are expended efficiently and effectively."

The Permanent Committee on education of the American Federation of Labor in a communication under date of February 1, 1940, sent to state federations of labor and central labor bodies throughout the nation a program of education including a statement urging all affiliated bodies to assist in providing adequate school revenue in local communities and to be on guard against attempts to cut school budgets.

In October, 1940, President William Green, at the request of the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor conferred with President Roosevelt regarding education in the present emergency. The first recommendation of the Permanent Committee on Education to President Roose-

velt was that there should be expansion of the educational facilities of the Nation, rather than retrenchment during the present emergency.

We take genuine pride in stating that we believe the American Federation of Labor has done more than any other large organization or movement in America to protect the interests of public education in the present emergency.

The Committee is of the unanimous opinion that the American Federation of Labor should go on record strenuously opposing any attempt to reduce school budgets under the pretext of economy necessitated by national defense. Education IS the first line of national defense and as such should be extended rather than curtailed.

We therefore concur in this resolution and urge all affiliated local and state labor bodies carefully to study the needs of local school systems and to assist in providing adequate financial support for the schools.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The hour of adjournment has arrived, and we will interrupt the report of the committee at this time.

The Chair desires to announce that the fraternal delegates will address the convention at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon. Please be present and bring any visitors who may wish to be here.

At 12:30 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

**FIFTH DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION**

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Ross, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,  
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Delegate Ross, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

In accordance with request of President John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, we recommend the seating of John Sherman in place of H. W. Sullivan, previously reported, with 89 votes.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**COMMUNICATIONS**

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

New York, N. Y.,  
October 10, 1941.

Wm. Green,  
President, A. F. of L.,  
Convention Hall,  
Seattle, Washington.

Carpenters Local Union Number 2090 assembled in regular meeting October 9, 1941, endorses your keynote speech calling upon labor to crush Hitler and to support the stand of the United States government in giving all-out aid to Great Britain, Soviet Union and all other peoples fighting Fascism, the common enemy of mankind. We hope your stand will be the action of the American Federation of Labor Convention.

SIDNEY NOVICK,  
Recording Secretary.

Juneau, Alaska,  
October 6, 1941.

Wm. Green,  
A. F. of L. Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

The Juneau Central Labor Council sincerely urge your endorsement of the

resolution for a Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska and the adoption of such resolution by the convention.

BEATRICE MURPHY,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

San Diego, California,  
October 13, 1941.

Honorable William Green,  
President American Federation of Labor,  
Convention Headquarters,  
Seattle, Washington.

California Federation Post Office Clerks extends greetings and best wishes for a very pleasant and profitable convention.

Fraternally yours,  
WILLIAM C. PLACE,  
Secretary-Treasurer  
California Federation of  
Post Office Clerks.

Tampa, Florida,  
October 10, 1941.

Brother William Green,  
President, A. F. of L.,  
61st Annual Convention, A. F. of L.,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Washington.

Regular meeting of Local 500 sends you greetings in the name of 4,000 Cigarmakers of Tampa, for our successful convention. We support you 100 per cent for the stand taken in regard to the support of President Roosevelt and his foreign policies and National Defense. Congratulate our President Wm. Green for his speech fighting Hitlerism and our Vice-President Hutcheson for his stand in behalf of helping Britain and the Soviet Union. We, the Cigarmakers of Tampa, consider the Eastern front the first line of defense for our freedom, democracy and independence of our country. Wishing you the best of success.

Fraternally yours,  
EVARISTO MACHIN,  
President, Local 500,  
Cigarmakers' International Union,  
A. F. of L.

**Hotel Strike in San Francisco**

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I take it that a number of delegates, after leaving this convention, will meander home by way of San Francisco, and I would like to acquaint these delegates with the fact that there is a



hotel strike in that city at the present time conducted by the Local Joint Board of the Culinary Workers in conjunction with the Building Service Employees International Union. The reasons for the strike are quite extensive and I will not go into detail, other than to say that there are two groups of hotels in San Francisco—one of them the so-called "200" group, consisting mainly of smaller hotels which do not have dining rooms in connection with their hotels. This group is signed one hundred per cent closed shop with our organization. There is another group, the so-called "57" group which consists of all the major hotels in San Francisco, such as the St. Francis, the Palace, the Whitcomb, the Sir Francis Drake, etc. This group refused to sign a contract with these two organizations. Consequently the San Francisco Labor Council, after intervening in our behalf, gave sanction to strike these hotels. This group refused to sign a contract with these two organizations and consequently the San Francisco Labor Council, after intervening in our behalf, gave sanction to strike these hotels. All of these hotels are not being picketed at the present time. The strategy in San Francisco is to pick out one or two or three and operate against them. Today eleven of these hotels are being picketed. But it may be that if any of the delegates lodge in one of the first class hotels where there are no pickets at the present time, they will find that there are pickets any morning they may get up.

For the record, Mr. Chairman, I would like to announce that we have a signed agreement with three first class hotels in San Francisco, so-called Class A hotels. They are the Clift Hotel, corner of Geary and Taylor, the Alexander Hamilton, 631 O'Farrell Street, and the Plaza Hotel at Post and Stockton Streets. If any of the delegates happen to go to San Francisco and desire first class accommodations, kindly look for them in any one of these three hotels and give the others the go-by, except the second group of hotels which I mentioned before, which are one hundred per cent union.

### **Presentation of Flowers by Seattle Florists and Gardeners Union No. 20975**

President Green: There is a sweet little girl here, along with a charming young lady, who wishes to say a word to the delegates. I will adjust this microphone so this little girl can speak to you. Her name is Betty Joyce Dahlbeck.

Betty Joyce Dahlbeck: I am very glad to meet Mr. Green. These flowers are from the Florists and Gardeners Union and I want to present these flowers to Mr. Green.

Miss Oliva Benson, Member of Seattle Florists and Gardeners Union No. 20975: We want to extend the best wishes of all our officers and members of Local 20975, and we would like to have the President notice our label on all union grown flowers. Here is a flower for his button hole.

President Green: That was very sweet and nice, wasn't it? I want to thank this little girl and the young lady for this beautiful basket of flowers. I accept it as presented to you through me, and we are happy to have these flowers that really bear the union label. That makes them additionally sweet.

### **Special Order—Election of Officers**

Delegate Paulson, Electrical Workers: Is a motion in order?

President Green: It depends on the character of the motion.

Delegate Paulson: I would like to make a motion to suspend the rules of order and set the hour of 2:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, October 15th, for the election of officers and the selection of the next convention city.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Now, we will proceed to the special order of business of this afternoon's session. I know you have all been looking forward to this hour and to this occasion, happily anticipating

the pleasure of receiving and listening to the addresses which will be delivered by the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.

I am going to present to you first Brother George W. Thomson, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. He is one of the principal officers of the Engineers, Ship Builders and Draftsmen's organization. He has been a member of that great Union for over a quarter of a century. Brother Thomson is also a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. He has also been identified with many government bodies, and is now Chairman of the London Regional Production Board. This Board has jurisdiction over approximately 25 per cent of engineering production. Among other duties Brother Thomson was a member of the Tank Board in Great Britain.

You can see by this brief explanation Brother Thomson has not only been closely associated and identified with the organized labor movement of Great Britain, but in addition he has been serving in the civic and nation-wide business of Great Britain.

We cannot help but realize Brother Thomson and his associate come to us from a nation across the sea where tragedy continues to hang over every home. I know they must be thinking daily and hourly about their loved ones, because they do not feel nearly so secure as we here in the United States of America. We sympathize with them because of the tragic experiences through which their loved ones are forced to pass during these terrible, trying, and anxious days. Our hearts, therefore, go out to them; our sympathies, our best wishes, and our great affection.

We are happy beyond measure in having these fraternal delegates with us. We hope, and I feel sure we will find it possible to dispatch fraternal delegates to the next session of the British Trades Union Congress at any cost whatsoever.

Now I am pleased to present to you our fellow member of organized labor

from far across the sea, to bring to you and to present to you his message this afternoon. I present to you our very dear friend and our co-worker, Brother George W. Thomson, Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

### MR. GEORGE W. THOMSON

#### (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. Chairman and Brothers: In bringing you greetings of over five million men and women affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress, may I express my own personal pleasure at the opportunity given to me to see a little of your great country, with its magnificent natural scenery, its vast spaces and large towns, but above all to experience the wonderful hospitality displayed to one from a more sorrowful but, thank God, still free and un-bowed part of the world.

Even in the brief space of time I have been with you I have had my belief in democracy strengthened. Your wonderful natural resources, the energy of your people, your firm belief in principles common to your country and to mine, your determination to see that freedom shall not perish from the earth, make certain the triumph of civilization over brutalitarianism. That is the real word for the totalitarian doctrines of Hitler and Mussolini. The exercise of freedom is the most essential condition of a living and progressive civilization. In both our countries civilization, perhaps painfully at times, is developing into the fine flower of the free democracy, of which our most far-seeing poets dream.

With quiet resolve, with steady and intensive work, the common men and women of Great Britain, and may I say, I believe of America, are resolved to beat down totalitarianism, until the air is again fresh and clean and smells no more of the charnel house. The Germans are great warriors and must be beaten in war. They cannot be beaten by speeches.

This can only be done by cooperative and voluntary productive effort, until the time shall come when the full lesson shall be driven home freeing Europe and much of the rest of the world for a brighter destiny than that of becoming Helots in a world slave state. Did I say the men and women of Great Britain? I should have said free men and women everywhere.

It is not for me, however, to pretend to know what your country should or will do. It is sufficient to know that we, in war-shattered Europe, shall not fail,

through lack of good will and help from you. We believe that this great trade union movement which you are building up and are still building up in spite of half a century of great work, will prove, not only a great bulwark of your democracy and social liberties, but shall be a wonderful dynamic in increasing the volume and the speed of your productive effort, even as the Trade Union Movement in Great Britain has been in that country. It is a common task we set out to achieve. It is a hard task. The need is great and time presses.

Great civilizations become greater in proportion as they respond adequately to the challenge of those who would destroy them and their fruits. Our culture and those fine things associated with it deprive from our normal ways of life and the work and action of common people. It is a false culture which has not deep roots in the soil of ordinary labor. Today cooperation and the elevation of spirit of ordinary and lowly folk, consciously and continuously exercised, is seeing to it, as it did when the Greeks threw back the Persians at Marathon and Salamis, that a new and greater civilization is being born, as the old is consumed by fire. The phoenix of freedom shall arise more gloriously from its own ashes.

What you wish to know from me today, however, is not what we expect from America. That goes without saying, I believe. It is to hear somewhat of an epic story, that part which is too little publicized, the conditions under which labor works in Great Britain, its achievements, as well as its sacrifices, the part the trade unions play—and it is a great part—in this terrific struggle.

Publicists are apt to forget the common men and women and labor which makes all nations great.

A year ago, after the fall of France and the other West European democracies, when the British armies, badly mauled it is true, had been wonderfully evacuated at Dunkerque by the little boats, cockleshells of beaches, fishing harbors and rivers, and I saw many of these little boats passing my home shattered and torn, with no banners flying, after the event. England appeared in dreadful plight and Hitler may have been pardoned for thinking the end was in sight.

All our splendid equipment had been lost, the equipment for armies of nearly half a million men. Save for the navy and the air force, the latter relatively small in numbers but full of fight and highly trained, and with the best machines in the world, thanks to the designers and workers who made them and so made the conditions of salvation, she seemed defenseless. All her allies had fallen rapidly before the highly mechanized forces of the aggressor and a new enemy, lying athwart the Mediterranean life line, had entered the field

expecting to reap where he had not sown.

Then ensued the great fight in the air, when German fighting qualities and German machines yielded—not easily, but still they yielded—over the fields of Kent and Sussex and Surrey, to the young men of the Royal Air Force and to the reliable production of British workers in the factories. Never did the world owe so much to anyone as it did to British labor in the performance and work of these machines.

The emergency called forth a great burst of enthusiasm to work for the destruction of the vilest of monsters. Men willingly worked long hours to the point of utter collapse, which, had the practice been allowed to continue, would have ruined the physique of our people. The Trade Union Movement seized the unique opportunity. For many years before war broke out, the trade unions had been gradually establishing themselves as integral parts of the social machinery of the nation. Their function had been vastly extended as the result of constant research and detailed and patient examination of practices, trends and legislation which made up the social complex. We had extended the area of consultation between the government and the trade unions to a remarkable degree, whilst the leaders of the movement had tacitly accepted the position of guardians, not only of trade union rights, but of the social conscience of the community. It had fought for rights by assuming responsibilities and duties.

So when the great emergency arose and possibly the greatest figure in our industrial history was made Minister of Labor in the new Premier's cabinet, the Trade Union Movement, through a meeting of the executives of the unions convened by the General Council, put itself solidly, but not blindly, behind the government in the efficient conduct of the war.

The trade unions did not see then and they do not see today, any necessity to yield their liberties, acquired painfully by the efforts of years, to win freedom's fight. The general liberty of a nation we believe is the sum total of innumerable small liberties, the right to think and speak freely, the right of men and women to associate in societies of their own choice, more widely conceded than ever, as a result of the war, the right of union representation and collective bargaining, the right to a decent standard of living and to the widest possibilities in the education of children.

Free speech and free trade union organization have always been the first casualties in totalitarian aggression. There were some people in England in high places who thought it was the duty of the unions to yield up their rights—whilst they were unwilling themselves to yield up vested privileges—and deemed it the duty of the new Minister of Labor and National Service, Mr. Bevin, to en-

force industrial conscription upon the working population.

The organized movement, however, had a different view of the situation and so did the new Minister. He asked for and he received the support of the trade unions whom he pledged himself to consult on all matters likely to affect the people in their various occupations. The General Council, British Trades Union Council, backed up by the expressed will of the whole movement saw that its duty of helping to secure the vastly increased production necessary could only be done by closer collaboration between workers' representatives and those of employers' organization and the representation of government departments. This implied not a weakened, but a strengthened trade union movement, with a discipline tempered both in war and peace and exercised, not arbitrarily, but by free consent. So it remains.

I would like to emphasize that, because there is a good deal of impression on this side of the Atlantic that the trades unions have granted a great deal and gained nothing. The labor movement in England is stronger than it has ever been because we have been tempered and disciplined in war and peace, not arbitrarily, but by free consent, and so it remains and so it will remain.

What would it profit to achieve military victory, if we should lose our liberties in the achievement? Therefore the trade union movement saw a solution of the great problem with which it was faced by retention of the principle of free voluntary negotiations between employers and employees upon the usual lines. The unions indeed saw it was necessary to forego a considerable amount of freedom if movement in seeking new work and in the weapon of the strike. To provide something as a last resort, if negotiations between the unions and employers should fail, there was created in the National Arbitration Tribunal, a court of final appeal and settlement. It has not been found necessary to use the Tribunal to avoid large disputes although in other minor respects it has performed some highly useful functions. The test of this general agreement is to be found in the fact, that during the last year, and despite the terrible strain on people's nerves through the complete blackout of daylight as well as of constant bombing and gunfire, the time lost in industrial disputes, with a larger industrial population, has been less than 50% of that lost in the best year of the last war and less than one-sixth of the time lost in the worst year, between 1914 and 1918. That, I think, speaks for itself and shows the value of this collaboration, this relation between the unions and employers and government in framing legislation and so avoiding ultimate dispute.

By this means British trade unionism has helped to achieve a vastly increased

production. It has steadied the nerves of its own people and of the general community. Believe me, there is no terror when the raiders come. We don't run, usually; we go calmly and put ourselves out of the way while those whose duty it is still to be on the streets go about their work. That is not when the first morning "minnie" as it is humorously called in London, goes, but when we get a sign half an hour later there is imminent danger and the planes are dropping stuff overhead. In doing this we have preserved our machinery intact and by forethought, through the creation of emergency committees in the twelve defense areas of the country, will continue to do so even in the event of invasion. The country is broadly mapped out in twelve defense areas, so they can function independently, even in the event of invasion.

I believe I become the Minister of Supply, something of that sort, in one area. It has brought the ideal of social security into the foreground of both war and peace aims. And this, I suggest, is no mean achievement in the midst of the war when the knife is constantly at our throat.

The war might have seemed phoney to many observers during the first year. By the middle of 1940, however, it was apparent to all that vastly speeded up efforts were essential. The government demanded a bigger military conscription and much greater production of arms from a denuded industrial population. I cannot say how many millions of soldiers, and even if I knew I naturally would not say, are in the country at the present time, but those soldiers have been drawn from an industrial population of perhaps about 12,000,000 men, and the other two-thirds or three-quarters, or whatever the proportion may be, have had to overtake production many times that of peace.

The mercantile marine, moreover, was suffering cruel losses and despite the diminution in the losses, those losses are very serious indeed. Four or five hundred thousand million tons a month, with an average perhaps of three or four voyages across the Atlantic instead of seven or eight, as previously, represent a great many million tons of food stuff and munitions that cannot be brought over. Moreover, with the campaigns largely at the dictates of our enemies, waged in distant parts, sometimes the voyages of five, six, eight, ten, and twelve thousand miles are necessary to take our soldiers and equipment to those fronts. Our ports, moreover, were being battered mercilessly.

I don't propose here to harrow your feelings. Probably these have been harrowed enough in the newspaper reports of what has happened to many of our cities. In the city where my home was until recently, London itself, I tremble to tell you the casualties. I understand it is something in the nature of 50,000

dead. Not only are our ports battered mercilessly, however, but fire and destruction fall upon our cities and industrial plants. Salvation from outside could not be expected. We realize it lay in our own brain and muscle. We must save ourselves and not be absolutely dependent on others coming to our aid. Believe me, this is said in no spirit of discouragement to the American effort. That effort will help us and enable us to win the war, and win it quickly, without losing millions and millions, untold millions of lives in the fighting and in destroyed cities and so on.

But the English people, or should I say the British, are resolved that come what may, and no matter what happens, they will win this war even if necessary over a long period of years, and if necessary, alone.

So far as the trade union movement is concerned we had to yield up cherished practices, but received the authentic promise of post-war restoration, not merely restoration, because there have been gains, but a condition not less good in any case than that which prevailed in the various industries before the war. And we hope to consolidate some of our gains.

Representatives of the British Employers' Confederation and of the Trades Union Congress, along with Ministry of Labor officials formed a Joint Consultative Committee, with the Minister, Mr. Bevin, as Chairman. This committee was formed to enable the government to act with speed and without authority as a General Council in the issue of the necessary orders and regulations, because there is a great amount of blanket legislation, and when I tell you that those orders and regulations exceeded 4,000 you will understand what that job means. It deals with an immense variety of subjects, from factory lighting and ventilation, glass splintering,—a very serious thing when bombs are falling—working through air raid alarms, so saving millions of valuable working hours, because if the alarm goes at 4:00 the bombs may not drop until 5:00, and if a million workers are put out of action it is a very serious loss to the defense effort. So we work through these air raid alarms. There is an important element of fire watching and fire fighting, insurance for houses and tools destroyed—in the latter case coverage to something like \$200.00 worth of tools. There are orders given for civil defense and a multitude of questions too numerous to mention here.

Many other tri-partite committees were set up nationally, and in many cases, locally, to deal with questions of food and fuel distribution, rationing of available supplies, and price fixing, etc.

Whilst the unions were left free to conduct their own negotiations, through their own well-tried machinery, without yielding one iota of their rights, they found that between themselves and em-

ployers, highly organized and articulated each in their sectional organizations, it was possible to collaborate cordially, along with the various ministries and departments of trade in insuring more efficient and rapid production of munitions of all kinds. This collaboration works successfully.

On our Committees of Supply, Regional Production Boards, Shipping and Steel Controls, Export Boards, the Tank Board, Research Committees, those dealing with education and the army, works defense and many others—and most of them would provide interesting and illuminating stories in themselves—this collaboration worked successfully. I am not claiming one hundred per cent efficiency for any of these things, but generally successful collaboration is the rule.

In this work labor is playing an immense and important role, the most important role, indeed, I believe, in the whole country. These committees are for the most part advisory, although far-reaching in effects. Neither they nor any other arrangements commit any section of the trade union movement to governmental policies, although in many cases they influence policy and certainly improve drafting, so saving subsequent discontent in the work shops, offices and factories.

This collaboration has been made possible due to the fact that for at least a dozen years prior to the outbreak of the war the Trade Union Congress had claimed as a right, not as a favor, representation on committees set up by government departments, on royal commissions and on committees of inquiry likely to affect labor or labor's standard of living, such as those dealing with factory legislation and lighting, unemployment and health insurance, workmen's compensation and industrial diseases, cost of living, etc.

So now in war the Trade Union machinery was used to provide this representation on the vast number of wartime committees, formed of necessity for the smooth operation of legislation by regulation. Usually we had demanded representation as a right. But collaboration has been so fruitful in speeding up production and eliminating waste, in avoiding, through pre-digestion of forthcoming legislation and regulations, stoppages and friction in shops and work shops, that it is inconceivable that government and efficient production could be carried on successfully without it during war, and possibly—probably, I should almost say—this collaboration may continue and prove itself useful for reconstruction purposes in the post-war years, however, far distant those years may be.

There have been many jolts and jars. The British people, as you will see from the poor representatives standing in front of you, are by no manner or means

a perfect people and we sometimes quarrel. I believe that quarrels are sometimes known in America. Democracy is not a tame, acquiescent form of living or of government. Its practice demands what your own Walt Whitman called fierce men and women — and I hope you won't forego your fierceness in America. You and we are jealous of encroachments. Behind committee room doors, many fierce battles are waged. The justification of the system is not that it is logical, but that it works, and that is the justification, finally, of all great systems.

Workers engaged in essential war industries have been tied to their firms, but except for willful misconduct the employers may not dismiss them. Even if material may be short and work temporarily unavoidable, their week's pay is guaranteed. This right, believe me, was not easily won, although ultimately it will be inconceivable that anything else should have been proposed. Hours have been extended, it is true, but at the agreed overtime rates. With many restrictions, many limitations, we feel free, and we are therefore free.

One word on hours of work and on pay. The trade unions, by the admission of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, have not made unreasonable demands in the shape of war bonuses to meet the increased cost of living. But the General Council of the Congress has pointed out that although prices, by subsidy and other means, have been practically stabilized for some time round about thirty per cent, wages lag a good deal behind in the raises that have been secured. We cannot agree to stabilization of wages. We believe this would preserve, to the national disadvantage, many existing anomalies and would prevent that elastic adjustment necessary when hundreds of thousands of women and men, unskilled in their new class of work, enter war industries and are as yet untried. Moreover, it might have tempted some to think that the trade union organization was redundant and unnecessary. For these reasons we have discounted and we have told the government emphatically in a printed document, in reply to a statement made in the House of Commons, that we do not accept the stabilization of wages as a principle to be applied in our case.

We cannot afford, by emotional appeals to patriotism, to have standards of living reduced. In some cases, even in war time, they must be enhanced, not only for the sake of the workers themselves, but in the national interests.

As a trade union movement we do not wish to countenance any exploitation of the necessities of the situation by either employers or workers. But the war has to be won on the home front as well as elsewhere.

A few months after Dunquerque there were signs of industrial fatigue through the working of excessive hours every day of the week. As the production situation became better, there was general agreement that for a long term war we could not afford to risk deterioration in physical well-being. Ministers and employers, as well as workers, now agree that there must be one rest day in seven if we are to keep even. Further, it has been recognized that, often with long journeys to and from work under severe conditions, especially when night raids may last from 12 to 15 hours, as they do in the winter time, from five o'clock in the evening when we are stopping work until eight o'clock in the morning when we are going back to it, 12 to 15 hours, with the shrapnel and bombs falling about, in such cases the various problems of transport had to be solved, and these were extraordinarily difficult problems. It was not only the problem of getting workers to and from their work, it was the problem of carrying the ordinary goods—food, munitions, with much of the transport used definitely for war purposes. We had also to tackle the question of feeding, by the formation of works canteens, which has proved a great boon, enabling the workers to feed cheaply and under decent conditions. There were very few works canteens in Great Britain before the war. Now they are being established at the rate of over 100 per week, and their existence is obligatory in factories which employ over 250 people.

Factory lighting — and one has to bear in mind that many factories have been permanently blacked out, day and night, for the convenience of the machines and for many other reasons — has been improved, not only as a matter of enabling the worker to see the job, but in order to give an air of cheerfulness instead of one of gloom to people who may not see the sun shining for many hours. In spite of many stories to the contrary you know we do have sunshine occasionally in Great Britain, as you occasionally have and you are now having in Seattle, and if we do not have it then we make it by artificial skylights, giving the impression that there is a sky outside, despite the darkness of the shop inside. Ventilation is also involved in this blackout problem.

It is very difficult to give people an idea of what the blackout means. You step out of the workshop, especially in the winter time, into the pitch darkness on the sidewalks, and you have to mind your step in more ways than one, perhaps. Not only that, but this question of blacking out the factories is so essential that not the smallest streak of light must be shown in any way, and it is part of the duty of the warden to tell you if a little chink is



showing, because the smallest light might be a guide to an enemy airman with his nefarious load of bombs.

Thus you will see we have gains as well as deprivations, and possibly a new way of life and a new industrial psychology will emerge from our present trials. At least that is the temper of the people in Great Britain today, workers and others. As trade unionists we must see to it that this temper of today is the practice of tomorrow.

One of the most serious problems for the government has no doubt been the allocation of man power for the armed forces and for industry. A balance was hard to achieve in the war of 1914-1919. Our efforts were often stultified by having to bring thousands of skilled men back from the trenches. It has been found necessary, fighting as we are compelled to do on many fronts of the enemy's choice, to raise huge armies, and to equip and transport them, with the danger of home invasion always in mind. The fighting had to be visualized as being not on the other side of an impregnable strip of salt water, but as one which might be found in old English lanes, or over her green fields, not necessarily on the coast only, but far inland. Twenty-one miles of salt water is not a great distance from the greatest mechanized force that the world has ever seen, and we have always that question of home invasion in mind. That may explain why we do not do some things that many people would urge us to do, not realizing either the coast line or our great danger.

Not only had highly trained new armies to be created, but home defense, air raid wardenship, fire watching and fire fighting services have called for hundreds of thousands of men and women on arduous voluntary service, lonely and dangerous jobs on dark, cold nights, and after a hard day's work, so that many people have 20 to 24 hours' service on occasion. A balance had to be struck with many competing claims, including those for skilled mechanics for the army, as well as for production of arms and essential commodities. The job of an air warden or that of a fire fighter is no sinecure in England in wintertime.

It was part of the duties of organized trade unionism to examine carefully the Schedules of Reserved Occupations and to advise the government thereon, to advise also on fire-watching orders and how these should be applied. Where departments have failed to secure prior consultation and advice, the results have been very unfortunate. Some have had to be recast as a result of trade union criticism.

And so the story goes on endlessly, until both you and I might be completely fatigued. It is the story of successful collaboration between the two

great forces in industry, organized workers and organized employers, with government departments. In every respect the effect has been quickening. It is not trade union collaboration with capital in the ordinary sense, it is with organized management, a distinction with a very great difference indeed.

In the field of war productive efforts some at least of the usual waste is being eliminated. Workers and machines are being kept more fully and more continuously employed in the industrial rhythm. There is still undoubtedly a great field for improvement and a field for interesting experiment, such as that of the machine tool capacity exchanges attached to the Regional Production Boards. In these matters labor is a full partner and exercises the greatest initiative.

This can be said, that labor is on its toes. It is determined to win the war. It is watchful to cure inefficiency wherever it occurs. This helps to keep management on its toes also. The Minister of Labor has the power to change managements which do not function adequately. Many people think this power should be exercised more fully than it is. Questions of managerial functions and possibilities are closely scrutinized, however, and it is possible the power he possesses is an urge on management itself.

Moreover an interesting experiment, perhaps fruitful for the future, is being made on a huge scale. The defects of too much red tape in government departments are being corrected by industrial experience, by managerial, technical and working advice. Perhaps these sections are also beginning to see the complexities that face the civil servant in war time and are beginning to understand organization in another light than that of business or of trade union activity only. There are many facets to the common production program. The other man's job is never quite so simple as it looks from the outside.

Slowly we are solving the problem of using the capacity we have to its utmost. We are clearing the bottlenecks of production, whether they be in supply, transport or labor, and all are equally important. With shipping losses and longer voyages, with the changing fortunes of war, these problems constantly change and demand the quality of quick adaptation. But we claim this, that with the augmentation of our difficulties, the draining of our manpower resources, and a hundred and one adverse conditions, we have built new armies, new naval and air fleets. We have armed and provisioned them and are today in better condition and heart than we were a year ago. Defeatism is unknown in England today.

And then there is America. But that is America's job. We over there must



work and not slack, as if we were alone, which, thank heaven, we are not. Pleasant gales blow, and with them provisions, planes and other things are arriving, cooled often by Icelandic snows.

What of the future? Have we, in our beleaguered island, time or inclination to think of the future? We have both time and the inclination.

Our bombed towns and urban areas are saddening to see, but they also provide us with a great opportunity. The principle of directed location of industry is accepted, and this has many implications in the regional planning of new areas, roads and services, as well as in replanning of old ones. Housing and amenities are involved, social security and the treatment of illness, undernourishment and unemployment, preventable diseases, under an integrated, unified and enlightened scheme of social service.

Bad industrial locations led to the depressed areas of the post-1918 years. Depression breeds depression and we do not intend to see the sins of the past enacted again. General opinion is being enlightened on this from many sources. One of the chief urges comes, even today, amongst our difficulties and bewilderments, from the organized trade union movement. Several Ministers are actually giving attention to wide reconstruction plans at the present time and are assisted by trade union representatives. They are prime aims to be achieved in this armed conflict. These statements give the Atlantic Charter, between your President and our Prime Minister a tremendous significance for trade unionists like us, who have fought for these things for so long.

Mechanization has become a Frankenstein monster to its creator. We must harness it as the servant of human needs, not make it the master of our destiny. And so from a gray island amongst the stormy seas we give you greetings. Right and left friends have fallen and we are sorely tried. But we are of good heart. We have advanced in the center on the broad front of human freedom and we say the barbarians shall not pass. You and we, and the very spirit of man itself, shall see to that.

President Green: Now I am pleased to present to you the colleague and associate of Fraternal Delegate Thomson. Brother Edward Hough came from Great Britain as a fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor, along with Brother Thomson. He is the Vice-President of the Yorkshire Miners Federation, and for a period of nearly a half a century has represented that

organization in almost every country in Europe.

You can see by that brief statement that Brother Hough has had a broad and most comprehensive experience during his lifetime in the great organized labor movement of Great Britain. I am sure we are all pleased to have him here. We are happy in that he is privileged to be in attendance at this convention. I know he will make a good address to you.

So I am going to present to you our colleague from Great Britain, Fraternal Delegate Edward Hough.

### MR. EDWARD HOUGH

#### (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Like my colleague I have to express that it is a proud privilege to attend your convention as fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. We do not as a rule send them very young. They have generally collected a few gray hairs at least before we send them over to you. I suppose that is why they did so long before they sent me.

At all events, we have been connected with you fraternally for a long time. This, I believe, is your Sixty-First Convention. For 48 of those we have missed very few. We have always tried to send representatives or a representative to your convention, and on this occasion you need not lay any praise at the door of my colleague and myself for any particular bravery, because it requires a great deal more courage to stay in the country than it does to come out. So we have dodged the issue for the time being. However, I hope these fraternal meetings will continue long after I have gone.

I can remember most of the pioneers of our own movement and a good many pioneers of the old labor movement as we knew it, who have attended these conventions, and I have always been very happy to come in contact with them, to listen to the stories that they told of America, just as much as they were to listen to me when I talked about the miners on the continent.

I remember—and I had better remind you of this because you will notice that my colleague has wandered around the field fairly well, and I am wondering

what he left for me to say. However, as President Green so kindly said, we can generally find something to say, whether it is useful when we say it or not.

Perhaps it might interest you if I used an expression of your late President, Mr. Gompers. When Mr. Gompers was over in England he looked around—I don't know exactly what happened—and he re-shuffled his notes and when we asked him what he was doing he said he was altering the line of battle on the Hindenburg principle. Now it seems to me that since my colleague covered so much territory I had better alter mine on the Hitler principle, because that seems to be the order of the day.

Therefore, I want to vary from the script I gave to the press, because many questions have been put to me since I came into the country. Many questions have been put to us as to how our people are getting on. That could be very easily and briefly answered, because I think after the address of my colleague I had better tell you a story, because I think it will fit in. They used to tell us a story about a family that had a monkey and a parrot. I don't know whether any of the newspaper men have collared this story or not, they usually collar most of them. The people of the house went away for a holiday, and while they were away the monkey got loose and the parrot got loose, and when the people got back they saw the monkey all right, dipping his fingers among the feathers, and so they had to look around for Polly. Polly was a decent speaker, and when the housewife called to her she said, "What's the matter, Polly?" And so Polly answered, "We've had a hell of a time." I hope you ladies will forgive me for that expression, but it is about the only one I can find to meet the situation. That, friends, is what we are having in England now. That is what our people have been facing for more than a year, and that we shall have to continue to face. That is what you will face if it gets past us, and at all events at the moment it is for us to see that it does not. Your help as it comes along will guarantee that position that we are trying to put ourselves in.

Your President kindly referred to the fact that I represent the Miners. Well, maybe that is the reason why I should tell you something about some of them that I have known. You know, like you in this country, we spent many years trying to build up an International Miners Movement on the continent, and we thought until we got up to 1914 we had been fairly successful. We had built up what we considered a fine International Miners Movement, until we suddenly ran up against a snag one day and found that the German miners had

to walk out of the conference because a resolution was tabled which they dare not take part in. And when Fritz Huessman, who was later deputy speaker in the Second Reich, was asked why they left us, we were quietly informed that if they took part in that resolution it would be considered a criminal offense and they could be accused of what we call, in royalist countries, the crime of *les majestés*.

However, when the late war was over I was asked by our late president to set to again and see if we could, along with a few others, recall the remnants of what was once our Miners International. We were successful in getting the first meeting together again at Nîmes in the south of France in 1928. We were able to renew the fraternal greetings and exchanges of troubles as we had before. Those meetings continued, as far as the smaller continental friends were concerned, to 1936, when the meeting was held in Prague.

At that meeting in Prague our German friends did not attend. Fritz Huessman, who walked out with his delegates in 1914, did not attend that conference. He was no longer able to come. Let me tell you the story. Fritz Huessman was getting old. He agreed, when Hitler came in, to accept the conditions and obey, but insisted on fighting for his compensation cases and trying to earmark their funds which were collected for that purpose. But unfortunately, as Hitler got stronger, old Fritz had no control over the funds. Incidentally, his wife and family got a message to go on a holiday, and they went and left Fritz on duty. While they were away he was battered almost to pieces in his own house. When the family returned they were informed they had taken him away and he was suffering from some complaint which disallowed them to see him.

However, in Prague we got a copy of the last letter that Fritz Huessman sent to his wife. I do not have a copy with me, and incidentally I got mine through because I flew from Prague, and I don't think any other delegate got one through. It read something like this:

"Dear Matilde: I am glad you have made up your mind not to come to see me again. We have faced a good many troubles together in the 37 years we have been married. I have been a soldier and I know how to obey. It is your task to look after the children and the grand-children. We shall still overcome the difficulties that we have to face." And he just bid her "good-bye" forever.

We have many instances on the continent where similar things have happened, and particularly the miners and trade unionists generally in Britain realize what is facing many of us if that happens there. So it is not particularly a question of bravery, it is a question of fighting for self-preservation.

It may interest you to know something about our mining movement. Of course we always say that we take credit as being the pioneers in Yorkshire, and Northumberland says the same, and they say the same in Durham. At all events, we have tried to pioneer our men's wages, and when promises were made to us in the last war we thought we might get something, but we didn't.

But in 1921 after Mr. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at that time, told us we beat the Huns, then he audaciously asked for something big, thinking that would be the time for a generous government to give some consideration to it. Now, in 1921, as many of you know, we had a strike. We didn't ask for something big, we weren't even audacious; we just asked for our wages to remain the same as they were. Well, we had a strike for twelve or thirteen weeks, and were unable to sustain it any longer. Therefore, though we won a 7-hour day, after all that period we were just able to retain the seven hours awhile longer, but in other ways a reduction had to be faced.

In 1926 we had it to face again, and in the struggle of 1926 our men in Yorkshire played nearly seven months, three months without any funds at all, and at the end of that seven months, when everything was over, we owed a half a million—I mean a half a million pounds, not your dollars. We borrow liberally when we borrow in Yorkshire. As for what we got, out of the 1921 struggle we got a system of attainments which is easy, if you understand it, but if anybody here understands Mah Jong, I don't. It is about as easy to understand as Mah Jong, which they tell me is a game where the East wind is the greatest trouble. We had a great deal of trouble with the East wind, too. This never can be satisfactory. The only satisfactory thing about it is in the old days we did not know how much they were taking off of us. Now we know. And we are hoping to justify some day a complete system of nationalization with the profits from every source of the industry going into the common pool, from which profits and wages are calculated.

Now, I noticed in one of your papers since I came into the country where your rival—and incidentally I ought to say in passing, as a miner, I do regret there are no miners' representatives in the sense as I understand it, in this convention—I can only again say in passing I hope you will be able to heal those troubles up and get together somehow or other, because it seems to me labor in this great continent cannot afford to be divided any more than we can in Great Britain. I remembered that point in the paper because I think they said they were going to nail everything down, including the by-product workers and everything else. Why I raise that point is this—and I hope the conference

of the American Federation of Labor will take particular notice of it—we have nearly reached the stage in Britain where they will soon be able to give us the pits and buy the coal off of us for by-product purposes. The whole of the profits in that industry in this country and Britain, and any other coal producing country, must somehow or other be forced to gravitate into the common pool from which profits and wages in that industry are paid.

I don't know that I ought to trespass any further on the miners' movement at the moment. I think, though, I ought to draw your attention to the fact that in the mining industry we have complete confidence in the government just for the prosecution of the war. We are not mistaking ourselves at all. When this is over we may have to fight a labor movement, but why we are supporting the government in the prosecution of the war is because if the other chap gets there, there will be very little opportunity of fighting at all. Therefore, again, it is a question of self-preservation.

Now, our movement is not built up like your movement is. We built up ours in our way and you built up yours in your way. There are different industries, and the different people in the several industries mutually form their own unions and get linked up in federations. Like the mining movement, we have a Mining Association in every county; in some counties we have more than one. Those unions, so far as mining is concerned, are amalgamated in what is known as the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, which is affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress. The same applies to other unions. The British Building Trades is a federation linked up to the British Trades Union Congress. That is the industrial body of our country that deals with the national problems affecting all the workers.

We have in addition to that party the Labor Party. In addition to the Labor Party we have the Parliamentary Party. No single party controls the destinies of the labor policy in our country. And in this national effort what is happening and what will continue to happen is that there will be certainly criticism, as there has been recently, but it will be useful criticism. There will be differences of opinion, there will be differences in details, but there will be no fundamental difference between those three bodies that form that great movement until this struggle is over.

Incidentally, I may tell you why we have so much confidence in winning that most of our fighting funds in the British Trades Union Movement are invested in government war bonds to prosecute the war, and thousands of pounds have been lent to the government free of interest for the duration of the war.

Now, in looking across the whole

scheme of things you must realize, as my colleague put it, that we are in a very difficult situation. You have been in many difficult situations in this country. You will be in some again unless you are very fortunate, and I know we shall. But those difficulties must be faced, and here is where I must, at this juncture, say something in a friendly way to American labor. You must help us in your own way, it is not for us to tell you. And I feel sure that there is sufficient intelligence in this audience not to make it necessary for me to tell you what you should do. I feel sure that American labor knows what they shall do and I also feel sure when the right time comes it will do that and render that service to us that we need.

Some people have an idea that we have got to have war anyhow occasionally. Some think it for one reason and some for others. I don't accept it; I never have accepted it. You know they tried to make me into a student when I was a youngster, and I was reluctant to learn things that I have afterwards learned to be of use to men and women. There is one thing that stuck to my mind very definitely, and it left a lasting impression on me. It was a proverb that I believe belongs to one of the conquered countries today, which tells us to seek the solutions of the problems of tomorrow in the light of your experiences of yesterday.

Now those who think that we are bound to have war, I wish they would look at the parallel on this great continent. Here you are, in spite of the fact that this theory seems to hold, and other people seem to have it, you have three thousand miles of a frontier without a fort or a gun. I submit you American people must be sure that leaders on both sides of the frontier must have taken some notice in the arrangement of the peace on the frontier, must have considered it in the light of their difficulties and experiences in the past, and those must be considered by your people and us.

When this thing is over I am honestly hoping that British labor and American labor, may I say united American labor, will have some voice and a powerful voice at the Peace Conference. There must be no mistakes like the last one. If we don't watch what we are doing, the next peace will sow the seeds of the next war after this like every other one has done. And after all, if these things are to happen every few years, if you women are to bear sons to be used as cannon fodder every few years—and if I may say so, women can bear cannon fodder—it would be much better if the old world was whirling in space and no living creature on it. But I am hoping that is not so, my friends. Neither do I adhere to the theory of pre-war conditions. That is a snag I come against with many of my friends today, with whom I agree in outlook and in efficiency

and in war efforts, but I don't agree we should go back to pre-war conditions. Pre-war conditions to us and to you meant the shade of poverty and unemployment. It meant bad social conditions that we did not want and don't intend to have again if we can help it. But if that is all we want, just to return to pre-war conditions, just to build monuments like you did the last time, why, you can go on building them, build them as high as the Tower of Babel, if you like, they will be almost as useless; inscribe what you like on them, they will carry no weight. History will write something else after she takes stock of what has happened, after she has viewed the annihilation almost of the flower of the world's manhood, the devastated countries of Europe, the plague-stricken plains of Asia, the blood-soaked sands of Africa, and the shattered homes of England, it will be written, to the eternal shame of world democracy, "These men died in vain."

President Green: Now, I am happy to present the third fraternal delegate, the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother H. C. Simpson is the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother Simpson is the President of the Calgary Trades and Labor Congress of Calgary in Alberta, Canada. He is a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

We are pleased indeed to accord him a hearty welcome and to express our very deep appreciation over his presence here at this convention. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Fraternal Delegate Simpson from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

### MR. H. C. SIMPSON

#### (Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

President Green and Delegates—President Green has introduced me as a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but I am afraid if this convention keeps on very much longer the Moulders will have me cutting sand and pouring hot metal.

This to me is the most important moment I have experienced since I became a member of a trade union some thirty years ago.

I deem it an honor and a privilege to have this opportunity to convey, in behalf of the officers and affiliated membership of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, sincere fraternal greet-

ings and best wishes for the success of this 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Our two great countries, situated as they are, with three thousand miles of boundary without a fort, have been at peace for more than a hundred years . . . no bristling cannons on our borders; no Maginot line.

I am convinced that one of the main factors why this condition exists, and will continue to exist, is the friendly relations fostered between the workers through the International Trade Union movement and the exchange of fraternal delegates between the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the American Federation of Labor.

We were pleased to have your fraternal delegate, Brother Harry Stevenson, and Mrs. Stevenson with us at our Trades Congress Convention held at Calgary, September 22nd to 27th, 1941. I listened with interest to his informative report, especially his suggestion contained therein regarding the need for organization in Canada. May I say I heartily concur. It is my firm belief that such action on the part of American Federation of Labor unions would be of great benefit to the workers of our country.

Today your Canadian brothers are engaged in a war to save civilization and the democratic institutions which they cherish. We have a big job on our hands. We fully realize that we must expend every effort to help bring this war to a successful conclusion.

Perhaps a brief sketch of Canada's war effort would be of interest.

Canada entered the war entirely of her own volition on September 10, 1939. We started from scratch. Our army, our navy, and our air force were nothing more than skeleton organizations. I realize that figures are sometimes tiresome, but to give you some idea of Canada's part in this great struggle, I shall have to ask you to bear with me while I quote some of these.

Canadian air men, sailors and soldiers serving overseas number more than 100,000.

Others voluntarily enlisted for service anywhere for the duration of war, and at present in Canada, in Canadian waters or North American outposts there are 220,000, making a total on active service of 320,000 men made up as follows:

Royal Canadian navy, 23,000; Canadian active army, 250,000; Royal Canadian air force, 67,000. Then we have a reserve army, which has been given part time training, and is liable to be called at any time for home defense, a total of 170,000, making a grand total at home and abroad of approximately half a million men.

This is more than we had in uniform at the close of the last war. There are

more than ten times as many people in the United States as there are in Canada, therefore in terms of potential manpower, Canada's 320,000 on active service would be equivalent to a strength of more than 3,200,000 in the United States armed forces, without taking account of a reserve army for home defense.

Large numbers of Canadians are serving in the British navy, army and air force.

The Canadian navy has more than 250 vessels, many of which are serving around the British Isles and elsewhere overseas.

By March, 1942, we hope to double this number. Our navy has assisted in convoying ships carrying more than 30,000,000 dead weight tons. While doing this they have sunk enemy submarines, effected rescues, captured several enemy vessels and caused others to be scuttled. It has lost three ships in naval operations.

Three Canadian divisions are now guarding vital sectors in Britain, and recently they have been reinforced with a tank brigade. Our Canadian airmen in the Royal Air Force and the Royal Canadian Air Force squadrons have shot down a great number of enemy planes. Others have been engaged in bombing operations.

One thousand Canadian radio technicians have for some time been assisting the Royal Air Force in combatting air raids.

A word about the British Commonwealth air training plan. The plan called for 90 schools to be in operation by September of this year. We are proud to say this plan was completed two months ahead of schedule. It has over 124 establishments of all kinds, and operates approximately 100 air fields. Twice as many air fighters as originally planned have completed their training, and are now in Britain doing their part.

The estimated cost of this plan for three years is \$824,000,000, of which amount Canada's share will be \$531,000,000.

Canada provides about 80 per cent of the students. The remainder are from Australia and New Zealand. British airmen also train in Canada.

About 8 per cent of the air crew trained or in training in the Royal Canadian Air Force are Americans, and over 600 Americans are acting as instructors for the air training plan. More than 7,000 Americans have joined the Canadian army. Many of these air men and soldiers are already overseas.

More than 1,300 Canadian sailors, soldiers and airmen are now listed as dead or missing. Of these 754 were killed, 303 died from different causes and 241 are missing. 347 have been wounded. Many Canadians have been decorated for bravery or mentioned in dispatches.

During the remainder of 1941 Canada will send overseas the fifth armored division and other troops, increasing numbers of airmen, about 2,500 more radio technicians and naval reinforcements.

By the end of this year the number of trained Canadian airmen overseas will be equal to a division of infantry, and the Dominion will have four army divisions overseas.

Canadian citizens' voluntary aid to Britain in the form of money and needed articles for the victims of enemy bombing, and in the form of funds for the purchase of war planes, totals several millions of dollars. Blankets, clothing, first aid equipment, ambulances, mobile kitchens and other services have been provided.

Supplies which Canada has so far sent to Britain include foodstuffs, such as wheat, bacon, eggs, cheese and canned goods, raw materials such as base metals and timbers, and war equipment such as machine guns, 2 pounder guns, anti-aircraft gun barrels, shells, small arms ammunition, explosives and chemicals, corvettes, mine sweepers, small boats, mechanized transport and universal carriers. The value of such products being sent to Britain during the present fiscal year, April 1, 1941, to March 31, 1942, will be \$1,500,000,000.

Between the outbreak of the war and March 31, 1941, Canada financed more than \$500,000,000 worth of British war purchases in the Dominion. By March 31, 1942, Canada will have provided Britain with nearly \$1,000,000,000 more for the same purpose.

Nearly all of Canada's workers normally classed as employable are now at work, along with a considerable number who would not normally be working for salaries and wages. And it is estimated that about half the persons employed in manufacturing in the Dominion are now engaged more or less directly on production associated with wartime needs. In the next few months the number of persons employed in war production is expected to increase considerably. Ultimately 40 per cent more workers will be needed for war industries.

In the present fiscal year Canada's purchases in the United States will approximate \$950,000,000, nearly twice as much as in the year 1939. Nearly half of this amount will purchase war supplies. Some of these supplies are materials and parts which Canada is manufacturing for Britain. The latter will be supplied to Britain under the lend-lease plan and shipped to Canada. But Canada is not obtaining supplies under the lend-lease plan. She pays cash for purchases on her own account in the United States.

Between September 10 and March 31, 1941, Canadians spent a total of \$1,400,000,000 on their own war effort and on financial aid to Britain. In the present fiscal year they will spend considerably more than \$2,000,000,000—about 40 per cent of their total national income—for war.

In terms of the relative populations and incomes of Canada and the United States, this sum would be equivalent to an expenditure in the United States for de-

fense and lend-lease aid to Britain of about \$35,000,000,000 in a single year.

Since the outbreak, Canadians have loaned their federal government about \$1,460,000,000 in return for war bonds and saving certificates.

Voluntary contributions by Canadian citizens of money for war charities, civilian aid to Britain, purchase of war planes, etc., now total well over \$25,000,000.

This, very briefly, without going into too much detail, is a picture of Canada's war effort in its all-out effort to destroy this monster who would destroy and has destroyed every trade union in the countries he has over-run.

We, in Canada, are not unmindful of the great part the American people are playing. On the contrary, we appreciate the aid that has been and will be given to Britain, Russia and the other allies.

May I be permitted to stress this point, though we may not believe in the system under which Russia has functioned since 1917, nevertheless we must realize that any nation which is supporting us in this life and death struggle against Nazism and Fascism is deserving of our whole-hearted cooperation and support.

We know that you realize that our battle is yours also, and if democracy is going to survive then we must stand as one against this menace to our way of life, which we believe to be the right way.

While the winning of this war is the most important task which we have to perform, let us give some consideration to the winning of the peace. If we lose the peace, then we have not won the war.

And I say to you, trade union leaders assembled at this, the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that you must give deep thought and study to the post-war world in which we will live after totalitarianism has been destroyed. By the effort you put forth in this direction will be measured the participation at any peace conference by organized labor. In a post-war world there should be no room for unemployment or poverty. These were the vehicles on which Hitler rode to power.

We know that when the peoples of any country are unemployed they are dissatisfied, and easily fall victims to some glib tongued orator with a hair-brained scheme, painting a rosy picture of the great benefits to be derived if they will but follow him. These people having suffered, and having watched those whom they love being deprived of things they should have, like a drowning man, grasp at a straw.

We need a great educational campaign among the workers, so that when this type of individual appears he will be unable to gain a following.

In Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand, leaders of labor are in the forefront, and I mean trade union leaders. The reason for this is that the governments of these countries realize how important it is to have unity among the working people in this present crisis.



They know that the rank and file of the workers have confidence in their leaders and will be guided by their suggestions.

The convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, held last month in the city of Calgary, Alberta, was very well attended by delegates from every province in the Dominion, representing many local unions. It was one of the best attended and most successful conventions that has been held in recent years.

Brother George Thomson, delegate from the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, was with us and you have had the pleasure of listening to him this afternoon.

Your fraternal delegate, Brother Stevenson, has given his report, which I have mentioned before as being very informative, therefore it is not necessary for me to go into detail any further.

Now, in closing I would like to give you my idea of the kind of a world I would like to live in when this struggle is over. I think that can best be done by repeating a few lines from a poem written by Lord Alfred Tennyson. I quote:

Where the common sense of most  
Shall hold a fretful realm in awe,  
And the kindly earth shall slumber,  
Wreapt in universal law.

Where the war drums throb no longer,  
And the battle flags are furled,  
The parliament of man,  
The federation of the world.

President Green: Permit me, in your name, to make just brief response to these interesting and illuminating addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates who are in attendance at our convention. We are indeed grateful to them for the contribution which they have made this afternoon towards a better understanding on our part of the tragic situation which prevails in Great Britain and of the service which the men and women are giving to their government.

We regard the attack which is being made by the dictators in Europe upon free democratic nations as a challenge to world civilization, and regarding it in that light we in America are determined to meet that challenge along with those who are so bravely fighting to preserve liberty and freedom throughout the world. We are determined that the light of civilization shall not go out. We know if Great Britain and her allies win that the torch of liberty will burn brightly. On the other hand, we are conscious of the fact that if those who have launched this tragic warfare on the con-

tinent of Europe ultimately succeed that then we face back into the dark ages to regimentation throughout the world, governmental dictation and governmental control, to involuntary servitude and the surrender of individual liberty.

We do not know here in America just what the future has in store for us. We cannot foresee where we may be led or what steps we may be compelled to take, but we are determined, and I know I can speak for the 5,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor, that come what may, whatever we may be called upon to do, no matter where fate ultimately leads us, that we shall stand immovable in defense of liberty, freedom, democracy and the freedom of the seas.

It is our will, our purpose, our determination to contribute our service, our skill, our training, our genius in support of Great Britain and her Allies. Here in our factories, our mills, our mines, on the transportation lines of the nation, our workers will give of their skill, their genius, their training, their heart and their soul in order to help Great Britain and her Allies, and it is for that especial reason that we appeal to our workers, to those whom we have the honor to represent, to give and serve as they have never given and served before. If they become conscious of the seriousness of the situation, and the vital issues at stake, as we are conscious of it all, there will be no interruption in industry during this period of tragedy. But if it is necessary for us to do more than serve in the mills, the mines, and the factories, if the call shall come, if the issue must be determined by our giving service that we have given heretofore, and can give again, then I know I can truthfully say that we will meet that issue united and courageously.

Our eyes turn across the seas frequently, and our hearts beat in sympathy with our fellow workers in Great Britain and Canada and Australia, and in the invaded countries of Europe. I know we cannot fully appraise the suffering they are meeting, the sacrifices they are making, but we ask you to carry back to our fellow workers in Great Britain and their friends, the assurance of our firm resolve and determi-



nation to stand by them and with them until the bitter end. That is the official position of the American Federation of Labor, and I hope you will convey that position to them, fraternal delegates, when you return home.

We thank you a thousand times from the bottom of our hearts for your visit to our convention, the duly accredited representatives of our fellow workers in Great Britain and Canada, and we appreciate more than words can express the fine messages you delivered this afternoon.

### PRESENTATION TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: Now I want to discharge a pleasant duty for you. It will be your duty, and I am happy indeed to be the agency through which you will discharge that very pleasant duty.

It has always been the custom here at conventions of the American Federation of Labor that those in attendance present to the fraternal delegates a beautiful present, one they can take home with them as a reminder of a happy visit with their friends in the United States of America. We will not fail Brother Thomson, Brother Hough, and Brother Simpson and their good wives this afternoon. We are prepared to present to them presents just as beautiful and just as valuable as we have presented to the fraternal delegates who have attended previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Our Good Will Committee has worked faithfully, they have done their job and have performed their task. You have contributed liberally, and out of your liberal gifts these beautiful presents have been purchased, and I am now going to present them in your name and in your presence and for you to our friends who are visiting with us this afternoon, the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.

I want to present this beautiful watch and chain especially selected, and I think I can say perhaps especially made for Brother Thomson. Here it is, look at it! Isn't it beautiful? A beautiful watch

and chain with a knife attached, an American product, made by members of the American Federation of Labor in the jewelry shops of this country! And it is engraved so that it will last for life. It says, "Presented to George W. Thomson, Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor."

Brother Thomson, I present this beautiful present to you. I hope it will serve to remind you very often of your delightful and happy visit to America. It is a good timekeeper.

Fraternal Delegate Thomson: President Green and Brothers—I never felt so much like running away from anything as I do now. I suppose President Green gave me this on your behalf because he observed I was not the best of timekeepers, especially when making speeches. I hope you will pardon me for the length of my address. Perhaps this watch will remind me that there are obligations to one's host as well as to one's self. May I express here the very great personal pleasure I have experienced, the wonderful hospitality I have experienced, and I hope I have profited by the many things you have said about me.

One word, in conclusion. I did not bring my wife.

President Green: Brother Thomson, I overlooked something. We all want the fraternal delegates to return home in good grace and to receive a hearty welcome when they get back home, so we think we can help you to be accorded a hearty welcome when you go back home. We have a beautiful present for Mrs. Thomson. See that? It is a beautiful watch. There it is. He can take it home and present it to his good wife, Mrs. Thomson, with the love and affection and esteem of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, and he ought to be accorded a hearty welcome when he goes back. Take it home to your wife.

Fraternal Delegate Thomson: Thanks. It is a fine peace offering.

President Green: Now, we have another watch, just as fine and just as

beautiful, for the colleague of Brother Thomson, our good friend, Brother Hough. It is engraved in the same manner as the one presented to Brother Thomson. We want Brother Hough to take that home with him as a reminder of his visit to this 61st Annual Convention. Here it is, Brother Hough, it is yours. Take it home to Great Britain and keep it as a remembrance of your visit to America.

Then of course we have a watch for Mrs. Hough. We do not want you to get into any argument as to which one is the most beautiful when you go home, because her watch, I think, is more beautiful than yours. Of course she is deserving of something nicer than you could ever have.

Fraternal Delegate Hough: President Green and fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely thankful for the very fine present that you have been good enough to pass on to me. But I would like to remind President Green that he put me in for a source of trouble. I sometimes tell the story about the colored man who used to help us a good deal. We presented him with a watch. He was usually a very silent man, but we insisted upon him making some contribution to the speeches. He was almost inarticulate when he got on his feet. He kept looking at the watch and said, "Well—well—ladies and gentlemen—I have a few words to say, and all I can say is, where is the chain?" That is what she will say when she sees this.

President Green: I can tell Brother Hough what to tell her. Tell her to wear it on her wrist.

Now we have a similar gift for you, Brother Simpson. We show no partiality, because we want all of you to be pleased and happy.

Here is the same kind of beautiful watch and chain with knife attached for you. Take it back to Canada with you as a reminder of a pleasant visit here in the United States.

Fraternal Delegate Simpson: President Green and fellow delegates: You have me pretty nearly speechless. The only thing I can say is that this watch, along with this beautiful badge that

you gave me last week, will remain among my treasured possessions and bring back thoughts of many happy hours that I spent with you and, as I said before, instructive hours, because I have learned a lot in coming to this convention.

When I made my address I neglected to say something about the wonderful time I have had here, and now at this time I want to thank those who are responsible for the entertainment we have had here. It has been wonderful and I have had just a swell time, to use a working man's phrase, since I came to Seattle, rain or no rain. Of course we come from sunny Alberta, where the sun shines all the time, and we do appreciate a little moisture once in a while.

Thank you very much.

President Green. We have reserved for the last the rare privilege and pleasure of presenting Mrs. Simpson, the wife of Fraternal Delegate Simpson. She is sitting there quietly, but we are going to hear her speak, and I assure you she will make the finest speech you will ever listen to in all your life. I have set high standard for her. After I present her with this watch I am going to ask her to speak, and the delegates can be prepared for a fine, eloquent address.

Now, Mrs. Simpson, we are so happy because you are here. You have adorned the occasion and we hope you have enjoyed yourself with us.

As an expression of our appreciation of your visit I present to you this watch, presented to you, through me, by these splendid men and women who are attending this convention. Accept it as an expression of their high esteem and high regard for you, and may you always have it as a reminder of your visit to Seattle and this convention.

Now, then, speak to them eloquently.

Mrs. Simpson: President Green, members of the Executive Council and delegates: I do thank you for this very beautiful gift and I assure you that it will remain as one of my treasured possessions for all time. While I am here I would also like to thank the local committees for the splendid and delightful

time they have given us during our stay in Seattle. We had such a good chance to see your beautiful city. I don't blame you a bit for being proud of it.

Thank you again.

President Green: That completes the discharge of a very pleasant duty this afternoon. I know it makes us all very happy to participate in these delightful ceremonies incident to the presentation of gifts to the fraternal delegates and their wives.

### **British Joint Management-Labor Commission Visiting the United States**

President Green: I have a little surprise for you now, an agreeable one, I am sure. We have present with us this afternoon for a short visit the eight members of the British Joint Management-Labor Commission appointed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill to visit the United States defense centers as the guests of the Office of Production Management. They are here in Seattle and the Northwest for the purpose of visiting the defense production industries here and gaining a first-hand knowledge of defense production that has been inaugurated and that is being carried forward in our manufacturing plants throughout the nation.

I am pleased indeed to have them here and to introduce them to you so that you may know them. I am going to ask each of them to rise and take a bow as I present them to you.

First of all I wish to present Mr. Frederick C. Braby, who is President of the Engineering and Allied Employers—London District Association. He is the Managing Director of Frederick Braby & Company, Limited, and a member of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

I present Mr. Charles K. F. Hague, who is a Director of Babcock & Wilcox, Limited. Mr. Hague is a member of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and an associate member of the Institutions of Electrical & Mechanical Engineers.

Mr. C. Percy Lister, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the Fed-

eration of British Industries, and the Chairman and Managing Director of R. A. Lister & Company, and associated companies.

John Stanleigh Turner, who is a Justice of the Peace; a member of the Central Committee of the Coal Mining Association of Great Britain; a member of the Executive Board of the Midland Amalgamated District Central Council of Coal Owners; and the Managing Director of the Moira Colliery, Limited.

The gentlemen I have just presented are the employer members of this Commission.

Now, I want to present to you next the representatives of labor serving on this Commission. I present to you first of all one whom many of you know, Brother A. A. H. Findlay, former President of the British Trades Union Congress, and former head of the Confederation of Shipbuilding & Engineering Unions. Brother Findlay was a fraternal delegate to our convention in 1930.

George A. Isaacs, who is a Labor Member of Parliament; President of the Federation of Printing Trades Unions of Great Britain, and Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants. Brother Isaacs is also a member of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Food.

James Kaylor, who is a Justice of the Peace, and an executive officer of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Brother Kaylor is a member of the Advisory Committees to the Ministry of Labor, to the Ministry of Supply, and to the Production Executive of the War Cabinet.

Will Lawther, who is President of the Mine Workers Federation of Great Britain. Brother Lawther is a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, and a former Member of Parliament.

I wish to thank these distinguished men for their visit here this afternoon. We are happy indeed in that they were privileged to come and look in on our convention.

I have one more distinguished visitor that I want to present to you before we adjourn. I refer to Mr. Ingvald Haugen, President of the Norwegian Seamen's

Association. He is a Labor Member of Norwegian Shipping Board, a member of the Executive Council of the Norwegian Federation of Labor, and the Norwegian Workers' delegate to the International Labor Conference, which will convene in New York City within the next ten days.

We have all been touched so deeply by the tragic events that have taken place in peaceful Norway. We resent with all the indignation at our command the traitorous conduct and action of men who claimed to be Norwegians. It shocked our sensibilities.

We are happy indeed to note that the men and women of Norway are now rising in their might and exercising all the power at their command to resist the cruel invader who seized their nation and who has held them captives ever since. May God grant them more power, and may we hope that rebellion will increase in Norway.

I want Brother Haugen to speak to us for just four or five minutes, and I know you will be pleased to have him tell us something about Norway.

### MR. INGVALD HAUGEN

**(President, Norwegian Seamen's Association and Member of Executive Council, Norwegian Federation of Labor)**

President Green, friends and delegates of this great convention—I am sorry to say that I am not able to speak your language in good English, so I shall have to make my little speech in my own language. But my good friend, Bob Watt, will translate the brief message I have for you from the workers of Norway.

(Mr. Haugen then delivered his message in Norwegian, following which Mr. Robert Watt read the following translation:)

Mr. President, delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor: This time last year at New Orleans the representative of the Norwegian Seaman's Union brought to you the greetings and well wishes of the workers of Norway.

This year you have extended the hand of friendship to all those great free trade unions ravaged by the Nazis and now in exile. The workers of Norway gladly accept your hand of friendship and in return they ask me to bring to you their warmest greetings.

Although the Nazis have made a determined effort to prevent the Federation of Labor in Norway from informing the workers of Norway as to the status of free labor throughout the world, our representatives have succeeded with the help of leaders like President Green in establishing and maintaining contact with our homeland.

The bitter struggle now being waged in Europe is not a struggle for new lands, but a struggle between men and women who are still free, still brave, and still determined, against the brutal forces of dictatorship.

Unless those who are fighting to preserve freedom and liberty win the battle the bells will toll the death knell of free trade unions throughout the continent of Europe.

The workers of Norway nor the workers of other European nations understood, and no simple words of mine can describe the terror and brutality which all of our free nations have met at the hands of the Nazi plunderbund. But now they realize that the institutions of freedom can only be preserved by those who are willing to fight to preserve them.

The people of Norway, rich and poor alike, have joined as one man in this struggle. The representatives of the free trade unions of Norway are the leaders in this struggle. Day by day our leaders are arrested and many of them shot. Just a few weeks ago Viggo Hansten and Rolf Vickstrom, two great Norwegian trade union leaders, paid the last full measure with their lives for the principle of freedom upon which yours and every other great labor movement is founded.

We who would not or could not create security against fear and famine among the under-privileged, have seen rich and poor alike reduced to a destitution far worse than that of our most wretched slums of yesterday.

We who squabbled in our own household over ancient prejudices of race or religion and over petty differences of politics or trade, have learned that sectional boundaries can isolate a people to the furious force of Nazi assault and persecution.

We who saw the class struggle blind capitalist and laborer to the fury of the gathering storm, know now that both lost in their folly far more than either had ever hoped to gain.

Less than 2 per cent of all the people in Norway have followed the traitor Quisling. The other 98 per cent have learned at a terrible cost that freedom is worth fighting and giving their lives for.

I just travelled from Europe on a Norwegian ship and I can tell you with sincerity that the declaration of your great President Roosevelt to "shoot at sight" the marauders and murderers on the high seas gave hope and courage not only to the seamen of my nation but to the seamen on the seven seas, to carry on and

bring the "arsenal of democracy" to the embattled peoples of Europe and the world.

Norway has 600 ships and over 20,000 members of the union I represent participating daily in the "Battle of the Atlantic" and over 1,000 ships and 35,000 members sailing the seas. Every single sailor and seaman on that great fleet is sworn to carry on, until the last of the pirates are swept from the seas.

President Green, on behalf of the workers of Norway, I thank you and the delegates for the privilege of appearing before this great Congress of Labor. I ask your great organization to join with your great President Roosevelt to strengthen the hope and courage of brave men who continue the fight with desperate courage, though the firing squads murder our trade union leaders as hostages.

Hasten arms, airplanes and tanks, food and equipment to those who carry on. Hasten relief to our homelands. Help to strike down the shackles of fear and bondage, and bring your great genius and resources to hasten the downfall of barbarism and establish a true justice among the peoples of the world.

The workers of Norway salute the workers of America!

President Green: We accept this stirring message brought to us by our colleague from Norway with a feeling of sympathy for those he represents. As you know, we have spoken in this convention in clear and unmistakable terms. We simply wish to repeat and re-emphasize all we have said and to assure our friend from Norway that he is among tried and true friends, and that American workers will cooperate with him and those he represents to the bitter end.

Delegate May, Masters, Mates and Pilots:

President Green: For what purpose does the delegate rise?

Delegate May: To answer some of the remarks, for the Seafarers Federation of America, made by our brother from Norway. I want to rise to extend to him our greetings. We are grateful that these men are working and fighting with us for the freedom of the seas. We are with them at all times. We owe Norway a great debt of gratitude for producing that grand old man, one of the greatest labor leaders in the world, Andrew Furuseth.

We are now taking care of those seamen from Norway and other Scandinavian

countries who are stranded on account of this emergency. We are working with them and cooperating with them to see that they get American wages and conditions when they sail out of American ports, and we are with them until victory.

### Special Order of Business—Report of Committee on Resolutions

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Resolutions has completed its work and we are ready to report. I move that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be made a special order of business commencing with tomorrow morning's session.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: May I report to Vice-President Woll that one committee was interrupted in the submission of its report and it has some few resolutions yet to report upon. Another committee whose report will be very short is ready, and I partially promised that committee they would be recognized, so I wonder if you could make that motion for a special order beginning, say at 11:00 o'clock?

Vice-President Woll: Perfectly agreeable.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Vice-President Woll: May I make the announcement in behalf of the Committee on Resolutions that the committee will report on Resolutions Nos. 14, 15 and 16 immediately on the convening of the afternoon session tomorrow.

### Effective Date of Amended Constitution

President Green: The Chair deems it advisable to inform the delegates in attendance at this convention that the constitution as amended by this convention becomes effective on January 1, 1942, so keep on paying your per capita tax as you have been paying it until January 1, 1942.

Delegate Lyons, New York State Federation of Labor: The Committee on State

Organizations will meet immediately after adjournment. Our report is ready and I would appreciate it very much, Mr. Chairman, if you would permit the Committee on State Organizations to make their report tomorrow morning.

### **Escort Committee**

President Green: We have a distinguished visitor who will be with us tomorrow morning and will speak very briefly to the convention. He is a direct representative of the President of the United States, Chairman of a very important committee created by executive

order. I wish very much that he might be able to address the convention at 10:30 o'clock for just a few minutes. I refer to Mr. Mark Etheridge, the editor of a chain of newspapers in Louisville, Kentucky.

I will appoint Brother Joseph Moersch, Building Laborers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, and Joseph Breslaw, Ladies' Garment Workers, as a committee to escort Mr. Etheridge to the convention tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, October 14.

**SIXTH DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION****Seattle, Washington, October 14, 1941**

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock.

President Green: Reverend Emil Friberg, of the Swedish Baptist Church of Seattle, will pronounce the invocation this morning. I am happy to present to you Reverend Friberg.

**INVOCATION**

**(Reverend Emil Friberg, Swedish Baptist Church, Seattle)**

God, our Father in Heaven, we thank Thee that we can come before Thy throne of grace and mercy in the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We thank Thee, O God, for this new day, and we thank Thee for the many blessings that have come to us in the days gone. Grant that we may serve Thee faithfully this day, whatever task and whatever calling, wherever we are placed in life.

We pray, O God, that Thou wilt bless our country. We thank Thee for the many blessings that have come to us in the past, and at the present time feel that there is a special need of unity, responsibility and willingness to help and to carry the burdens in common. We pray, O God, that we may be guided by Thee, and Thy Holy Spirit.

We pray for our President and all who have been placed in the positions of responsibility, that they may seek Thee and Thy guidance and Thy help.

We thank Thee, O God, for all the resources that have been created, all that has been placed at our disposal. We thank Thee for labor which, through skill and hard work, has brought all that Thou hast created, brought it before us that we may enjoy it, that we may serve mankind and that we may feel that we are a happy fraternity, a great family enjoying the things that have been created by Thee.

We ask Thy blessing upon the meeting today and upon all that this organization is planning to do. We pray that Thou wilt guide them and bless them and that they may be saved from blind selfishness, that they may be ready to serve Thee and one another and to seek Thy guidance.

We ask it all in Jesus name—Amen.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Ross, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT.  
COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS**

Secretary Ross submitted the following report:

In accordance with request received from President Lundeberg of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, your Committee on Credentials recommends the seating of Hugh Murphy in place of John Peratrovich, previously reported, with 50 votes, as a delegate to represent that organization.

JAMES M. DUFFY, Chairman,  
GRANT H. ROSS, Secretary.  
THOS. F. HOLLERAN,

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Kuenzli, of the Committee on Education, for a continuation of the report of that committee.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE  
ON EDUCATION****(Continued)**

Delegate Kuenzli, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

**Federal Aid to Education**

**Resolution No. 63**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its annual convention in 1935 requested President Roosevelt to appoint a committee to investigate the use of the federal funds for vocational education, and

WHEREAS, The President's Advisory Committee on Education, appointed pursuant to the above request of the American Federation of Labor, recommended a program of federal subsidies for both vocational and general education, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly declared its position in favor of federal aid for the purpose of equalizing the educational opportunities of the children in the several states of the nation, and



WHEREAS, The present emergency and the national defense program have emphasized the serious need for federal assistance to education in many parts of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Only limited federal funds are now available in the field of vocational education and these funds can readily be used only in the larger cities of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, reaffirm its traditional stand in favor of federal aid to education and urge the President and the Congress of the United States to take immediate steps to make available such federal funds as are necessary to guarantee at least a minimum standard of education to every child in the United States.

The American Federation of Labor for many years has taken an emphatic stand in favor of federal grants for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunities for the children of the nation. The part played by the American Federation of Labor in this program is well described in the following statement from the 1940 convention in New Orleans:

"For a period of more than two decades the American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of equalizing the educational facilities of the several states through federal grants for education. It was largely through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the Smith-Hughes Act, providing federal aid for vocational education, was enacted by the Congress of the United States in 1917. It was largely through the influence of the American Federation of Labor that subsequent acts were passed expanding the program of vocational education provided in the Smith-Hughes Act. Recent bills before Congress to provide federal aid to general education as well as vocational education had their origin in the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor which requested that the President of the United States appoint a committee to study the problem of federal aid for vocational education. The committee appointed by the President under the chairmanship of Doctor Floyd Reeves, requested and received permission from the President to

expand its activities and study the whole program of federal aid for general education as well as vocational education. The Permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. assisted in drafting the resultant federal aid bill which is now before Congress. Recommendations of the 1937 A. F. of L. convention designed to protect programs of vocational education existing under the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent acts, have been incorporated in the bill. However, the American Federation of Labor did not approve certain amendments which were introduced later."

We wish again to emphasize, however, that federal aid to education does not mean federal control of education and that administration of the schools and determination of curricula should be left to the state and local communities.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends that this convention reaffirm its previous stand in favor of federal grants for public education and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the Permanent Committee on Education, and the legislative forces of the A. F. of L. be instructed actively to support legislation designed to provide such federal support.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Research Department for U. S. Office of Education

**Resolution No. 64**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, There exists in the United States a serious need for research in the field of public education on a national scale, and

WHEREAS, The United States Office of Education is not adequately financed at the present time to provide the personnel for this important service, and

WHEREAS, Reliable educational research can be conducted only by an authorized agency of government, and

WHEREAS, Local, state, and national labor bodies are compelled to rely upon the research services of non-union and often anti-union educational organizations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand at the 1940 convention urging the Congress of the United States to provide adequate funds for a research department in the United States Office of Education; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Permanent Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor cooperate in establishing such a department when the necessary funds are available.

The collection and dissemination of factual data and information in the field of education are essential to successful operation of the educational system of the nation. The feverish expansion of vocational education in the present crisis has clearly indicated the serious lack of research facilities on the part of the U. S. Office of Education. No reliable statistics were available as to the number of trainees actually needed in the various crafts and the facilities available for defense training. Early reports regarding lack of skilled workers in the various trades were found to be greatly exaggerated. The emergency program set up in public schools throughout the nation to 'refresh' workers in the various crafts was based largely upon rumors and reports hastily gathered from many sources which were not qualified to provide the necessary information. As in the case of national defense, so in other fields of activity, reliable statistics cannot be supplied by the U. S. Office of Education because of financial limitations in the field of educational research. The U. S. Office of Education is the only agency which has authority to collect data in the field of education since many school authorities refuse to furnish information to organized labor groups and to private organizations. It is most unfortunate that affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor are compelled to turn to private so-called research bureaus on educational matters. We therefore recommend that this convention reaffirm the stand of the 1940 convention and concur in this resolution.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Uniform Apprenticeship Laws

**Resolution No. 122**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In starting the movement which resulted in the enactment of the Shelley-Maloney Apprentice Labor Standards Act of 1939, the California State Federation of Labor took its rightful place as a leader in setting up the apprenticeship machinery now so necessary to supply the nation's need for skilled workers, and

WHEREAS, Under the provisions of that act, Governor Olsen set up the California Apprenticeship Council upon which there is equal representation from employer and employee organizations, and

WHEREAS, Under the leadership of the California Apprenticeship Council the records show that in two years more than 150 local joint apprenticeship committees, comprising equal representation from employer and Labor organizations, have been set up throughout the State, and that through these committees collective bargaining agreements governing the wages, hours and working conditions of employment for some 10,000 apprentices have been established, and

WHEREAS, This apprenticeship record has been achieved in California by reason of the universal acceptance of the collective bargaining features of our State apprenticeship program, as advocated by the California Apprenticeship Council; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, hereby commends the California Apprenticeship Council for the outstanding record which it has made and for its recognition at all times of the rights of Organized Labor to equal representation upon all committees dealing with the all-important problem of apprentice training; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention urge the adoption in all states of apprenticeship laws similar to the one in California, which has so well protected the rights of the workers, as well as further encouraging the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship to cooperate with such state apprenticeship councils.

Intelligent and active participation by state federations of labor in programs of vocational education is essential to the success of trade training programs

in the various states. If proper standards are to be maintained for the various trades and the number of apprentices determined on a scientific basis, it is especially important to organized labor that advisory committees actually function in all vocational schools. To see to it that organized labor representatives do function on such committees is one of the important duties of affiliated labor bodies.

Your committee therefore concurs in this resolution and commends the California State Federation of Labor for its part in setting up a functional system of advisory committees within the state. The Committee also commends the California Apprenticeship Council for its recognition of the rights of organized labor. The Committee recommends that the Executive Council and the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor make a careful study of the California plan in relation to the general problem of vocational education and apprenticeship training.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Vocational Training Programs

**Resolution No. 159** — By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has since its inception contributed richly to the development of vocational education in this country, and

WHEREAS, During all these years it has stood firmly for the maintenance of sound educational, social, and technical standards in the development of vocational education, and

WHEREAS, The present emergency demands the tremendous expansion of the program of vocational training; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled urges its affiliated state and central bodies to name a committee on vocational training (if one does not exist

which can so function) which committee shall be asked:

1. To gather, compile and analyze data on the subject of vocational education in its community;
2. To examine closely the training programs of emergency government agencies and the up-grading, in-training programs of industry;
3. To confer continually with social minded civic organizations in each community which are interested in such a program and to keep before them the social and economic aims of labor's program;
4. To assist in organizing teachers of these training programs into the only bona fide teacher trade union, the American Federation of Teachers;

and be it further

RESOLVED, That each city central or state federation be urged to send the reports and findings of its committee on vocational education to the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently stood for the principle that vocational training and apprenticeship should be based upon careful investigation of the need for workers in the various crafts. The absence of reliable factual data as a basis for a vocational training program in relation to national defense has emphasized the need for the type of research provided in this resolution. Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly urged central labor bodies to maintain active committees on education and to study carefully the vocational education programs in local communities.

Therefore, we recommend the adoption of this resolution and urge all affiliated local and state bodies to cooperate in establishing committees on vocational training and in securing the information requested in the resolution.

Secretary Kuenzli moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Kuenzli: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Education. The report is signed by the following members of the committee:

MAX ZARITSKY,  
Acting Chairman  
IRVIN KUENZLI, Secretary  
GEORGE M. HARRISON  
E. E. MILLIMAN  
JOSEPH F. CLARKE  
THOMAS E. BURKE  
GEORGE A. BANG  
WILLIAM I. HORNER  
KENNETH I. TAYLOR  
A. REX RICCARDI  
ANDREW WIGSTROM  
LESLIE L. MYERS  
WILLIAM L. MCFETRIDGE  
HARRY H. COOK  
JOSEPH BRESLAW  
L. C. MACOMBER  
IRVAN CARY  
HARRY LUNDEBERG  
ROBERT BRUCK  
HUGO ERNST  
JAMES J. DOYLE  
Committee on Education.

Delegate Kuenzli moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Thank you, members of the committee, for the report and for the service you have rendered.

President Green: I now recognize Chairman Ornburn of the Committee on Legislation.

Chairman Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, your Committee on Legislation is prepared to submit its report and will do so through Secretary George; and in order to expedite the report of the committee the Secretary will give you the proposition, the number of the resolution, and the report of the Committee.

If there are objections, however, the entire resolution and entire proposal will be submitted to the convention.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Legislation had referred to it numerous sections of the Report of the Executive Council, as follows:

National Legislation:  
Requisition of Property (National Defense)

Post-War Readjustments (National Defense)  
Social Security  
Amendments to Anti-Trust Law  
Canal Zone  
Longevity Pay for Postal Employees  
Night Work in Custodial Service  
Eight-Hour Day in Custodial Service  
Special Delivery Messengers  
Laborers in Railway Mail Service  
Post Office Substitute Driver-Mechanics  
Holiday Pay  
Postal Service Custodial Employees Retirement  
District of Columbia Legislation  
Maritime Legislation  
Prohibition  
Revenue Act for 1941  
Appropriation for National Labor Relations Board  
Amendments to Fair Labor Standards Act  
Aid for the Blind  
Federal Regulation of Employment Agencies  
Migratory Labor  
Payment of Poll Tax as Prerequisite for Voting  
Census of Industry and Business  
Merging of Telegraph Companies  
Price Control  
St. Lawrence Waterways Project  
Amendment to Copyright Act  
Registration of Trade Marks  
Amendment to National Labor Relations Act

There were also referred to this Committee 47 resolutions, numbered as follows: Resolutions Nos. 66 to 89, inclusive, 91 to 110, inclusive, and 155 to 157, inclusive.

The committee has held several meetings and has given careful consideration to all matters referred to it. Interested parties have been given opportunity to present their views to the committee.

We beg to submit the following report:

### NATIONAL LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 74-75)

This section of the Executive Council's Report calls attention to the fact that the 77th Congress, now in session, has been devoted almost exclusively to legislation for national defense and the extension of aid to nations combating the spread of dictator government. As a result, little legislation dealing with other matters has been given consideration. Many proposals urged by the

American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have therefore made little progress.

However, many proposals for restrictions upon organized labor, and for curtailment of the rights and privileges of the workers have been proposed, usually inserted in defense measures, thus taking advantage of the popular demand for adequate defense to secure their enactment. The Executive Council and the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been vigilant in their scrutiny of all legislation and have been successful in defeating such anti-labor provisions while at the same time giving their full support to the defense program.

It is pointed out that appropriations and reallocations incident to the defense program have amounted to \$51,395,672,790.83 during the present session and that, in spite of the latest tax measure, a deficit of fifteen to seventeen billions of dollars will be incurred for the current year, necessitating further increases in taxes, both direct and indirect, making inevitable a long period of increased prices and living costs.

Warning is given of attempts to reduce appropriations for the ordinary functions of the Government which would result in curtailment of many necessary Governmental activities and the certain lowering of wage standards for Government employees, increases in working hours, and the loss of many concessions secured in past years.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its successful efforts in protecting the rights of workers and recommends approval of this section of the report.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### REQUISITION OF PROPERTY —S. 1579

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 75-76)

This section of the Executive Council's report calls attention to S. 1579, a bill authorizing the President, during a

National emergency, to requisition, at a fair price, property which can be used for National defense purposes, and to use, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property. As amended by the House of Representatives it provided for requisition of only property actually necessary to the National defense. The bill passed both Houses of Congress and was in Conference Committee at the time the report was written.

The committee recommends acceptance of this section of the report.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### POST-WAR READJUSTMENTS— H.J. Res. 59, H.J. Res. 76

(Executive Council's Report, Page 77)

This section of the Executive Council's report tells of the introduction of two bills by Representative Jerry Voorhis of California, (H.J. Res. 59 and H.J. Res. 76) to provide for the creation of a Post-War Economic Advisory Commission to develop a program for readjustment of economic and labor conditions after the war with a view to elimination of unemployment and the regulation of production in the interest of the general welfare. A representative of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives and urged approval of these resolutions.

The committee commends the Executive Council for its support of these bills and urges continued effort to secure enactment of these or similar measures and the fullest possible participation by the American Federation of Labor in the preparation and application of measures for the readjustment of war industries to peace-time production.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 78179)

The Executive Council reports the introduction of H.R. 4882, by Representative Arthur D. Healey of Massachusetts, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to provide for more adequate Federal aid to the States for old-age assistance, liberalize the law in reference to qualification for old-age benefits, and to extend the coverage of the act to numerous groups, including domestic workers, agricultural workers, and certain employees of religious, charitable, and educational institutions. It would be extended also to certain employees of political subdivisions of the United States under certain conditions.

The Executive Council also reports on H.R. 1410, referred to as the "General Welfare Act," to provide for a \$30 dollar per month pension to all citizens over 60 years of age not now within the purview of a Federal annuity statute. A petition in the House of Representatives to discharge the House Committee from further consideration of this bill is on the desk of the Speaker and has received 160 of the necessary 218 signatures to bring it to a vote.

The report also refers to the activity of a Special Senate Committee to Investigate the Old-Age Pension System and the recommendation of Senator Downey of California and three other members of that committee for drastic changes in the law. The Finance Committee of the Senate is to hold hearings on the subject.

In view of the fact that several organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are vitally concerned with proposed changes in the Social Security Law, and that these organizations are not in entire agreement, your committee recommends that this section of the Executive Council's Report be referred to the standing Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor and that this convention reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor on this subject as adopted at the 1940 convention in New Orleans and as set forth on

pages 355 and 356 of the printed report.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## ANTI-TRUST LAW AMENDMENTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 82)

The Executive Council calls attention to two bills (H.R. 5218, by Mr. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, and H.R. 5259, by Mr. A. S. Monroney of Oklahoma) to amend anti-trust legislation and to subject labor organizations to prosecution under the anti-trust laws for exercising ordinary organization functions in seeking proper adjustments of differences with employers.

So far, efforts to prevent favorable action on these measures have been successful. It is well to note, however, that further attempts to secure enactment of these or other similar proposals are likely to be made.

The committee recommends continued opposition to these and similar proposals and the utmost vigilance in keeping all members of organized labor informed about their introduction.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## CANAL ZONE

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 82-84)

Under this caption, the Executive Council recites that legislation to eliminate the employment of aliens and to establish improved wage and hour standards for employees of the Panama Canal was enacted, effective May 1, 1941. The legislation, however, granted authority to the President to suspend it in case of national emergency. The President has exercised that authority to suspend the law during the present emergency. Due to the construction of a new canal, fortifications, and necessary housing, at a

cost of approximately \$600,000,000 all to be completed within the next five years, approximately 25,000 have been added to the Canal Zone force since 1939.

Contractors not covered by the legislation precipitated vigorous and sustained complaints of failure to observe either wage or hour standards. As a result, Legislative Chairman Wm. C. Hushing of the American Federation of Labor and Joseph McDonagh, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department, were sent to the Canal Zone to make a complete investigation. Acting upon their report, negotiations have since been carried on with the War Department and legislation has been introduced to correct conditions.

An agreement promulgated July 24, 1941, will correct many of the conditions complained of and it is believed that all complaints will be adjusted through conferences to be held.

The committee commends the Executive Council and Legislative Chairman Wm. C. Hushing and Joseph McDonagh, Secretary of Metal Trades Department, for their work in securing improved conditions of labor in the Canal Zone.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## CANAL ZONE RETIREMENT

(Executive Council's Report, p. 84)

The Executive Council reports that several bills for the improvement of the Canal Zone Employees' Retirement law are before the Committees of the Congress but no action has been taken by the Congress. One bill (S. 1481), to extend the benefits of the retirement law to former employees, has been favorably reported to the Senate.

The Committee recommends continued efforts to secure favorable action on these measures.

Secretary George moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## Twenty-five Year Optional Retirement and Widows' Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

**Resolution No. 74**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity, and the actinic rays of the tropical sun, and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women, and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Congress during the 74th Session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two, and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provisions of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code, June 19, 1934, and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an early retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Resolution No. 74 requests the support of the American Federation of Labor for legislative proposals of the Canal Zone



Central Labor Union to establish an earlier retirement age for employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad and to extend retirement benefits to widows of such employees.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Secretary George moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **Standard Wage Rates for Panama Canal Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions**

**Resolution No. 75**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in the Government navy yards, arsenals, and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions, and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving the proper salary for the responsibility taken, and

WHEREAS, In all fairness, an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Resolution No. 75 requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing legislation to provide that employees of the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad, and Navy Yards and Arsenals shall receive the standard rate of pay when detailed to supervisory duties.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Secretary George moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **Full Pay While on Leave for Canal Zone Hourly Employees**

**Resolution No. 76**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Panama Canal regulations provide that hourly employees on leave may receive only six days' pay for every seven days of leave, and

WHEREAS, Each day per week is paid for at the regular day's earnings except Saturday, which is considered a "G" or non-work day, and

WHEREAS, Hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are being penalized to the extent of one day of leave for every seven taken, and

WHEREAS, Attempts to correct the situation through decisions from the Comptroller General have failed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do everything in their power to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union to obtain by legal means payment for every day of leave taken by hourly employees.

Resolution No. 76 calls upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor to assist the Canal Zone Central Labor Union in securing legislation to guarantee hourly employees full pay for leave taken.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Secretary George moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### **Representation for Organized Employees of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad in Washington**

**Resolution No. 77**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees, and is fostering the principle of selective representation, and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States, to send selected

representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes, and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council and Canal Zone Central Labor Union, the Government incurring no expense through such procedure, and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act specifically gives the Federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Resolution No. 77 requests that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor seek through administrative order of the Secretary of Labor or the Secretary of War to provide that representatives of the organized workers of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad shall be allowed to proceed to Washington as under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Secretary George moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Overtime Pay Regulations on Panama Canal

**Resolution No. 78**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Timekeeping regulations on the Panama Canal provide that when an hourly employee is prevented from working on a holiday occurring during the regular five-day work-week from Monday to Friday, and then works on Saturday, he receives overtime pay for the Saturday worked at the rate of time and one-half, and

WHEREAS, When the same employee works on a holiday occurring during a

regular work-week, he is paid at time and one-half for that holiday, but when required to work the Saturday at the end of the same work-week he is paid only at straight time, and

WHEREAS, The hourly employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad desire that regulations be adopted which will include holidays in the 40-hour work-week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, be instructed to render all possible assistance to provide that a holiday worked within a regular work-week be considered as an 8-hour period in the regular 40-hour week.

Resolution No. 78 requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing legislation providing that holidays worked within a regular work-week shall be considered a part of the regular 40-hour week for hourly employees on the Panama Canal.

The committee recommends concurrence.

Secretary George moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### LONGEVITY PAY FOR POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council Report, pp. 84-85)

The committee reports jointly upon this section of the Executive Council's report and Resolutions Nos. 87 and 100, which are as follows:

### Longevity Pay for Post Office Employees

**Resolution No. 87**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record and re-affirm their belief in the principle of longevity pay for Post Office Employees as provided in the Mead Bill S. 220 and the Flannery Bill H. B. 1057, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to cooperate with the officers of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to have this legislation passed.

### Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

**Resolution No. 100**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alfass, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The principle of longevity pay is recognized and its practice well established in many industries and employments, including the military and naval establishments of the United States Government, and

WHEREAS, Government employees in top automatic salary grades have few opportunities for advancement, and a stationary salary scale in an economic world where living costs and standards are continually rising is equivalent to a steady reduction in pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of longevity pay for Government employees, and instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the affiliated Civil Service employee organizations to secure its enactment.

The Executive Council reports the status of legislation to provide for increases in compensation of postal employees on the basis of length of service, a principle recognized in many Government employments as well as many private industries.

A compromise measure, providing for an increase of \$100 per year after ten years of service and \$200 per year after fifteen years of service, effective July 1, 1942, was passed by the House of Representatives. As reported to the Senate, however, it provides for an increase of \$60 per year after ten years

of service, effective January 1, 1942, and an additional \$60 per year for fifteen years of service, effective January 1, 1947.

Resolutions Nos. 87 and 100 urge the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the affiliated organizations of postal employees in securing enactment of a satisfactory longevity pay law.

The committee commends the Executive Council for its aid to the postal employees and recommends adoption of Resolution No. 100 in lieu of all resolutions on this subject.

Secretary George moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### NIGHT WORK DIFFERENTIAL FOR POST OFFICE CUSTODIAL EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council's Report, p. 85)

This section of the Executive Council's report recites that a bill (H. R. 2232) to provide for a wage differential for night workers in the custodial service of the Post Office Department is on the Calendar of the House of Representatives.

The committee urges continued activity to secure enactment of this legislation.

Secretary George moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### EIGHT-HOUR DAY FOR POST OFFICE CUSTODIAL EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council's Report, p. 85)

The Executive Council reports that a bill (H. R. 1851) to provide for an eight-hour day for post office custodial employees has been favorably reported and is on the Calendar of the House of Representatives.

The committee recommends continued effort to secure passage of this legislation.

Secretary George moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## **SPECIAL DELIVERY MESSENGERS**

(Executive Council's Report, p. 85)

The Executive Council reports the progress of H. R. 2528, a bill to provide for annual and sick leave for Special Delivery Messengers in the Postal Service and to extend to them the benefits of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system.

The bill has passed the House of Representatives and is now in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The committee recommends the continuance of efforts to secure enactment of H. R. 2528.

Secretary George moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## **Civil Service for Special Delivery Messengers**

**Resolution No. 91.**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. F. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alfias, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers; Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C.; Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical

Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently held that an equitable merit system as exemplified by the classified Civil Service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees, and

WHEREAS, The position of Special Delivery Messenger in the United States Postal Service remains unclassified, and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Special Delivery Messengers are striving to secure the enactment of legislation which will bring about the classification of their positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 61st convention, unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will aid and assist these brothers in their program, and that we continue our cooperation to the end that such legislation may be enacted into law.

Resolution No. 91 requests the endorsement of the efforts of special delivery messengers in the postal service to secure legislation placing them within the classified civil service and the continuance of cooperation to that end.

The committee recommends adoption.

Secretary George moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair will interrupt the Committee on Legislation to inquire if Mr. Etheridge is here for the purpose of speaking to the convention. Will the committee please escort Chairman Etheridge to the platform.

(The escort committee complied with the President's request.)

President Green: You will recall that the Chair announced yesterday that Chairman Etheridge, of the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, appointed by the President of the United States, would address the convention this morning. Chairman Etheridge is here. He came all the way from Washington for the special purpose of speak-

ing to the delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention.

Perhaps you will recall that a short time ago the President of the United States, by Executive Order, created a committee and designated it the Committee on Fair Employment Practices, and at the same time he announced the appointment of our very distinguished visitor this morning, Mr. Mark Etheridge, as Chairman of that special committee. Most of you know who Mr. Etheridge is. He is the general manager and vice-president of the Courier-Journal Newspaper Publishing Company, at Louisville, Kentucky. I know I voice your sentiments when I say we are glad to have him here this morning to speak to the delegates and visitors in attendance at the convention. He is a man of national reputation and one whom we hold in high regard and high esteem, a great American, a great newspaper man, and one who is serving with distinction as the Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices. I am happy indeed in being privileged to present to you this morning Mr. Mark Etheridge.

### MR. MARK ETHERIDGE

#### (Chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices)

I appreciate the opportunity to speak to the representatives of millions of men and women throughout the country who, through the generations of our industrial life have won, in their battles before Congress and with employers rights which all of us now regard as part of the warp and woof of our own civilization and our own democracy.

As an editor for many years, I had some insignificant part in supporting labor's fight for the eight-hour law, against the yellow dog contract, against the indiscriminate use of injunction in industrial disputes, for the Norris-LaGuardia Bill, and for the National Labor Relations Act. As an executive I deal with twelve unions, all of them save one affiliated with you, and I hope and believe they regard me as a friend.

But it is not in a personal capacity that I appear here. I come to speak to you about, because I have no warrant to speak for, almost twenty mil-

lion Americans, or almost one-seventh of our population, who, unless you and I and others are vigilant, will be denied their full opportunity and right to participate in the defense of this country. I am appearing as chairman of the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee to talk to you about discrimination in employment in defense industries.

Renunciation of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin is not a new policy, but it is one that has sadly needed reiteration and revival in our own minds and hearts. We have recently passed through a major depression in which the so-called minority groups were the first to suffer and the last to recover when re-employment began. Poverty is the mother of prejudice and ignorance is its father. I saw them beget their ugly children, the Ku Klux Klan, the Black Shirts and a dozen other like them, in that period after the World War in which we had an agricultural deflation first and an industrial depression next.

All of us want a whipping boy; few of us are courageous enough to blame our own sins for our own ills. The depressed Southern white farmer, bewildered and confused, used his Negro neighbor to blame for a condition that was as deep as the economic life of the country itself. The white man in the city, North or South or East or West, depressed, jobless and desperate, blamed either the Negro or the Jew or some other minority member, for a condition that again was the fault of all of us.

Whether because we have regained our economic balance, or because we have regained in some measure our senses, there has been a decline in recent years in the membership of organizations in this country dedicated to preaching hatred of, and prejudice toward, man and men. In our own country, standing as we have been on the sidelines of world affairs for so long, we have seen the disastrous consequences of the whipping boy philosophy in other countries. Hitler, with his Herrvolk or master race, theory; Mussolini with his imperialistic ambitions directed particularly against black nations, have plunged the world into a war that is really a war to determine whether we shall revert to feudalism; whether all the gains that you in your sphere and all of us as a nation have made, shall be wiped out; whether, in fact, a glorified Ku Klux Klan or our own concept of the dignity of the individual as opposed to the tyranny of the State, shall rule this world and this land.

The coming of the defense effort made us realize again that if democracy is not to be decadent, as Hitler says it is, it must be vital. It must

indeed be the expression of the will of all the people, and not of just a few plutocratic masters at the top. Fighting with their backs to the wall, the democracies must summon all the reserves of manpower, of production, and above all, of loyalty to the ideal of liberty, if the human being is not to become again so much dust.

Because he realized that, the President and his representatives have proclaimed again and again in recent months the complete renunciation on the part of this country of the Herr-volk theory.

In formulating its policies, in July, 1940, the National Defense Advisory Committee stipulated that workers employed for the defense effort should not be discriminated against because of age, sex, race, or color. At the behest of the Defense Commission, the United States Commissioner of Education stipulated that there should be no discrimination in trade-school training for defense. Later the non-discrimination clause was enacted by Congress into appropriations for the training program.

I do not want to bore you with a recitation of what has been done during the defense effort to break down the barriers of prejudice, but I do want to give you enough to show you how deeply this new realization of democracy's meaning has been embedded in our national policy. Your own organization, in a joint conference with the C. I. O. representatives and the Labor Division of the National Defense Advisory Commission made an agreement on September 23, 1940, to assume responsibility for seeing that Negro workers are not discriminated against in national defense employment.

That agreement served two purposes: It facilitated the employment of thousands of Negroes on construction work and it answered effectively the contention of some employers that labor difficulties and reduction of efficiency would result from employment of skilled and semi-skilled Negroes along with white men. Your position was a major contribution to the establishment of the policy. It strengthened the hand of Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman and they sent a letter, in April of this year, to all defense contractors making clear the position of O. P. M. that "every available source of labor capable of producing defense materials must be tapped in the present emergency."

That letter drew from the President a memorandum to the directors general of O. P. M. which is really the keystone of our national policy on the subject. Because of its import, I quote the memorandum:

"Complaints have repeatedly been brought to my attention that avail-

able and much-needed workers are being barred from defense production solely because of race, religion, or national origin. It is said that at a time when labor stringencies are appearing in many areas fully qualified workers are being turned from the gates of industry on specifications entirely unrelated to efficiency and productivity; also that discrimination against Negro workers has been nation-wide, and other minority racial, national, and religious groups have felt its effects in many localities. This situation is a matter of grave national importance, and immediate steps must be taken to deal with it effectively. I note with satisfaction that the Office of Production Management has recognized the seriousness of this situation, and that on April 11, 1941, it addressed a letter on the subject to all holders of defense contracts. As Chief Executive of the Nation, I place the full support of my office behind your statement to the effect that 'all holders of defense contracts are urged to examine their employment and training policies at once to determine whether or not these policies make ample provision for the full utilization of available and competent Negro workers. Every available source of labor capable of producing defense materials must be tapped in the present emergency.'

"No nation combatting the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of its population from its defense industries. Even more important is it for us to strengthen our unity and morale by refuting at home the very theories which we are fighting abroad.

"Our Government cannot countenance continued discrimination against American citizens in defense production. Industry must take the initiative in opening the doors of employment to all loyal and qualified workers, regardless of race, national origin, religion, or color. American workers, both organized and unorganized, must be prepared to welcome the general and much-needed employment of fellow workers of all racial and national origins in defense industries.

"In the present emergency it is imperative that we deal effectively and speedily with this problem. I shall expect the Office of Production Management to take immediate steps to facilitate the full utilization of our productive manpower."

The President followed that on June 25th with Executive Order 8802, in which he declared again . . .

"It is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation



in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders . . . "

And (I quote further) . . .  
 "I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin. . . ."

A little later a letter went to the heads of all government agencies and independent establishments, directing them to conform to the national policy in employment within government agencies.

Executive Order 8802 provided that special measures be taken by those in charge of training programs to eliminate discrimination; that all defense contracts negotiated after June 27 should carry a proviso obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color or national origin and it established the committee of which I am chairman, to, in the words of the order: "receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of order and take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid." Serving with me on that committee are: your own president, Mr. Green; Phillip Murray, of C. I. O.; Milton P. Webster, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Earl Dickerson, a lawyer of Chicago, and David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America. John Brophy of C. I. O. and Frank Fenton of your organization are alternates for their presidents.

I have recited this history because I think it is vital to you, who have so much to do with determining when men work, and under what conditions, to know that it is not only national policy that men and women shall not be denied jobs because of prejudices unworthy of a civilized nation, but it is the determination of those of us who are charged with implementing it, to do so with vigor and with the full conviction that it represents only fundamental justice and fundamental decency in a nation that calls itself Christian and democratic.

I wish I could tell you that the mere enunciation of the policy by the president had resulted in its universal acceptance, but I can not do so in truth. There are still areas and local situations in which grave and gross discrimination is practiced. There has been a wide response and there has

been a good deal of the breaking down of barriers, but there are still employers who have no more conception of what this nation stands for than to specify that they will accept only "white, Christian" applicants. Unfortunately, too, there are still many unions and many locals of unions, not all of them engaged directly in the defense effort, which bar their fellow men because of color. I would not be frank at all with you if I did not say that most of them are yours.

We have a notorious case in which a major defense contractor had apparently determined that regardless of their standing in the trade schools, he would hire no Negroes and only as few Jews as he could get by with. But, off-setting that, we have a notorious case in which a local union, whose national did not bar Negroes from membership, yet refused to certify them for employment on a defense project when there was a shortage of skilled men in one branch of the building trades. We have a notorious case in which an employer subscribed in effect to Hitler's theory that Negroes are best fitted for slavery, or at the very best, for domestic work, but offsetting that, we have a notorious case in which a union by hypocrisy and trickery deprived Negroes who were already working, of their right to work.

We have cases, too, in which there is apparently a tacit agreement between the employer and the union with which he has a closed shop contract, to use the situation to prevent the employment of Negroes. Employers in two cases we have say they would accept Negroes if the unions would; in another case, reported to us, but so far not certified, 1700 white workers in a plant were reported to have signed a statement that they would walk out if the employer hired Negro workers.

My own observation has been that discrimination knows no boundaries of bank accounts; its roots are as deep and as extensive as the prejudice from which it springs. It is a game that this country can not afford to play when all it has stood for has been challenged; it is certainly a game that the unions of the United States can not afford to play unless they want to invite the destruction which has come to their fellow unionists in Germany and Italy.

We are in a war where every hand that can run a machine must be used; in which every skilled and loyal workman must have an opportunity to save himself and his civilization. We can not afford to furnish a fertile ground for Nazi agents or Communist agitators in the bewilderment and resentment of a people who have been welcomed to these shores, only to find themselves excluded from participation in the defense of a country on which they had centered their hopes of a better life. We can not afford the damaging



effect to national morale and to national unity by denying to any loyal minority the right to full participation in our effort to save the democracy that we have, so that we may have another chance to make it a better one.

We cannot afford to play the Hitler game of dividing our people or making the minorities the whipping boys of our defense program. As Dr. Will Alexander so well said: "The defense of democracy involves the application of democracy."

If we play Hitler's game, there is a consequence beyond the loss of skilled men needed in production; there is a loss beyond any that can come to us from the damage to national morale. There is indeed inherent in playing the Herenvolk game the seed of destruction of our own rights and our own dignity as individuals. You who have struggled so long to nail the thesis of your rights upon the door of our social structure should appreciate that better than anybody else. Booker Washington uttered a great truth a good many years ago when he said: "The white man can not keep the Negro in the ditch without staying there with him."

Old Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, put it another way, when he said to a group of Southerners: "In whatever form slavery may be perpetuated, just so far will it put shackles on the minds of Southern whites. If we treat the Negro unjustly, we shall practice fraud and injustice to each other. We shall necessarily live by the standards of conduct we apply to him. This is the eternal curse of wrong and injustice, a curse that abides on the ruler as well as the slave. The South will be free only as it grants freedom."

That was eloquent truth when Chancellor Kirkland said it, in time of peace, to the people of a section. It is all the more eloquent truth now in its application to us as a nation. We shall be free only as we grant freedom. We shall preserve the bloodily won victories over feudalism only as we vindicate the ideal of liberty.

You have a power and a responsibility beyond that of the average citizen—a power because you have it in your hands to bar minority peoples from employment if you choose. Your deeper responsibility comes from the very concept that brought your organization into being. For the good of all, for the benefit of all, the more skilled among you are willing to subordinate your skills and enjoy smaller rewards so that the less skilled among you may have adequate rewards. Yours is a concept that is deeply rooted in human brotherhood; in responsibility one for another. Yours is a concept that business, in its structure and in its philosophy, is anti-social. To balance the social scales and bring benefits to those who work, you are organized. I repeat that you have a responsibility even beyond that of us who do not profess the altruism which your very association signifies. Discrimination in defense hiring on the part of an

employer is bad enough; on the part of a union it is, to me, unrelieved tragedy.

We can not afford to have that tragedy. We can not afford to betray the ideal to which we subscribe. Our committee has the means to bring recalcitrant manufacturers into line and undoubtedly means will be found to bring recalcitrant unions into line. But we do not want it that way. We want your full support and your full acceptance of the national policy.

I invite you to set Chancellor Kirkland's statement alongside that of Julius Streicher, that, "The liberation of the black slaves was one of the great crimes committed by the plutocrats in the last few centuries."

Against the brutal persecution of the Jews by Hitler, some of which I witnessed, I ask you to set Lincoln's: "One nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

I ask you, as representatives of millions of your fellow workers, to extend to those of the loyal minorities the full benefits, without reservation, in the defense employment which you pledged a year ago. Representing the President's committee, I urge you to abolish all the devices of constitution or ritual by which your fellow workmen are denied that security, that happiness and that full participation in national life and in the benefits of freedom which they are as ready to defend with their lives as we other Americans are.

President Green: I want to express to Chairman Etheridge our very deep appreciation of his visit to the convention this morning and for this very eloquent and interesting address which he delivered. I am sure that every delegate in attendance at this convention will give special consideration to the address delivered by Chairman Etheridge and to the recommendations which he has made.

I can say to him that the American Federation of Labor is endeavoring to develop cooperation between all classes of people. We have ever stood in defense of that great democratic principle of no discrimination against race, creed, color, or nationality. It is indeed surprising, I think, when we take into account the very fine progress which we have made in trying to bring about a solution of that problem. Personally I shall do all that lies within my power day in and day out, everlastingly and without interruption to break down the prejudices that exist against men because of race, creed, color, or nationality. I believe in democracy, not in a portion of democracy, but in democracy as a whole.

I thank you, Chairman Etheridge, for your visit to the convention this morning, and for the address which you delivered.

The Chair recognizes Secretary George of the Committee on Legislation for a continuation of his report.

The special order of business which was established for the report of the Committee on Resolutions will begin at 11:00 o'clock.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Secretary George reported as follows:

### PRICE CONTROL

(Executive Council's Report, Page 99)

This section of the Executive Council's report states that two bills (H. R. 5479 and S. 1810) to authorize the fixing of maximum prices, are pending before the respective Committees on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

Hearings have been held by the House Committee and were to be resumed after September 15, 1941. Leon Henderson, Administrator of O. P. A. has appeared before the committee and urged early favorable action to check speculation and hoarding and prevent inflation.

While these bills at present before Congress make no mention of wage fixing, it is certain that proposals will be made to make the establishment of maximum wage rates complementary to the fixing of maximum prices.

Your committee believes that this subject is fraught with so many involvements and that it is of so great importance that all possible available information should be secured and steps taken to safeguard the interests of workers.

The committee therefore recommends that this subject be referred to the Defense Committee of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to proceed at once.

Secretary George moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The hour of 11:00 o'clock has arrived. The special order is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair recognizes Chairman Matthew Woll of the Committee on Resolutions.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Chairman Woll: Mr. President and delegates, the Committee on Resolutions has had before it 72 resolutions and a major portion of the report of the Executive Council.

In reporting upon the matters referred to the Committee on Resolutions we will endeavor to report upon them in the order in which the resolutions have been presented, as nearly as we possibly can, bearing also in mind that a number of resolutions deal with the same subject, and where they deal with the same subject the committee has acted jointly upon them. Also where they deal with subjects in connection with the Executive Council's report on the same subject, they have been merged with them. I think it is essential for the convention to understand the method which the committee is following in reporting these matters to the convention.

One other observation. Resolutions 14, 15 and 16 will be reported on immediately upon the convening of the afternoon session, so those interested in those three resolutions will please be in attendance promptly.

The Secretary, of course, will present the report for the committee.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, for the report of the committee.

Vice-President Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

### Anti-Strike Legislation

**Resolution No. 1**—By Delegates Edward Flore, Hugo Ernst, Emanuel Koveleski, Chris Lane, Louis Koenig, Pauline Newman, Nat Messing, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, The representatives of big business and of the radio and the press are carrying on a campaign of hysteria, and

WHEREAS, These same employers and representatives of big business have launched a broad campaign which has as its purpose the wiping out of the first trade union principle, that is, "the right to strike," and

WHEREAS, Under the guise of aiding the national defense program they are trying to legislate the trade union movement into compulsory arbitration, compulsory mediation, and so-called "cooling-off period"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as opposing any restrictions of our legal right to strike, whether such restriction be attempted through overt legislation or through subterfuges such as "compulsory arbitration" or "cooling-off periods."

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 2, 7, and 118, the resolutions in purpose and in substance being identical.

### Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 2**—By Delegate D. E. Nickerson, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights and encountering similar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries

may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

### Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 7**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights and encountering similar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that we declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

### Collective Bargaining in Publicly Owned Industries

**Resolution No. 118**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The trend toward government in business points to a condition in which publicly operated industries may supply a substantial part of the volume of employment, and

WHEREAS, Employees of publicly owned and publicly operated industries occupy a position similar to that of employees of privately operated industries with equal rights and encountering simi-

lar problems; and the wages and working conditions in publicly operated industries will profoundly affect wages and conditions in private industry, and

WHEREAS, A dangerous tendency is being exhibited by some public officials who would deny to employees of publicly owned industries the right of collective bargaining which is freely accorded to employees of private industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle Washington, declare it to be the right of employees of publicly owned or publicly operated industries to bargain collectively in the same manner that employees of privately operated industries bargain, and that the employees of publicly operated industries are within their rights in seeking signed working agreements with the managers of publicly operated industries, whether such managers be public officials of units of government or administrators legally designated by the proper public officials, and that such employees of publicly operated industries may properly use the same methods in securing signed agreements as the employees of privately operated industries may legally use in their negotiations.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolutions Nos. 2, 7, and 118.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Salaries—A. F. of L. Organizers

**Resolution No. 3**—By Delegate Dewey L. Johnson, Georgia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide good salaries for organizers and representatives in the field, and

WHEREAS, It seems to have been the practice in some communities to place organizers in the field at a much lower wage than that, and called for in the laws of the A. F. of L, and

WHEREAS, Such practice has resulted in failure to accomplish the aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor, namely organization, increased membership and proper agreements, and

WHEREAS, In this time of national emergency, we know that the labor movement is essential to American freedom and democracy and if the program of the labor movement and the principle of collective bargaining are fully accepted, they must be presented by the best possible leadership that can be secured and placed in the field, and

WHEREAS, The position of organized labor in many instances is being misun-

derstood and judged unfairly and the issues confused; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in convention assembled call upon the American Federation of Labor to abandon the practice of placing representatives in the field at low salaries since it results only in sporadic efforts and a failure to carry out aims and purposes of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the salaries of organizers and representatives in the field in all communities be raised to the level called for in the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### "Good Neighbor" Policy

**Resolution No. 4**—By Delegate Harry W. Acreman, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has frequently expressed, in no uncertain terms, the favorable attitude of this organization toward President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his foreign policy, and

WHEREAS, The "Good Neighbor" policy is an integral part of this foreign policy of our great President, working toward the integration of the entire Western Hemisphere in a combined economic and social front against the infiltration of Nazism and of other "isms" originating in war-torn countries abroad, and

WHEREAS, Labor realizes that its stake in this horrific conflict is greater than that of any other single group, and

WHEREAS It is our opinion that in spirit, in practice, and in conviction, the "Good Neighbor" policy is the only policy that should be adopted and followed between all nations of the world as involving the fundamental and unassailable principles of charity, justice comity and humanity, and

WHEREAS, There is forcibly realized the great need that exists today of cementing the bonds of mutual understanding and cooperation that should weld the nations of the Western Hemisphere as if in a confederation of states for mutual protection, welfare and happiness, and

WHEREAS, The forces of labor can play an inestimable part in making most effective the finest tenets of the "Good Neighbor" policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested and instructed by this convention to invite the presidents of all labor organizations of

the United States and Canada to hold a joint meeting, to consider a proposal to invite the leaders of labor organizations of all crafts in all countries of the Western Hemisphere, whose principles are not subversive of good government, or dual to unions of the American Federation of Labor in their fields of jurisdiction, to meet at such time and place as might be convenient, and at a time as early as practicable, for the purpose of promoting and effectuating the ideals and the philosophy underlying the "Good Neighbor" policy; and in order further to consider and adopt such measures as might provide for the coordination of effort and cooperation of all nations of the Western Hemisphere for their joint and several welfare.

Your committee is in accord with the purpose of this resolution, but believes it appropriate that it should be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for such action as he deems advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Tax on Labor and Non-Profit Radio Stations**

**Resolution No. 5.**—By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

Vice-President Frey, Secretary of the Committee: The introducer of the resolution requested leave to withdraw. I move that the introducer be given the privilege of withdrawing the resolution.

President Green: Are there objections to the withdrawal of the resolution as recommended by the committee?

Hearing none, it is so ordered, and the resolution is withdrawn.

### **Federal Social Security for Public Employees**

**Resolution No. 6.**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Employees of the States and their political subdivisions do not receive benefits under the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, Many of the States and their political subdivisions have no provisions whatsoever to provide pensions for their aged employees, and

WHEREAS, The State of Washington has adopted legislation intended to pro-

vide Social Security benefits for the employees of this State and its political subdivisions wherever such employees do not have other more adequate old age pensions, and

WHEREAS, In addition to the law which has been passed by the State of Washington it is also necessary that certain amendments to the Federal Social Security Act be adopted by Congress before the public employees of this State can receive any benefits; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of the necessary amendments by Congress to Federal Legislation which will enable public employees of the State of Washington to receive Social Security benefits such as are now being provided for employees of private industries.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the special Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Consumer Goods Prices**

**Resolution No. 8.**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The moderate wage increases which have been gained by organized labor during the past few years are constantly threatened and often destroyed by rising prices on the necessities of life, and

WHEREAS, For example, the month of April of this year showed a price increase of 4½ per cent on basic consumer goods, and

WHEREAS, The unrestricted rise of prices during the last war constituted a wage cut through reduced buying power of more than 50 per cent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention protest the unwarranted rise of prices in all consumer goods and that the officers be instructed to support legislation which would prevent profiteering at the expense of American wage earners.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Subversive Activities and Attacks on the Public Schools**

**Resolution No. 9.**—By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley,

Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The teaching of subversive doctrines in the public schools of the United States is dangerous to the welfare of our democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, Regimentation of the public school systems has occurred simultaneously with the destruction of free trade unions in the nations under totalitarian control, and

WHEREAS, False charges of subversive activities are sometimes used as a camouflage for attacking the financial support of the schools, and

WHEREAS, The best possible protection for real fifth columnists in the public schools is a false attack on loyal liberals and honest union members, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers is the first large educational organization of the nation to exclude Communists, Fascists and Nazis from membership—by adopting an amendment to the constitution of the international union providing that "no applicant for membership whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control—such as Communist, Nazi, or Fascist—shall be admitted to membership"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, October, 1941, that full support be given to agencies of government in eliminating actual fifth columnism in the public schools but that every effort be made to protect the financial support of the schools and to defend the civil rights of loyal teachers and the freedoms which are essential to education in a democracy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified approval of the patriotic stand of the American Federation of Teachers and urge all affiliated bodies to cooperate in organizing public school teachers under the flag of the United States and the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Amendment of Unemployment Compensation Provisions of Social Security Act**

**Resolution No. 11**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslau, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Widening defense production with the application of priority systems depriving many non-defense indus-

tries of adequate supplies of raw materials is bound to cause unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The future shifts from war economy to peacetime production at the conclusion of the current emergency will create an unprecedented unemployment situation, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment compensation benefits in most states are inadequate as to the amount and length of payment periods and exclude large groups of the working populations, and

WHEREAS, Merit rating plans and other attempts on the part of certain classes of employers to reduce benefits constantly endanger unemployment compensation funds in many states; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Seattle, Wash., urgently requests Congress to properly amend the Social Security Act so that it will provide adequate minimum standards of unemployment compensation, a longer period of benefit payments, a shorter waiting period, wider coverage and a sound federal system of reinsurance for state unemployment trust funds.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Priority Unemployment**

**Resolution No. 13**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslau, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Abrupt and arbitrary imposition of priorities is endangering the jobs of millions of workers engaged in civilian production, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment undermines morale in a period when the defense effort calls for the united support of the nation as a whole, and

WHEREAS, Such unemployment is largely unnecessary in a nation with resources as great as ours and can be avoided with the timely expansion of raw material sources and production facilities, and

WHEREAS, The failure to expand productive capacity has risen in large measure from adherence to the idea of a scarcity economy on the part of monopolistic and semi-monopolistic industries fearing over-capacity and reduced profits in the post-war period, and

WHEREAS, At a time when millions of our citizens may be called upon to sacri-



fice their lives, such concern for future profits at the expense of national strength and defense borders on disloyalty; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That a Civilian Supply Board, on which labor shall be fully represented, shall be set up by the government with full powers to accomplish the following:

a. To afford workers affected by priorities time in which to seek new employment by arranging for adequate warnings to industry before imposition of priorities, by advance planning for substitute materials, by arranging for a tapering off rather than sudden elimination of raw material supplies.

b. To cooperate with the United States Employment Service in special efforts to find employment for workers made jobless by the imposition of priorities.

c. To cooperate with government education services for the retaining of workers made jobless by the imposition of priorities.

d. To cooperate with all government agencies in fostering private plant expansion for the production of materials in which shortages are apt to occur, and, in the event that sections of private industries prove uncooperative in the expansion of production, to press for publicly owned and operated plants.

Your committee desires to amend paragraph (d) of the resolution so that it will read

"to cooperate with all Government agencies in fostering private plant expansion for the production of materials in which shortages are apt to occur, and, in the event that a private plant or plants prove uncooperative in the expansion of production, to press for their operation by the Government."

In awarding war orders, the Government shall give preference to plants affected by the defense situation which are competent or can adapt themselves to the manufacture of such defense items which the defense program may require.

With that amendment, your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Support for U. S. Defense Policies

**Resolution No. 17**—By Delegate Otto F. Nelsson, Trades and Labor Council of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

**WHEREAS**, The members of the American Federation of Labor in Poughkeepsie

and Dutchess County, N. Y., have followed with keen interest the expressions and plans formed in the interest and welfare of the organized worker in America by our officers of the A. F. of L., and

**WHEREAS**, We, not only as members of the A. F. of L., but also as Americans, are most fearful and anxious that because of the spread of aggression and disregard for human life and liberties by Nazi Germany and her allies, we will be affected more and more if these aggressors are not stopped now, and

**WHEREAS**, We feel that greater vigilance and more effective action by the American people will be necessary to preserve their liberties and well-being in the future; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the representatives of the Labor movement in Poughkeepsie and Dutchess County through the Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council, respectfully request the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor to exercise greater vigilance and more aggressiveness in reference to the part our country should assume in world affairs; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we wish to express our gratitude to the present officers of the American Federation of Labor for their skillful handling of matters pertaining to our part in the present crisis during the past year.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Trade Union Committee to Abolish Discriminations on Account of Race, Color, Religion or National Origin

**Resolution No. 18**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

**WHEREAS**, Discriminations on account of race, color, religion or national origin is undemocratic, un-American and opposed to sound and progressive trade union principles, and

**WHEREAS**, Discriminations because of race, color, religion or national origin are practiced by certain trade unions, constitutional provision, ritualistic practice and other devious and subtle methods, which divide the workers, thereby playing into the hands of anti-union employers, while seriously limiting employment opportunities to those victims of discriminations, and weakens the American Federation of Labor and the entire labor movement, and

**WHEREAS**, These discriminations result very largely from ignorance,



false and demagogic propaganda and illusions about race, color, religion and national origin; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in its 61st Convention in Seattle, Washington, assembled, go on record for the establishment of a trade union committee on discriminations based upon race, color, religion or national origin, composed of seven (7) members of trade unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. in consultation with the Executive Council, for the purpose of hearing and investigating cases of discriminations concerning membership in unions or employment opportunities due to race, color, religion or national origin, report findings of hearings and investigations, together with recommendations to the President and the Convention of the A. F. of L. for decision and action, and that the expenses of the above mentioned committee entailed in the conducting of said hearings and investigations concerning discriminations because of race, color, religion or national origin, be paid by the Secretary-Treasurer by order of the President; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a campaign of education in the form of lectures, leaflets, forums, study classes, seminars under the direction of the Trade Union Committee on Discriminations in cooperation with the President of the A. F. of L. in the interest of and to the end of abolishing discriminations resulting from race, color, religion or national origin be carried on.

This resolution in purpose and in substance is similar to Resolution No. 17 introduced in the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1940, by the same delegation. Your committee recommends that this convention reaffirm the action taken on Resolution No. 17 last year.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention: It was the hope of our delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters that the Resolutions Committee this year would have seen the advisability of concurring in the resolution for the establishment of a committee to study discriminations practiced against workers on account of race, color, religion or

national origin. Recent experiences in the labor movement it seems to me, ought to have dictated and encouraged the Resolutions Committee to have changed its policy.

Last summer during the election of the Ford workers, President Green wired me while I was in Jacksonville, Florida, to come to Detroit for the purpose of working with the Ford men in the interest of the American Federation of Labor. That is to say, the American Federation of Labor wanted to win the election. I was unable to go there, I didn't get the telegram in time, but even if I had it is doubtful that my presence in Detroit would have been very effective in winning support for the American Federation of Labor, because the Negro workers in the Ford factory were taking the position, why should they join the American Federation of Labor when the Federation admits that it cannot do anything to remove discriminations practiced by some of its Internationals.

Now here we are in the midst of a great program of national defense, and the Government calls upon all able-bodied workers to respond in the interest of production, believing that the issue of this war rests upon production. But we find numerous cases of discriminations against Negro workers, depriving the Government of the use of the skill of these workers, which results in the retardation of the defense program.

I want to cite a few of these cases, because the recitation will prove the advisability of establishing a committee to hear and study discriminations in the labor movement.

Negro painters in Omaha cannot get into the Painters' organization, nor can they secure a charter.

Plasterers and cement finishers in Kansas City, Missouri, cannot get into the organization nor can they get a charter.

The A. F. of L. unions in the ship-building yards in New Orleans refuse membership to Negro workers, although the company has expressed a willingness to employ them.

Recently, Metal Trades Department unions have secured at some yards, through training formula, a monopoly on trainees who will be up-graded in these yards.

Stabilization pacts between the O. P. M. and certain of the building trades have resulted in disqualifying qualified colored artisans from defense employment, and thereby retarding defense efforts.

In St. Louis Negro artisans cannot get work but white workers come from outside of St. Louis and are put to work.

At Columbus, Georgia, in April, 1941, a business agent of Local No. 15 of the Bricklayers Union, by the name of Willett, refused to certify two Negro bricklayers by the names of G. J. Marks and Robert Whitted, members of Local No. 1, of Alabama, who had been sent to Columbus in response to a request from R. J. Gray, international secretary, in Washington, D. C. Secretary Gray had informed the Birmingham local that several hundred masons were needed urgently in Columbus, Ga. When Marks and Whitted arrived, under instructions from George N. Scott, business agent of local No. 1, Willett is said to have told them, "We didn't send for any Niggers, and I am not going to work any on this job." Despite their credentials, they were unable to secure work there. They moved northward into Alabama at Gadsden, where they ran into the same situation. But white workers with transfer cards, find no difficulty in securing employment.

(2) At Ft. Leonard Wood in Missouri, five Negro painters, namely M. C. Howard, James Simms, W. M. Fowler, Ollie Granberry, and W. F. McCrary, applied for work on April 7, 1941. They were interviewed by Dwight Rensch, business agent of Painters Local No. 1265 at Devil's Elbow, Missouri. Rensch is quoted in an affidavit as having said: "I will not issue permits to colored painters to work on this job. I will issue permits to whites only. I think where white men can be found to do this work, they should have it. That is the way I

feel about this matter. You may take any steps about it that you want to."

(3) In the spring of 1941, Negro members of local No. 804 of the Cement Finishers Union at Beaumont, Tex., attempted to secure employment on two defense projects in Orange, Texas, namely, the navy yard, and the housing project. According to H. W. Pierce, secretary-treasurer of the local, they were refused because of their race. The men made application also through the Plasterers' Local No. 200 with the same result. Secretary Pierce's statement says "Our local No. 804 has white members and also colored members; some of the whites have been employed, but not one Negro has been. Mr. Fields of the housing project said that he did not plan on using any colored skilled labor at all."

(4) The A. F. of L. Painters Union in Kansas City, Mo., was reported on March 8, 1941, by 70 Negro organizations operating there as a Negro defense committee, as following a policy of excluding Negro applicants from membership by giving only two out of thirty a passing grade in an examination. Seven members are required to establish a separate local. Thirty of the fifty-five Negro painters who sought enlistment in the union had had experience of from three to twenty years in the trade.

The most conspicuous and consistent denial of employment for Negroes which can be attributed almost directly to union influence is found at the Boeing Aircraft Corporation in Seattle, Washington. From the very beginning of the national defense program, the Boeing company has given as its excuse for not employing Negroes the fact that it has a contract with the Aeronautical Mechanics Union, Local 751, International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L., and that the union accepts white members only. Paul Frederickson, personnel manager, has written a letter to the N. A. A. C. P. branch in Seattle, Washington, stating that his company has an agreement with the Machinists union obligating it to employ only union members. Sev-

eral of the large aircraft corporations holding national defense contracts have changed their policy, and are now employing Negroes, but not Boeing.

(5) In Portland, Oregon, local 72 of the Boilermakers union is said to be blocking the employment of Negro workers by four local companies, namely, the Oregon Shipbuilding Corporation, the Willamette Iron and Steel Company, Commercial Iron Works, and the Albina Machinist Works. These companies are said to have expressed their willingness to employ Negro labor, but because of their contract with the union are prevented from doing so. The union is reported to have refused to relent in its policy of barring Negro members, and to have written a letter stating "The available supply of Negro labor in this area can be absorbed as janitors."

Another notorious case involving the boilermakers and machinist unions is one at Tampa, Fla., at the Tampa Shipbuilding Corporation. This case has a long history, and has been brought to the attention of President William Green in the greatest detail. Briefly, it arose in 1939, when after a successful strike for recognition, the Tampa Shipbuilding Corporation signed a union contract. Prior to this time, approximately 600 Negroes had been employed in the yard in various skilled and unskilled capacities. After the contract was secured, the Negro workers were excluded altogether from the union, or were sidetracked in a separate Negro local, and eventually frozen out of work. Those who were kept at work were given the most menial of unskilled labor, and one instance has been cited of a Negro hoisting engineer being assigned to the job of picking up paper in the yard. The A. F. of L. is supposed to have made an exhaustive investigation of this case, but its report did nothing to relieve the plight of the 600 Negro shipyard workers who had supported the strike for union recognition only to be frozen out of their jobs after the battle was won.

Latest information on the Tampa

situation is contained in a letter to the N. A. A. C. P. dated July 18, 1941, which declares:

May I say in connection with the Tampa situation I took this matter up with Mr. John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department, and Mr. Frey took the position the unions were not responsible for the plight of the Negro workers in relation to the Tampa Shipbuilding Corporation. He assigned as the cause for the condition the general social condition of the city of Tampa, indicating Tampa was under the influence and control of the Ku Klux Klan. Now, upon analysis, Mr. Frey's argument is unsound. Why? Because the Ku Klux Klan, we admit, is in control of Tampa. Incidentally, it is also in control of the Central Labor Union of the A. F. of L. in Tampa. Now, the Negro workers, 600 Negro workers were in the shipbuilding yards before the unions had negotiated a closed shop contract with the shipbuilding company. At the same time the Ku Klux Klan was in control of Tampa when these 600 Negroes were in the shipbuilding yards. Now, if the Ku Klux Klan is responsible for elimination of the Negroes from the shipbuilding yards why is it they were not eliminated before the closed shop contract was negotiated and the unions won recognition with the shipbuilding company? So the position that has been taken by Mr. Frey in this matter is entirely indefensible and as a matter of fact it will not bear examination.

Now, we know that the Ku Klux Klan burned crosses before the homes of Negro boilermakers in Tampa, and they sent letters with cross bones and skulls to Negro workers in the Tampa yards, but that did not intimidate the Negro workers. They even held a parade in St. Petersburg, the Ku Klux Klan did, to intimidate the Negro workers, and the Negro workers tore the hoods from the faces of the Ku Klux Klan. As a matter of fact, the Negro workers don't give a damn about the Ku Klux Klan. What they want is the opportunity to work, and

they will cross the line of any Ku Klux Klan for the possibility of getting a job. And so, my friends, the disposition assigned to the Ku Klux Klan as the cause for the condition of the Negro workers, which is fundamentally assignable to the Metal Trades Department that controls practically most of the shipbuilding yards, is entirely one which will not pass muster, and I think that Mr. John P. Frey is obligated to make a statement to the public, to the American people, on this question of the exclusion of Negro workers from various of these shipbuilding yards. The people want to know why this is done. The union is being charged with keeping Negroes out of jobs, and the unions that are chargeable we think certainly have a moral obligation to make some public statement on this question.

Now, no doubt we all know that Mr. Frey has a fine spirit and believes in sound trade union principles, but when it comes to the application of these principles with relation to the Negro they do not always seem to hold up.

A committee of six called on Mr. Howell, President of the Tampa Shipbuilding Company. He told them he had received the President's order, that he was willing to hire Negro labor, but that his yard was under a closed shop contract. He said he had turned the order over to the Boilermakers and advised that it be seen. So this a. m. I went with them to see Mr. Hatfield, manager of Local 433, Boilermakers. We told him our mission. He said that we should know that no one could join their union unless he was employed at his trade at the time he made application. I asked him if he knew that the order said it was the duty of labor organizations to see that all citizens participated fully, etc., but nevertheless, he said there was no chances for us. He said there was no aid or advice that he could give us.

Now of course that is mere evasion. In other words, the leader of the union tells the committee of Negroes that no Negro can join the Boilermakers Union unless he is employed at the trade, and

when the Negro worker goes to the employer the employer tells him, "You cannot get a job unless you are a member of the union." In other words, he cannot get a job unless he has a union card and he cannot get a union card unless he has a job. Of course that is a run-around that beats anything that Hitler can devise for an oppressed or a minority group.

At Milan, Tenn., there is a vast ordnance plant now under construction by the Ferguson-Oman Company. The contractors have repeatedly expressed willingness to employ skilled Negro workers and have used them in all instances where these colored artisans could secure union clearance. In the area from which labor has been and is being recruited for this project, there are several all-Negro locals of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. These Negro craftsmen pay their dues to the International and have been employed successfully on United States Housing Authority-aided housing projects, and (prior to the stabilization pact) on the construction of Fort Forrest in the Tennessee area. Skilled Negro carpenters have been denied work on the Wolfe Creek Ordnance Plant at Milan, Tennessee, however, because the all-white Carpenters' Local, No. 259, of Jackson, Tennessee, which has jurisdiction over this project, has steadfastly refused to grant clearance to any Negro worker. George M. Johnson, Business Agent of this white local, told R. F. Jones, Business Agent of the Negro local, No. 1986 in Memphis, that "I don't care what cards you hold; I don't recognize no Negro as a union man." Mr. Johnson has refused to alter his position even at the insistence of government representatives.

Now, brothers and sisters, these are actual instances, bona fide and authentic instances of discriminations practiced by various local unions of International Unions.

Now some of the local unions of the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners accept Negroes. For instance, in New Orleans you have a Negro local of the Carpenters' organization which is able to get work and is

doing splendidly. In New Orleans the Negro bricklayers dominate the brick-laying trade. Therefore, you have instances where the locals of the International Unions do accept Negroes and Negroes get jobs, and instances where those locals discriminate against them.

Now it seems to me that the International Unions ought to do something about this. We have the Machinists organization, with the able presidency of Brother Harvey Brown. Now the Machinists organization is definitely keeping Negroes out of the Boeing Plant. Brother Brown has an obligation to make a statement to America on this matter. Here we are in the period of defense. We are fighting to break down totalitarian forces throughout the world. We know that production is necessary. Every hand available ought to be used, and yet we have the Machinists telling the worker because he is a black man he is not going to be permitted to work. This is certainly against sound trade union practices, and it seems to me that Brother Brown, President of the International Machinists Union, owes it to the people of America and to his own organization and to the American Federation of Labor to make a statement on this question.

The same thing ought to be done by other organizations, and if the Machinists Union is going to persistently defy the President's executive order, then the American Federation of Labor ought to put the Machinists Union out. We ought to have some way of washing the hands of the American Federation of Labor of the stigma of discrimination. We know that the American Federation of Labor as such does not discriminate against Negroes, but there are numberless unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that discriminate against them, and the people cannot differentiate between the American Federation of Labor and the unions affiliated with it that discriminate against Negro workers.

Consequently the International Carpenters' organization, with its fine and splendid president, Brother Hutcheson, should make some statement on this question and the locals of his organization ought to know what position he is

going to take when they are disregarding the President's Executive Order in not permitting Negroes to work.

So, my friends, we call upon the convention to enact and adopt this resolution, setting up a committee for the purpose of studying this question. That is all it is for, to study the question of discrimination among Negroes and hold hearings that labor itself will begin to set its house in order.

And of course the Resolutions Committee, in its characteristic manner of holding to its customary path, just summarily says: "We re-affirm the position taken by past conventions." Now, have we come to the point where it is impossible for us to make any progress on this question, and whenever the issue is raised we are simply going to re-affirm the old attitude of do-nothing that has been taken in the past? If that is done, surely we are planting here the seeds of Fascism, of Nazism and of Communism.

And so, my friends, we have raised this question with a view to having you give some thought to it. You ought to vote down the report of the Resolutions Committee. The Resolutions Committee has given no careful consideration to this matter. They have simply brought the matter in and summarily dismissed it. Now the delegates have got to take a position on it sooner or later and you ought to put your house in order and not have the government do it, not have it done by legislation.

There are almost twenty millions of Negroes in America and they are not going to continue to be discriminated against by anybody denying them the right to work. I don't believe that the American people will sustain the position of the Resolutions Committee in utterly and flagrantly throwing this whole matter aside. I believe that the American people's heart is sound on the question of democracy. They believe in the right of the people, the Negro people as well as other people, to work and to live and to enjoy the benefits of democracy.

Negroes are not begging you for anything. We are calling upon you for these things as a basis of right. We have

earned the right to call for liberty and equality of consideration on matters of work and other issues affecting the citizens of this country. Negroes have helped to make this nation. Negroes, with their blood and tears have defended this nation, and I don't believe that any labor organization is strong enough, I don't believe you have the power to defy public opinion on a sound, moral issue. You may have more power than I think you have, but I believe that public opinion is going to take some position on the question, and I don't think you are going to be able to withstand it merely because you may have negotiated some stabilization pacts.

I am not opposed to the closed shop in principle if it includes Negro workers, all workers without regard to race or color. But now if we are going to exclude some and take others, you know that is not sound Americanism.

Negroes are not the only people in America who are the victims of persecution and discrimination. There is a rising wave of anti-Semitism in America. The Jews are the victims of this wave of persecution. There is also a wave of anti-Catholicism in America. You remember when Alfred Smith ran for President of these United States, and a wave of hysterical bigotry and intolerance swept the country. Five Southern States went against the Democratic party for the first time in history. Why? Because they hated the Catholics. In the Midwest and the deep South the flames of bigotry rose high. They said that if Alfred Smith was elected President the Pope would sit in the White House.

And so, my friends, there grew up in America what is known as a Know Nothing Party, designed for one thing—the destruction of the Catholic Church. And so the Negroes, the Jews and the Catholics are the victims of this discrimination, and these forms of discrimination constitute the foundation of Fascism. If we want to save the nation from what overtook Germany and other nations of Europe, like Italy and Japan, we must set our foot down upon any form of religious intolerance, any form of racial intolerance, and accept the worker, ac-

cept the American citizen whether he be Catholic or Jew, whether he be black or white, whether he be Protestant or what not. This is the only type of democracy that is worth living for.

And so, my friends, you ought to reject the report of the Resolutions Committee and have something done about this question of setting up a committee for the purpose of studying discrimination in order that the American Federation of Labor may make some solid and genuine and progressive progress on this matter.

Thank you.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the inference that has been made by Delegate Randolph that certain organizations are discriminating against the Negro workers is a serious accusation. Among the organizations which he claims is discriminating against his race is the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. I take the floor here because I want to deny that the Brotherhood of Painters are discriminating against the Negro race.

Delegate Randolph, in talking to you, did not state some other facts which he is in possession of. He did not tell you that the Brotherhood of Painters have sixteen Negro local unions chartered under the International organization. He did not tell you that we have several hundred Negro painters affiliated with white locals scattered throughout the entire country, even in the Northwest territory here. He did not tell you that recently at our convention in Columbus, Ohio, we had four Negro delegates, enjoying the same privileges as any white delegate present in that convention. He did not tell you that in New York City for the past year and a half we have been trying to organize the Negro painters in Manhattan. They were willing to be organized, they were willing to accept a charter from the International Union, with the stipulation that they would be in no way responsible or affiliated with Painters District Council No. 9 in the City of New York, in that they wanted to run their local union independent of any interference either from District



Council No. 9 or the International Union itself.

Delegate Randolph did not tell you that as far back as 1914, I, as Secretary-Treasurer of District Council No. 14 in Chicago, organized the Negro painters in that city into a local union, No. 1332, a local which is still in existence in the City of Chicago and is one of the outstanding Negro local unions. He did not tell you that I, as Vice-President of the Southern District some years ago assisted the Negroes in organizing in the South.

The only thing he told you was that the International Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators were discriminating against the Negro. During the past two years I have had numerous communications from President Green on this question. As recently as a month ago I have had numerous communications from the Labor Department and communications from Negro associations in St. Louis, in Kansas City and in New York City. The three localities that have been mostly affected are Kansas City, Omaha, Nebraska, and St. Louis, Missouri.

I want to be frank with you and say I would like to institute a Negro charter in Kansas City, as well as in Omaha, Nebraska, and I have explained in my communications to President Green, to the Labor Department, and to the various organizations of Negro orders the reason why the charter has not been issued in those cities. I don't see why I should have to repeat those statements time and time again when everyone knows the reasons why.

The laws of our International organization prevent us from putting in a local union of white workers in the city, let alone a local union of Negro workers. The law provides that the International Union cannot issue a charter in any locality where a local union is already established, unless we have the consent of that local union. It so happens that in Kansas City, Omaha and in one or two other places we have not been able to receive the consent of the local unions in those cities, and that is the reason why charters have not been issued.

During the past month two new charters have been issued in the South, one

in Missouri and one in Alabama. I don't want to bother the delegates with the troubles between our International Union and the Negro situation. We are for the organizing of all workers, regardless of race, color or creed, but we have certain laws that we must observe, and as long as those laws are on the statute books of our International Union I, as President of that International organization, will abide by those laws, I will comply with those laws until such time as they are changed by the proper authority, which is the membership of our International organization.

I thank you.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, the address that we have just listened to from the delegate has disturbed me more than any statements in connection with the racial problem in this country which have ever been made in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is evident that the delegate came here with one specific object in mind, and that was to present an indictment, and that considerable research work has been done, and now we have the indictment as a part of our record. It would not be surprising if that indictment, standing by itself, would find its way in pamphlet form, distributed in those sections of the country where the most prejudice prevails, and there be used to make our task of organizing the colored worker infinitely greater than it has been.

The delegate, who was quite personal in his references, has an advantage over every other delegate who is present. He is the only one who has had the full advantages of an education in Harvard University. He studied logic, he studied philosophy, he studied ethics, he studied the humanities and human nature as well, and I again express regret that a trade union delegate should rise and present the type of indictment which this highly cultured individual presented this morning. If this indictment is spread in pamphlet form, if it is reproduced so that members of his own race may read it, I doubt very much whether it will be accompanied by the statement that President Lindelof made a moment



ago and the statement which I desire to make.

If there is any institution in these United States to whom the colored race owes more than to any other, it is this American Federation of Labor. The delegate's organization could have not come into existence, in all likelihood, had it not been for the assistance given to the Railway Porters by organizers of the American Federation of Labor, by the officers and committees of Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor and by International Presidents. And yet, instead of hearing one word of appreciation for what the American Federation of Labor and its constituent unions have done, instead of one word of appreciation that from the beginning we have endeavored to break down racial prejudice and help the Negro to organize, all we listen to is an indictment.

And let us look some facts in the face, because possibly what we may say now may accompany the indictment if it is published. The delegate's organization is composed exclusively of members of the colored race, and no white individual is permitted to become a member. So we have a gentleman rising here and accusing us of willful, deliberate race prejudice when the great organization he heads will not permit a white person to become a member.

Now this is all unfortunate. It is greatly to be regretted. The delegate knows that in some of the specific references in his wholly unjustified indictment, that when he was enjoying the advantages of a university education, delegates who are seated in this hall today were organizing Negroes in the Deep South, and I am one of them, for I organized Negro molders in the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, 41 years ago. That is why I regret the method by which this highly intelligent and highly cultured delegate has chosen to bring this question into this convention. I think sometimes that those who injure their own people the most are those in a position of leadership who permit a biased attitude to influence them when they come into a convention, whether of the American Federation of Labor or of any other organization.

The record of the American Federation of Labor is not perfect. It is a human institution, but the records of the American Federation of Labor from the beginning indicate that this Federation has continually endeavored to wipe out those dividing lines of race and color, and that so far as the colored workers are concerned they are members in very large numbers of the American Federation of Labor Unions, and their membership in those unions is due to the attitude of the white officers and the white members of those unions. We get no credit for that. We are not to receive a single statement of appreciation for all that we have done. Instead, the more we do the more unjustified the criticisms are, the more unjustified the indictment when this question of racial prejudice is discussed in this convention.

Racial prejudice was developed in these United States long before the American Federation of Labor came into existence. The American Federation of Labor cannot change men's minds and men's attitudes in every portion of the country. What we can do is to carry on a continual campaign of education among ourselves and among those who are not organized. No one knows better than the delegate that the type of a statement which he made this morning, instead of its making it easier for us to organize the Negro, makes it infinitely more difficult. It almost seems as though he was deliberately endeavoring to inject a statement into this convention which would make our task of organizing the Negro worker ten thousand times more difficult than it has been in he past.

I intend to say nothing relative to the personal references. My record is pretty clear so far as the Negro worker is concerned. It began 41 years ago and it is just as consistent now as it was then.

The record of many International Unions is identically the same. We are opposed to racial prejudices. This Federation has consistently endeavored to break them down wherever we encountered them.

But I do want to submit for your earnest consideration that those on whom the responsibility falls of bringing about this education should not be

unnecessarily handicapped by the type of statement we have just listened to from the delegate.

The inference is that your Committee on Resolutions is uninterested in the question, that all it had in mind was finding the most convenient way to dispose of the question and of leaving our good friend in a position where he could say, well, again the Committee on Resolutions was unfair. The Committee on Resolutions gave this question the same long, serious consideration it has given to such questions every year. The committee's action on the matter finally was unanimous, and the committee's purpose was not to handicap the delegate or to handicap his race, but to prevent the flaming up of racial prejudices in every community at the present time.

Supposing we hold public hearings in Seattle for the purpose of diminishing racial prejudices that may exist. We hold public meetings and we listen to the same type of indictment. We hear the question presented as it was this morning. Would that tend to assist International Officers in preparing their members' minds more readily to break down these prejudices? For myself I had this in mind as a member of the committee that we do not want the American Federation of Labor to take any action which would afford a sounding board for the public inflaming of racial prejudices. We have done something without all of this in the past. Thousands and thousands and thousands of colored workers are organized in their unions all over the country—more today, thank heaven, than ever before, and we want to see that continue. We believe it is essential to the preservation of our own race to see that it continues, and it was with all these things in our minds that your committee recommended as it did.

In closing I want to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that there is racial distinction in the field of religious organizations. I am familiar with the South. I spent many, many years there as an organizer and otherwise, and I know that in some of the denominations the whites go to their church and the colored go to their

church buildings, of the same denomination. They get along as Christians should. In fact, the colored members prefer to have the privilege of employing and of discharging their own pastors.

The point I want to make is this: What would be the result in the field of religion if you began to hold public meetings in the South, so that a story could be told of the racial prejudices which exist in some of the great Christian organizations of this country? For these reasons I sincerely hope that the report of the committee will be adopted, with the understanding that instead of its being directed against organizing the members of the colored race, the committee had only one purpose in mind—the purpose every delegate here has in mind, which was to do everything which lay within our power to be helpful to the members of the colored race and to break down racial prejudices which handicap them.

Delegate Webster, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates of the convention, I rise to answer in some respects the statements made by the Secretary of the Committee, Brother Frey, in reference to the remarks of the delegate from the Sleeping Car Porters' organization. In the first place I would like to correct the statement that he made here with reference to President Randolph having spent so many years at Harvard University. I have known Brother Randolph all his life and I never did know him at the time he attended Harvard University. That statement is incorrect.

Second, I would like to correct some misinformation that has been given by the delegate in reference to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters barring everybody from its membership except Negroes. It so happens that the constitution of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters does not bar anybody of any race, creed, or nationality who works in the particular craft over which we have jurisdiction, and in our organization at the present time, while it is true the large majority of its members are Negroes, we have Filipinos, we have Mexicans, who are considered

white in this country, we have a large number of Mexicans in the City of San Antonio who are full-fledged dues-paying members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. We have Chinese, and, perhaps much to your surprise, we have two white men who are members of this Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Evidently the delegate is not so familiar with the movement of this Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Then, too, I want to call the attention of the delegate to the fact that this resolution does not call for this committee to hold any public hearings. The purpose of this resolution was to try to do something definite and concrete within the confines of the American Federation of Labor itself. It calls for a committee to be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to work within the American Federation of Labor, in collaboration with the Executive Council.

It is our opinion, based upon the results that have been obtained in other International labor unions of this American Federation of Labor, that something can be worked out, but nothing can be worked out if we continue to shove this question aside convention after convention.

At the San Francisco convention, which no doubt was the first convention where this question of race discrimination had an airing, a committee was appointed by the President of this Federation of Labor to investigate the question of discrimination against Negroes within the American Federation of Labor. It made its report, a very splendid report to the Atlantic City convention, and since that time nothing has been done. All that this resolution asks for is that a committee such as the one that was appointed as a result of the action of the San Francisco convention be made a permanent committee, not to hold public hearings, not to spread propaganda throughout the country relative to this situation, but to try to sit down around the table with the white members of organized labor in this Federation, with representative Negro members of organized labor in this Federation to work out some common-sense solution of this

problem, which unfortunately is denying to many loyal Negro citizens of this country the right to work.

Fellow delegates, that is all that the resolution asks for, and we urgently ask that you vote down the report of the committee and sustain the resolution.

Delegate Turco, News Boys: Mr. Chairman, the reason I am interested in the question before the house is because 28 years ago the same question came up and I happened to be in New Orleans, and the only time the white worker was interested in the Negro was when the boss was using the Negroes to take their jobs. The only time we favor them, the only time we do anything for them is when we need their support.

Back in the last World War, in Seattle the Negro got some of the jobs which came along, and he applied for membership in the union, in place of going to the employer for a job first. First they came to the Labor Assembly to find out if they could join the union, and they were denied their rights.

You people talk about the Communists and the C. I. O.—you give them all the chance in the world to organize these men when you deny them the right to a union of their own.

Brother Frey and Brother Woll of the Resolution Committee—that is the history of the Federation, they are trying to smother things out the best they know how for their own individual gain. They might think I am silly to say these things, but I have been following the Federation.

I am not a young man in the Federation, I have been carrying a card for 41 years myself. I came from the Miners, the same organization that President Green came from, and I tell you right now the greatest salvation of the Miners' Union was when they took everybody in. That made their organization and that will make all your organizations.

But when you deny the right to the Negro because he cannot help it any more than the white man can help it—he was born without his consent and so were you—you are not treating him fairly.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if the colored boy

went to college that is no crime. I am only sorry I never had the opportunity. If he can state his case as ably as he has done this morning, I wish I could, and I will ask this convention to do something for them, not only for the Negroes, but for the Filipinos and the rest of them. I tell you right now, you are leaving the door open to them to go to a dual organization. The biggest argument John Lewis and his gang used to organize the Negro was to go in and start discontent among the American Federation of Labor, because the high officials discriminate and they cannot see any further than their own noses. John Lewis used that very, very effectively with all his organizers all over the country, and we are now in a position in this convention to try to clear that situation.

International officers can deny that they discriminate against the Negroes, they can't do this and they can't do that. Mr. Chairman, if the International Union has no power to issue a charter in Omaha or St. Louis or any other city, then let the Federation issue a Federal charter and take in those boys who are willing to be organized.

I know one time in Louisiana a white man went up there to organize at the time of the Harriman strike. Maybe Mr. Frey recalls the Harriman strike in 1911. When some of the Negro workers said they wanted to be organized, they did not want to scab, they were denied the right to organize because they were Negroes, and the Harriman strike was lost from the standpoint of unionism.

So I only hope you give them some consideration. I hope this convention will deny concurrence in the report of the committee, and that President Green will appoint a committee to go over the situation and give the Negroes and the rest of the people who are not white a fair chance. I would rather have the friendship of some of these fellows who are black in their face and white in their hearts than I would to have the friendship of some of those who are white in the face and dark in their hearts.

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: I fear that the convention

is entirely misled as to the direct issue involved in the resolution, by statements that have been made upon it.

The Committee on Resolutions certainly is not in favor of discrimination of race or color on the part of the wage earners. To the contrary, it is keenly alert and anxious that our affiliated trade unions remove whatever degree of discrimination may exist and wherever it exists. We believe that nearly all of our national and international unions have amended their constitutions to avoid discrimination against workers either on the race or color basis. I don't think that is the question at issue.

The resolution asks that a committee of seven men be appointed, a committee that shall be permanent in character, that shall hear every grievance of a racial or religious discrimination. The committee shall proceed to that particular locality to make its investigation, have an open hearing, make its findings to the Executive Council and in turn to the convention for action.

The introducer of the resolution has made clear what he proposes to do by that action, and that is that national and international unions that may not comply with the wishes or instructions of that committee might have their charters removed. Thus it is clearly evident that the resolution is designed to infringe upon the jurisdictional rights of our various national and international unions in the matter of discrimination of race, color or creed.

Your committee is not prepared to recommend such a procedure to this convention, because if the American Federation of Labor could intrude itself upon the autonomous rights of national and international unions in that regard, it may equally well intrude itself upon the jurisdictional and autonomous rights of national and international unions in other regards. That is why the committee is not in sympathy with the appointment of a permanent committee and for the purposes indicated and made clear by the delegate having introduced his resolution.

Now, what does the committee say? It asks that this convention reaffirm its declaration of a year ago and of previous years. And what is that declaration. I just

want to read that to you. This is the committee's report on a similar resolution a year ago:

"This resolution calls for the creation of an intra-racial committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor, which would investigate instances of racial discrimination. The American Federation of Labor, in past conventions, has definitely declared its opposition to racial or religious discrimination within the trade-union movement or within the nation. In lieu of the resolutions your committee recommends that affiliated national and international unions be requested to give the most sincere consideration to policies which will assist to eliminate any tendency to discriminate against workmen because of race, color, or creed."

What more can we do as a Federation than that, even though we may have a multitude of investigations and reports, unless we proceed to follow that up further with what the introducer has indicated and have the convention then to assume power to discipline national or international unions who may not have followed the recommendations contained in such an investigation?

Therefore, the issue clearly is one of how far this convention will want to intrude itself upon the rights of autonomous National and International Unions, and it is not a question of the degree of interest we shall display in removing discrimination, racial, religious or otherwise on this very deep and fundamental issue insofar as the Federation is concerned. It is not a question, as I have indicated, of race, creed or color, because on that subject we are all united and the record and findings of the American Federation of Labor are clear along that line.

President Green: I wish to preserve the good name and standing of the American Federation of Labor if I can and to present its real attitude to the public and to public opinion. For that reason I am going to beg your indulgence for just a moment while I endeavor to restate, if I may, the position of the American Federation of Labor towards the subject that has been discussed so enthusiastically here this morning.

First of all, I declare without equivocation that the American Federation of Labor has placed itself on record as opposed to discrimination against any person be-

cause of race, creed, color or nationality. And when that declaration was made a convention of the American Federation of Labor supplemented that declaration by instructing the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council that where any National or International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor discriminated against Negro workers who desired to become organized and to become a part of the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor itself organize those Negro workers into a union directly chartered by the Federation. Is that discrimination? That is the position of the American Federation of Labor, and that position is being confused here this morning because of criticism directed against some National and International Unions. But the line ought to be clearly drawn between the official attitude of the American Federation of Labor itself and the action of some International or National Unions. It is unfair to place the American Federation of Labor before the public as opposed to the organization of Negro workers into the American Federation of Labor. That hurts me very much, when an attempt is made to place the American Federation of Labor in that position. It is not correct. The record shows that the American Federation of Labor itself has declared and restated over and over again its determination to organize Negroes or other workers, regardless of nationality, into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Proceeding in accordance with that declaration, we have organized thousands of Negro workers into unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and if I find any officer in a federal union discriminating against Negro workers who desire to become members of a Federal Labor Union, as long as I am President of the American Federation of Labor I will remove him.

In order that I might bring this point home to you clearly, may I tell you about some of our experiences during the past year? We attempted to organize the employees of the Ford Motor Company into a federal labor union to be directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. A large number of the employees

of the Ford Motor Company turned their faces towards the American Federation of Labor. More than 25,000 of them voted to become a part of the American Federation of Labor. And in accordance with our policy of no race discrimination we appealed to the Negro workers of the Ford Motor Company to become a part of the American Federation of Labor and to belong to a federal union, on the same basis as every other person employed in the Ford Motor Company plant. Our organizers carried on a vigorous campaign, we presented the issues, we sent Negro organizers employed by the American Federation of Labor there to engage in organizing these workers into the American Federation of Labor. Unfortunately the race issue was raised in that instance, and the American Federation of Labor was falsely accused of being against the Negro worker, and yet we were appealing to them to come into this federal labor union without discrimination.

Paul Robeson, that great Negro artist and singer, was called in, and he denounced the American Federation of Labor and appealed to the Negro worker to stand against us, the parent body. They were not being asked to join the National Union, they were being asked to join a federal labor union chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The leader of the organization called the Organization for the Advancement of Colored People, I think, the representatives of the Urban League, practically every organization made up of colored workers had their representatives there in opposition to the American Federation of Labor. Complaint has been made against unions, national unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor. They were not there, the ones that were complained against; they were not trying to organize Ford workers. It was the parent body, the American Federation of Labor, begging, pleading, entreating these workers to come with us and occupy their place in the house of labor.

I tried to appeal to President Randolph to come and tell the story, and I tried to reach him by telephone and telegram for days, and I could not. I know that unfortunately it was because he was unavoidably delayed, he was occupied and could

not come, because I believe he is so devoted to the American Federation of Labor that if he could have come he would have been there to have offset or tried to offset at least these accusations made against the American Federation of Labor.

I ask you fellow delegates if it is the policy of the American Federation of Labor, finally settled, to organize these Negro workers into federal labor unions, are we then to be opposed when we attempt to organize them on the ground that we practice race prejudice and race discrimination?

That was unfortunate, but it seemed to me I should tell you this story now because it is a true one. I was tremendously disappointed when we were forced to meet that issue. As you know, thousands of Ford workers are Negro workers, and they ought to be in the American Federation of Labor, they ought to be a part of the great American Union, the American Federation of Labor, but the leaders of these organizations opposed us vigorously, their speakers assailed us, they charged us with being guilty of practicing race discrimination and of developing racial prejudice. Now, that could not be true in that instance because it was the parent body bringing them into a Union, begging them to come in.

My good friend here this morning indicts us because they won't take them in, and here is an instance where we are begging them to come in. In accordance with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor there is no man in America that has a greater, a deeper interest in the welfare of the Negro people, and it has ever been my purpose to shape the policy and destiny of this great movement so that it would stand in support of all classes of working people regardless of race, creed, color or occupation. I have endeavored to have this American Federation of Labor stand four square in its determination to accept Negroes into membership in all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor when they desire to belong to us, and in pursuit of that policy I attempted to organize these workers into a federal labor union in accordance with



the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor.

I am blaming nobody for the results, but I wanted to state to you these facts.

We have, I think, succeeded in breaking down prejudice. We must deal of course with this question as a realistic one, we must face the facts, and we cannot force men, but we can appeal and we can educate and ultimately we can overcome. I think we have made great progress because most of our national unions accept Negroes into membership; the Ladies' Garment Workers, the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers, the Actors and Artistes, and Musicians take them in and we hope ultimately if there is any barrier anywhere that it will be broken down. But surely when we are all trying and earnestly trying to break down the barriers, we ought to receive the support of those who believe with us.

This question has been with us since long before the Civil War. They had the Methodist Church, North and South, for I think 60 or more years after the Civil War, and religion was divided because of the race question. It was indefensible and wrong, but it was the Church, religion itself, that preached the brotherhood of man, divided until they had the Methodist Church, North and South. It takes time to break it down; it is being broken down and will be broken down, and this race discrimination and prejudice will be broken down by those who are earnestly seeking to break down race prejudice and race discrimination in the United States of America.

Now, I want to place the American Federation of Labor right. I want the public to know where we stand. The American Federation of Labor does not discriminate against Negro workers. It accepts them into unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor whenever they are willing to come, and we are spending the money paid in by national unions into the treasury of the American Federation of Labor in trying to organize Negro workers into federal labor unions di-

rectly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. If we are doing that, are we failing? There is where we stand; there is where we will stand; those are our virtues, and we seek to exploit them so that the people of America may know where we stand in our effort to organize Negro workers.

Vice-President Hutcheson, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, I have been one who has always had a sympathetic consideration for the Negro worker. Past records will show that. I am somewhat surprised, however, at the remarks of Delegate Randolph this morning. It would seem that one with his ability should have looked into the situation farther than he apparently did, considering his remarks. If he, as a delegate here from the Pullman Porters, is taking the responsibility of representing all the Negro workers in the country, then he should familiarize himself with the conditions of the Negroes in some of the organizations that accept them into membership. If he would take the trouble to investigate, he would find the Brotherhood of Carpenters has many locals of Negroes in its organization. He would also find in many of our white locals we have Negroes as members along with the white men of our organization. He would find we have locals scattered all over the United States, even in the city of New York. He would find, if he would take the trouble to look it up, in the city of Savannah we have one local of Negroes of 690 members as against a white local with 970 members. He would also find, if he took the trouble to investigate further, there are more Negroes carrying cards in the city of Savannah than there are white men. He would also find that under the recent Government housing project in the city of Savannah 430 Negro Carpenters worked on that project along with white Carpenters.

Now then, if in his desire to bring about a condition that would help the Negroes of this country as a whole, he would have done more toward that end if he had told some of the good things that some of the organizations have



been doing for the Negroes and not merely criticize and tell the things that did not sound so well, at least to the public. I would advise Delegate Randolph to not oppose the adoption of the committee's report, but to see that it is adopted, because by that procedure and by the procedure in the future of telling some of the good things done for the Negro race rather than all the things that could be complained of, he would do much more good for his race.

If the situation were reversed and a resolution was introduced to this convention to try to direct the internationals as to what their membership could consist of, what does he or any other delegate think the internationals would say to this convention? As far as our organization is concerned, we would tell you to go plumb to and stay there, if you chose.

The qualification for membership in our organization is if they can qualify and are an American citizen they can become a member of the Brotherhood, regardless of race, color or creed. Whether an Irishman, Swede, Negro or Jew does not make any difference to us, as long as you are a qualified Carpenter. That is the policy of the Brotherhood, and has been for years, and we have had Negro members who have held membership in our organization for over a third of a century and who have participated in our conventions, and perhaps will again in time if they see fit to send them. I cannot see why any delegate here should oppose the report of the committee.

Vice-President Bates, Bricklayers International Union: During the course of the remarks of Delegate Randolph, he made the charge that two Negro Bricklayers were denied employment at Columbus, Georgia. I think an investigation of this charge would show that Delegate Randolph was making a charge that was unjustified and unwarranted under the circumstances. It is well known to Delegate Randolph and the delegates to this convention that the organization that I represent, the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers

International Union of America have many exclusive Negro charters in different sections of this country. We have mixed unions, and we take into our organization all who are qualified mechanically, regardless of race, creed or color. Any statements made to the contrary by Delegate Randolph are not warranted and borne out by the facts.

Delegate John E. Rooney, Plasterers: I might add to the statements that have already been made by the Bricklayers that as far as the Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Union is concerned that we have many Negro members in our organization. Brother Randolph did state this morning there was one city, and I believe that is the only city he mentioned, Kansas City, Missouri, and that matter was taken up with me last week, and I intend to have that remedied as soon as possible. Other than that, we have Negro members, thousands of them, in our organization. Not only do they belong to the organization but they also hold office in many of the unions; and I might add, too, at our last convention, just adjourned, we had several colored delegates at that convention, and we do not discriminate against the colored race.

Delegate Randolph, Pullman Porters: Brother Chairman, I rise to state that I am able to sustain every charge I have made on this floor, and that I don't retract a single one I have made.

I don't need Delegate Hutcheson to tell me what to do about this resolution. I am perfectly able and prepared to take a position on this question according to my own judgment, and I don't care anything about the opinion of Brother Hutcheson so far as advising me what I shall do in regard to this resolution.

I want to say this to Brother Green, a herring has been drawn across this issue. No statement was made here to the effect that the American Federation of Labor, as such, discriminates against Negroes. Now, everybody knows that. Why is there a disposition to prostitute and distort this question? There is a desire to evade

the issue, and therefore a tendency to draw a red herring across the issue.

President Green: Brother Randolph, just a moment. I said you know at the Ford Plant we were charged, the American Federation of Labor, with discriminating against Negro workers.

Delegate Randolph: But I had nothing to do with that, Brother Green.

President Green: Is that right?

Delegate Randolph: Well, I don't know about — yes, that is right.

President Green: You know, yes.

Delegate Randolph: I had nothing to do with that. Those were Negro organizations. They stated that discrimination exists in the American Federation of Labor. They stated there were organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that denied Negroes membership. Now, that is true. That does not mean, however, that the American Federation of Labor itself discriminates against Negroes. But I stated here that it is difficult for the public to differentiate between the American Federation of Labor discriminating against Negroes and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor discriminating against Negroes. Now, that is a simple matter of fact, Brother Green. You know that is true. It is hard for the public to differentiate between the two positions. Now, that is what I pointed out here in my discussion. But it is also important to observe that the purpose of this resolution is to get the American Federation of Labor to provide some machinery for the study and investigation of discriminations in order that the facts revealed may serve as a basis for the formulation of policies to the end of trying to remedy the condition. Now, that is the sole purpose of the resolution.

Brother Woll raises the question that the intention is to infringe upon the jurisdiction of national and international unions. This is a pure appeal to the prejudice of the national and international unions in this convention. That is all it is, a pure appeal to the prejudice of International Unions. The assumption is now if the purpose of

this resolution is to infringe upon the jurisdiction of national and international unions. "You national and international unions had better vote against it." Now, that is the inference.

And so with the question, too, that was presented about the Church having been divided into the North and the South. Well, we all know that. That is old history. But as a matter of fact, the American Federation of Labor should point the way for the churches in this country on the question of the races, because this involves a question of life, the right to work.

And so, Brother President, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters takes this position definitely in favor of the fact that the American Federation of Labor itself does not discriminate against Negroes, you accept Negroes in the federal unions, but I want to make this remark, Brother Green, too, and you know this to be the truth, that in a large convention you permitted the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to take over the freight handlers that were federal unions and wiped out these federal unions, and these freight handlers now are in Jim Crow auxiliary unions, and they don't have the right to vote, they don't have a voice in the determination of the policy of that international union. Now, that is a fact. How are we going to beat that down?

To that extent the American Federation of Labor has not kept faith with the Negro workers because the American Federation of Labor took the position that "If a national union will not accept you, we will give you a federal charter." But here they have taken away the federal charter from the freight handlers, and gave them over to an international that had . . .

President Green: (Interposing) Brother Randolph, I want that stated clearly. I must interrupt you. First of all, that organization would not accept Negroes into membership.

Delegate Randolph: Exactly.

President Green. Pursuant to the policy of the American Federation of Labor we took them in, organized them into

Federal Labor Unions, but freight handlers come under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Finally, after some years of experimenting along that line, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks amended their constitution so as to provide for the creation of auxiliary locals, and then they were turned over to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, but there is a vast difference between the statement you made regarding their rights in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and what President Harrison states is their right, and we have to keep the faith in that respect.

Delegate Randolph: Brother Green, I wanted to have this clear and that is, yes, they are in an auxiliary local to the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, but they don't have the right to vote, they don't have a voice in the conventions of that organization. Now that is a question of fact. And so in that respect it is the position of our delegates that the federal charter should be returned to the Negro workers if they are not permitted to join a national or international union.

Delegate Marshall, Hod Carriers: Mr. Chairman, I desire to draw to the attention of the delegates to this convention that the International Union of Hod Carriers and Laborers, have organized over 70,000 colored workers within the United States. In the Southern states of this country we have advanced and increased their wage scales. They were working prior to our organizing them for 12 or 15 cents an hour. Today they are receiving from 60 to 70 cents per hour. We have a colored brother who is a member of the Executive Board of our International Union, and at our recent convention we had over 250 colored delegates sitting in that convention with voice and vote.

Now what I want to know is what has Randolph ever done for the laborers of the South who work on building and construction work, that is, the colored laborers? He was never interested in them. The only thing he is interested in is coming to this convention year after year and criticizing the activities of the international unions and the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The question now re-

curs upon the motion to adopt the committee's report. All those who favor the adoption of the committee's report please say "aye"; those opposed say "no."

The motion seems to be carried. The Chair declares the motion carried, and it is so ordered.

President Frey has one matter he feels should be submitted to the convention before it recesses. Will you please be patient for a moment?

### LABOR AND THE ANTI-TRUST DRIVE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 142)

The true anti-union aims of the Anti-Trust Division, headed by Mr. Thurman Arnold, have been made abundantly clear during the past year. The Supreme Court of the United States, by its notable decision in the *Hutcheson* case, has compelled Mr. Arnold to give up his pretext of discharging the alleged duties of his official position. He has been revealed as a false crusader who has exploited his public office as a means of imposing his own malicious, dangerous and unscientific concepts of labor upon our national economy.

In brief, the Supreme Court has bluntly rebuked the attempted arrogation of power by the Anti-Trust Division. The Court confirmed what spokesmen for organized labor persistently contended—namely, that the Anti-Trust Division, in its unprecedented and wholesale prosecutions of labor organizations, was perverting and misapplying the anti-trust laws.

But this victory, although most substantial and most fortunate, has not completely removed the menace to labor's fundamental rights. Shorn of the cloak of being a fair public prosecutor, whose sole duty it is to enforce the laws as Congress wrote them and the courts interpreted them, Mr. Arnold has, without hesitation and without compunction, readily taken on the more congenial garb of an anti-labor lobbyist and publicist who has—quite wittingly we charge—become the most articulate and effec-

tive spokesman now representing the reactionary, anti-labor forces in this country.

The inconsistency of a government functionary widely propagandizing his personal bias by scurrilous attacks on labor in vicious articles and demagogic speeches is both obvious and deplorable. It is a crude effort to provide his anti-labor objectives with the prestige of his public office. We condemn it without reservation.

Although most of the qualified observers of Mr. Arnold's campaign against labor were convinced that the Supreme Court's decision in the Hutcheson case conclusively shattered Mr. Arnold's program, nevertheless he persists in maligning and harassing labor organizations with further unwarranted indictments and in encouraging, if not directly assisting, others to do so. He has sought to distort the decision in the Hutcheson case in the same manner that he has been distorting Congressional enactments and other court decisions prior to that case. His main reliance has been upon a single phrase used by the Supreme Court. The Court declared that labor unions may not be immune to prosecution under the anti-trust laws if they permit themselves to be used by employers as a means of enforcing an unlawful employer monopoly. Mr. Arnold would construe this statement to mean that any efforts on the part of a labor union—no matter that they are clearly directed toward a legitimate labor objective in the interest of the membership of the union—become criminal acts whenever these union activities happen quite accidentally to support the position of a particular employer, if acting with other employers only, would constitute a violation of the anti-trust act. Indictments founded on this specious theory have been issued against the Bakery Union and the Teamsters in Washington, D. C., and against the Chicago and Cook County Building and Construction Trades Council and the Journeymen Stonecutters Association, who are acting in their self-interest and not for the interest of the employers. We are satisfied that these indictments, like most of the unwarranted indictments in-

stigated by the Anti-Trust Division, will be dismissed by the courts.

Of graver concern to organized labor are Mr. Arnold's lobbying, writing and speech making activities which are enthusiastically backed by the reactionary press. They have already borne fruit. Two bills—H.R. 5218, introduced by Congressman Walter, and H.R. 5259, introduced by Congressman Monroney—fostered, and in all probability drafted, by Mr. Arnold are now before Congress.

We endorse and repeat the Executive Council's description of these bills as "legislative monstrosities", and because, in our opinion, the Executive Council's conclusions, after analyzing these bills, are so completely appropriate, we take the liberty of quoting those conclusions in full:

"We do not hesitate to characterize these proposals as legislative monstrosities. They are the basis of every anti-labor measure ever enacted or proposed anywhere, whose only unifying factor is an intensely passionate hatred for the elementary rights of working men and women. Not only do they flout the Constitution of the United States; not only do they repeal the Clayton Act of 1914, the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 and the National Labor Relations Act of 1935; not only do they confound and abandon the entire labor policy of the present government; but also, they threaten every gain and right grudgingly yielded to labor even in the most reactionary periods of our history. If these proposals, or any suggestions even remotely equivalent to them, are enacted into law we would return—only this time a hundredfold more intensely—to the dictatorial era of government by injunction. The American Federation of Labor will resist this hateful retrogressive trend with every resource at its command."

Your Committee is informed that a special committee has been appointed by the Executive Council to present this part of its report to the President of the United States. We recommend approval of this procedure. In addition we recommend that the Attorney General of the United States be requested to inquire if it is true that the Anti-Trust Division

of the Department of Justice, under the direction of Thurman Arnold, has accorded unequal treatment to labor officials accused under the Anti-Trust statutes in requiring them to be fingerprinted and provide bail, while in no case was an employer so treated and also to ascertain as to whether or not articles were written and money received for the writing of these articles from private sources—the subject and content of which was obtained in the service of the U. S. Government and through its processes by the assistant to the Attorney General, Thurman Arnold. If it be found that if either or both the requested inquiries indicate the fact of such practice existing, that those guilty of such practice be immediately dismissed from the service of the United States.

Finally, your Committee concurs in all that is contained in the Executive Council's report on this subject.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Statement of Delegate Martel— Detroit Housing Project**

Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor: I want to say a word on the subject matter contained in this report, in which reference is made to the activity of Thurman Arnold, Assistant United States District Attorney, and his alleged trust-busting activities.

I notice in a dispatch of the "Merry-Go-Round" in the morning's local newspaper that Thurman Arnold has announced his intention of proceeding against the agreement arrived at between the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and O. P. M. Director Sidney Hillman, and his attack on that agreement is predicated out of a situation arising in the city of Detroit wherein some departmental Government agency is attempting to give a contract on a housing project to a building-material man who has just signed a "sweetheart agreement" with the C. I. O.

The Currier Lumber Company of Detroit, operated by Pat Currier, who was involved in a strike with the Teamsters' & Chauffeurs' Union of that city in the spring of this year, and whose hired thugs murdered one of the Teamster members, was the low bidder on a housing contract, even though he had never built any houses or any other kind of buildings around Detroit.

Columnists, including Pegler, are trying to make the American public believe that Currier is a legitimate building contractor. That he is not. They are trying to make the American public believe that the opposition of organized labor in Detroit to the awarding of this contract is because Currier proposes to build it on a pre-fabricated basis. As a matter of fact, American Federation of Labor union contractors bid on this job on the same specifications that Currier bid. The cost of construction for this type of building, the labor cost on it, is less than one-third of the total cost. Currier's bid is better than a thousand dollars per unit less than the nearest union contractor. That price would be impossible, no matter what method was used to put these houses up.

Following the announcement of Currier being the successful bidder on this contract, there came another announcement, that Currier had signed a five-year closed shop contract with the C. I. O. Construction Workers' Union at no adjustment in wage scales because "he paid the highest wage scales in the community." This, of course, is not in accord with the truth. His C. I. O. friends that he just signed a contract with attempted to strike his plant a year ago, and picketed it for three months. At the time Currier signed this contract with the United Construction Workers' Union, the C. I. O. union had no membership in his plant. The American Federation of Labor Unions in Detroit had a verbal agreement with the contractors and building material supply dealers of Detroit, that Currier is a member of, to recognize the American Federation of Labor Unions as the bargaining agency for the employees of those who belong to the Association. Currier signed a closed-shop contract with the C. I. O.

without any of his people being members, and he placed the head of the Currier Company Union at the head of the C. I. O. Construction Workers' Union; and instead of Mr. Arnold, if he is an honest public official, concerning himself with the opposition of the American Federation of Labor Unions at Detroit to prevent Currier from getting this contract, I challenge him to investigate the conspiracy between the C. I. O. and the Currier Lumber Company to violate the National Labor Relations Law of this country.

This is an illegal combination to deprive the Currier employees of their rights under the National Labor Rela-

tions Law. Make sure, my friends, Currier is not a construction contractor; he never has been a construction contractor. He is a building material supply man who makes the bulk of his revenue off of the loans of money that he is handling in Detroit for the Eastern bankers, and he has been giving the legitimate building supply contractors in Detroit the worst kind of unfair competition.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

At 1:05 o'clock, p.m., the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

## SIXTH DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

President Green: The Chair desires to present to you Mr. W. E. Priestley, a representative of United China Relief and the Republic of China. He has a short message for us and we will take advantage of this opportunity to hear from him now.

### MR. W. E. PRIESTLEY (United China Relief)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I have the honor of appearing before you as a representative of the Republic of China. I will speak to you in English. You might not understand Chinese. For four and a half years China has been fighting an aggressor nation. For four and a half years China has been fighting Japan. Japan went into China in an unprovoked war. In four and a half years Japan has occupied the coast line of China, she has killed 3,000,000 Chinese soldiers, she has killed nearly 500,000 women and children of China, she has destroyed 75 per cent of the colleges, schools and universities of China. She has driven 80,000,000 Chinese people from their homes.

For this war in China there is no excuse, there is nothing to justify Japan

in this war. May I point out to you that for four and a half years China has been fighting our potential enemy in the Pacific. We have more men, more planes, more ships in the Hawaiian Islands ready for a struggle with Japan than in any other part of our dominion. We are already prepared to fight Japan if Japan should strike at us.

May I also remind you that one year ago Japan entered into a compact with Germany, aimed directly at the United States of America. In that compact Japan agreed to attack the United States in case the United States should go to war with Germany.

There is nothing more I need to add along these lines except to point out to you that for four and a half years China has been fighting our fight. So long as China can keep Japan busy, there is no danger of Japan attacking the United States. In this war in China, Japan has lost one million men killed by the Chinese with, one million less men in the Japanese army. The morale of the Japanese army is gone. Japan is a bankrupt nation today, and for this we can thank China.

How have we repaid China? Your president has informed me that I am speaking to an audience that is sympathetic towards China and the Chinese cause. May I point out to you that in the last five years we have shipped to Japan nearly 800,000,000 dollars' worth of war materials, not only to rape China but to prepare Japan for a possible war against the United States of America. We have shipped to Japan \$200,000,000 worth of scrap iron alone, \$100,000,000 of copper, \$200,000,000 worth of gasoline and lubricating oils.

You remember nearly three years ago when the Japanese attacked and sunk the United States ship Panay, they de-



stroyed American property and killed American men. The Japanese made that attack with an American plane, using American scrap iron and using explosives made from American chemicals. The percussion caps on these bombs were made by DuPont. The pilot was Japanese and everything else was American, and over in China, American materials were used to kill Americans and destroy American property. For nearly five years the United States of America has been a partner with Japan in the rape of China, and now we are beginning to realize our mistake. We are short of scrap iron, we are short of copper and we are short of gasoline. If we had half the materials we have shipped to Japan we would be well off. Just last December we finally stopped shipping scrap iron to the Japanese, but I can assure you that Japan has on hand enough gasoline and enough scrap iron and enough war materials to last her for one year.

We are directly responsible for the killing of half a million women and children in China. We sent our missionaries to China to heal the wounds of China, and our missionaries are over there picking scrap iron from the bodies of Chinese women that came from the United States of America. Let's not blame other nations for their misgivings. We have sinned ourselves.

There is little I can say in addition to this. I would like this convention to go on record as approving all possible help for China. We need China. We need China to keep the Japanese busy, we need China to keep the Japanese from attempting any invasion of our territory. Anything that we give to China is very cheap insurance for our own protection.

All the help that we give to China is directed along two channels: First of all, the United States Government is to give to China, arms, ammunition and airplanes. China needs that, but above all China needs help for the civilians of China, for the suffering people, for the people who are starving, who have been wounded partly because of the help we have given to Japan.

A nationwide drive is being conducted at the present time called the United China Relief. That drive is pledged to raise \$5,000,000, not for the armies of China, not for the soldiers, but for the civilian needs of China. I am asking your sympathy, your help and your support, not only that our government will send munitions of war that China needs, but also that the civilians of the United States shall send to the civilians of China the help they so sorely need.

I want to leave you one word that is welcome to all freedom-loving people, and that is the word "victory."

Thank you.

President Green: I can assure Mr. Priestley that he has been speaking to a very sympathetic group. The Amer-

ica Federation of Labor adopted a resolution some years ago in favor of placing a boycott against Japanese goods and services. We deal with it in a section of the Council's report this year and no doubt it will be reported on later in the convention. I am sure the convention will re-affirm its previous attitude. We believe that Japan is attempting to do in China what Hitler and his group are attempting to do in Europe. We are against Japanese aggression. Our sympathies are with the Chinese people, and I can assure you we will gladly do all that lies within our power to help them.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: In connection with all resolutions submitted to the committee which had passed reference to jurisdictional questions of jurisdictional disputes, the Secretary of the Committee disassociated himself from any participation either in the consideration or the action of the committee on these resolutions, and it is for that reason that I shall report on the next following three resolutions.

### Machinists vs. Carpenters

**Resolution No. 14**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor assembled in convention during 1914 adopted by unanimous vote the following resolution:

"Whereas, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used, and

"Whereas, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same, and

"Whereas, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle



Building Trades Department convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of, this resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and

"Whereas, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

"Resolved, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution."

WHEREAS, In an effort to carry out very definite instructions to the President and Executive Council as set forth in the concluding "Resolve" of the above quoted resolution, President Wm. Green, on advice and approval of the Executive Council, addressed a telegram reading as follows:

"February 8, 1938.

"Miami, Florida.

"H. S. Boughton, Business Agent,  
Building Trades Council,  
122 N. San Joaquin St.,  
Stockton, California.

"Decisions of American Federation of Labor and Building Trades Department as set forth in printed pamphlet issued by Executive Council sets forth the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used Stop This information is sent you in accordance with action of Executive Council.

"WILLIAM GREEN."

President Green addressed similar telegrams to employers who inquired whether the Machinists' or the Carpenters' Unions had jurisdiction over the erecting and installation of machinery.

WHEREAS, President Wm. Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, protested the issuance of above quoted telegrams and announced that if any additional such telegrams were issued, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners would pay no further per capita tax to the A.F. of L.; thereupon the Executive Council in April, 1938, directed President Wm. Green to refrain from announcing information relative to

machinists' work as announced by the 1914 convention, and requested the Presidents of both the Machinists' and the Carpenters' Unions to hold conference, and

WHEREAS, For more than three years, pursuant to request of the Executive Council, conferences have been held but no settlement has been arrived at, for the reason that the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners are insisting that their members must be permitted to perform work which the American Federation of Labor declared was work that came within the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and

WHEREAS, The officers of the International Association of Machinists, not succeeding in having the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners conform to the A. F. of L. decision in the matter of erecting and installing machinery, so reported to the Executive Council and then requested that President Wm. Green, pursuant to the 1914 convention instructions to the Federation officers, renew the practice of notifying, on request, employers and other interested parties that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used; but to all these efforts and requests the Executive Council, possibly still influenced by the threat of the President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, declined permission to President Wm. Green to carry out the very definite instructions to the Federation officers by the 1914 convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President (in his absence, the Secretary) on request by an employer or an interested party, shall notify that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. notify the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and of the Building and Construction Trades Department to refrain from issuing any statement, written or otherwise, or take action in any way, for interfering with the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists as set forth in Resolution No. 152 adopted by unanimous vote at the 1914 A. F. of L. Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President notify the subordinate councils of both the Building and Metal Trades Departments that pursuant to Resolution No. 152 adopted by the 1914 convention, the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling,

erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used.

Discussion on this resolution made it evident that the parties at issue had reached an agreement some time past, but that this agreement was later cancelled by reason of complaint filed by other International Unions, and not because any of the parties to the agreement were dissatisfied with any of its provisions.

In order to again bring the organizations directly concerned into an understanding or agreement, instead of following a procedure believed to embitter this conflict, the Executive Council urged, and finally succeeded, in bringing the organizations in dispute into conference.

While delay has been encountered in these negotiations, nevertheless your committee is of the judgment that conferences should be encouraged and carried on, and that every possible effort be made both by the officers of the A. F. of L. its Executive Council, and by the two organizations concerned, to bring about an amicable and cooperative understanding and relationship.

Pending the reaching of an understanding or agreement, it is further recommended that in the event local difficulties arise between the two organizations involved, that such disputes be then referred to the President of the respective two International Unions for consideration and adjustment.

In lieu of and to the accomplishment of these ends, we recommend reference of this subject matter to the Executive Council.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's recommendation.

Vice-President Harvey Brown, Machinists: I rise to oppose the report of the committee and to show reason why it should not be referred, but the subject matter be disposed of by this convention.

After listening to the report of the Resolutions Committee some may believe this is a jurisdictional controversy. It is not a jurisdictional controversy. This subject matter comes to the convention in an effort to have a restraining order dissolved, a restraining order served

upon the President of the American Federation of Labor, which has kept in concealment a declaration the American Federation of Labor arrived at by unanimous vote, kept in concealment for three and a half years. By the time we finish presenting our case, I believe every delegate to this convention will agree that this case is without parallel throughout the history of the American Federation of Labor.

I appreciate there has been a great deal of pre-convention discussion on this case, and it is not a question of whether the Carpenter is right, or whether the Machinist is right; it is a question of what is right.

By way of giving the delegation a little background, let me mention that in this city in 1913, 28 years ago, the Building Trades Department served notice on the Carpenters' Union to refrain from installing or erecting machinery, and announced that the work of making, assembling, erecting and repairing of machinery, wherever machinery is used is work that belongs to members of the International Association of Machinists. And in the proceedings of that convention of the Building Trades Department, of 1913, they reiterate that work jurisdiction, and that that has been the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists since its birth in 1883.

One year thereafter, in 1914, because of an A. F. of L. affiliate trespassing upon the work jurisdiction of the Machinists' Union the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, by unanimous vote, if you please, not one dissenting vote, proclaimed to the labor movement that the work of building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing machinery, wherever machinery may be used, is work that belongs to the International Association of Machinists, and that convention further, by unanimous vote, instructed the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give every assistance possible for the full application of that resolution, which was not a decision, it was a declaration to reaffirm the work jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and in doing so they merely announced

that Machinists shall continue to perform work that they performed ever since there were Machinists.

The first test of what came out of the 1914 convention occurred one year later at the Pan-American Exposition in San Francisco. Our right again was contested, and President Gompers in that day in no uncertain terms notified the offending organizations to keep hands off, that the work in question was work that should be performed by the International Association of Machinists. From that day on it has been a case of nip and tuck.

Finally, in February of 1938 the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., after reviewing all convention proceedings subsequent to the 1914 convention, directed President William Green to issue the following telegram, when called upon by an employer or a superintendent of construction, or any interested party—I am now reading the telegram President Green sent to the Business Agent of the Building Trades Council of Stockton, California, dated February 8, 1938.

"Decisions of American Federation of Labor and Building Trades Department as set forth in printed pamphlet issued by Executive Council sets forth the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used. Stop This information is sent you in accordance with action Executive Council.

"WILLIAM GREEN."

I desire to mention in passing that for some time previous to February of 1938 in conference and at meetings of the A. F. of L. Executive Council attempts were made to show that subsequent convention action following 1914 modified or changed the 1914 decision. If a similar statement is made on the floor of this convention I want the right to reply. On previous occasions when that statement was made in my presence I did not have the convention proceedings with me. A great deal of emphasis was placed upon the action of the Buffalo convention. I am now fortified with documentary evidence to show that any statement made with the best of intentions that the Buffalo convention modified the 1914 decision is untrue. True,

an attempt was made at the Buffalo convention to modify that decision, but the delegates would not stand for it, and President Gompers, when the report of the committee at that time was in the course of discussion, said:

"If this report is adopted the 1914 Philadelphia decision is in full force and effect."

And the report was adopted. Again I say I have the proceedings and I can successfully refute any statement that may be made that anything was done to alter or change or modify the intent and purpose of the 1914 decision.

That telegram that I read to you and similar telegrams were furnished superintendents of construction and other interested parties by President Green, and in pursuance to direction of the A. F. of L. Executive Council. When that was done, those who built machinery, those who purchase machinery, were very happy over the fact that those in the machine shops who built the machinery were going to be permitted to reassemble it and erect it wherever machinery is used. As a result, the Machinist was coming into his own, and to such an extent, that the General President of the Carpenters' Union protested the issuance of any further telegrams that were pursuant to a mandate of the 1914 convention. His protest was in the form of a letter addressed to President William Green on March 9, 1938. Previous to the issuance of that letter it is apparent there were verbal protests, telegraphic protests, but finally on March 9 of 1938, General President William L. Hutcheson of the Carpenters' Union addressed President William Green as follows:

"This will acknowledge your letter of February 19th, wherein you inform me that by action of the Executive Council you were specifically instructed to send the telegram which I mention in my communication of February 11th. The purpose and object of this communication is to inform you that at a recent meeting of our Executive Board, when considering the matter, they instructed me to notify you that I have instructed Secretary Duffy to send no more per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor until such time as the telegrams you refer to are no longer sent, for the reason that in my former communications I called atten-

tion to the fact that our organization back in 1914 did not and would not accept the decision then made by the American Federation of Labor, and we have no intention of accepting it now. While we are willing to endeavor to reach an understanding with representatives of the Machinists, the feeling and consensus of opinion of our Board Members was that if we had to be continuously involved in controversies with those who were associated with us in the American Federation of Labor, and the Executive Council is going to take action such as you refer to, that there was no need or necessity of our organization paying per capita tax and assessments totalling \$72,000 a year, into the American Federation of Labor.

"Fraternally yours,

"WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON."

As a result of that type of protest the Executive Council then served an injunction, issued that restraining order I mentioned a few moments ago to prohibit President Green from carrying out the mandate of the 1914 convention. That restraining order placed the decision in the lock box, kept it in concealment, and in hundreds of cases thereafter employers asked us to have President Green advise whether the Carpenters or the Machinists had jurisdiction over the assembling and erecting of machinery. We were compelled to advise that President Green is not privileged, as heretofore, to make known which organization had jurisdiction over the work, and as a result the Carpenters, with the active support of many of the building trades, succeeded in doing the work belonging to Machinists.

When the Executive Council directed President Green to discontinue sending out that decision the Executive Council also called upon our then International President, Brother A. O. Wharton and President Hutcheson, of the Carpenters to hold a conference in a last effort to see what could be done through a meeting of minds to bring about a more happy relation, thus making it more desirable for President Green to issue or to send out the information that came out of the 1914 convention. That conference was held, but no agreement was arrived at, and for the reason that the Carpenters would not agree to abide by the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

In January of 1939 a member of our Executive Council appeared before the American Federation of Labor Executive Council, reviewed the case and asked the Council that, since the conference that they requested was held and no satisfactory understanding was arrived at because the Carpenters still insisted that they would not live up to a decision of the American Federation of Labor. After presenting the case the answer was, "Hold another conference."

In August of 1939, at the request of President Green, I met with General President Hutcheson, with President Green present. We again discussed this matter. General President Hutcheson again took the position that they were not going to abide by that decision. They were willing not to protest if the Machinists did a certain type of work, and the class of work that they were willing that the Machinists should perform represents about 15 per cent of all the machinery installed in this country. My answer to General President Hutcheson was that, "Your generosity is only exceeded by your good looks," and of course we could not accept that kind of proposal.

Following that conference I asked President Green if I might appear before the Executive Council, then in session at Atlantic City. The request was granted. I appeared before the Council and again made a plea in behalf of our organization. When I finished I was later advised that we should hold another conference.

In October of 1939 at Cincinnati President Green requested the delegates from the Carpenters and the Machinists Unions to hold a conference. We held that conference. Again the Carpenters took the position that they were not going to live up to the decision rendered by the American Federation of Labor. At the close of the convention I again requested permission to appear before the Executive Council, and that request was granted. I again stated the case, and I have a mental picture now, before I left the Council room, of President Green, who wanted to bring about a better understanding between these two

organizations. He inquired if I would not hold another conference. I said, "President Green, I don't want to be offensive or unkind, but a request for another conference is merely another run around." He pleaded with me and I said, "Well, in deference to your wishes, President Green, we will agree to hold another conference."

Later on I learned that the American Federation of Labor Executive Council appointed a sub-committee from among the Council members, and that sub-committee was to call General President Hutcheson and myself into conference to make another effort. That kind of a meeting was never held. I made several requests thereafter that that sub-committee should arrange that kind of a conference, but such conference was never held.

Finally, in May of 1940 I again appeared before the Executive Council and asked to present the case, reminded them that if conferences were the answer that answer would have been found long ago. We were told, "Hold another conference."

In November, 1940, at New Orleans I again appeared before the Council. Again, after stating our case we were told, "Hold another conference."

In February of 1941 at the American Federation of Labor Executive Council meeting I again presented the case. I pleaded with the Council, I begged to the point of humiliation and I told my colleagues that if they did not untie the hands of President Green so that he could pursuant to a mandate from the convention they were going to impose upon me the most unpleasant task that I ever had throughout my career in the labor movement, the task of going before the convention and telling the story. We were again told to hold another conference.

In April of this year, through President Green's efforts, word was received from the Carpenters' General Office that they would entertain a committee from the Machinists' Union. I was then out here on the West Coast, cleansing one of our local unions of Communism and preachers of secession. I directed one of my associate officers, accompanied by a

committee, to journey to Indianapolis. They met a committee of the carpenters. Nothing could be done. The Carpenters took the position that they could not agree to live up to the decision of the American Federation of Labor Convention.

In May of 1941 at the Executive Council meeting a letter was read having reference to this case, and a motion was made that the Carpenters and Machinists hold another conference.

At the August meeting of the Executive Council held in Chicago I again pleaded with my associates, I asked them to explain to me by what authority they could instruct the President of the American Federation of Labor to refuse to carry out a very definite mandate by the 1914 convention. I again reminded the Council that if they did not untie the hands of the President so he could do as he was doing previous to the protest of the Carpenters, I would be compelled, by direction of my Grand Lodge Convention of September, 1940, to come into the Seattle convention and pray for relief. I pleaded and begged. Nothing was done except a motion was made that we should hold another conference.

Well, wanting to be a good soldier I communicated with President Green, told him I thought that pursuant to the action of the Council a conference should be held. I said, "In April the Machinists journeyed to Indianapolis. Now I think we should ask the Carpenters to journey to Washington, and we will be very happy to meet with them." But I said further, "President Green, I believe you should be present, or another Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor." That conference was not held. Through correspondence received through President Green's office the Carpenters, for some reason or other, could not arrange their affairs to hold that kind of a conference.

Well, I don't know that anything would have been accomplished. I say that because when we convened in Seattle on Sunday, October 5, President Green announced to the Executive Council that the Machinists' delegates had introduced a resolution dealing with this question and wanted to know if something could not be done. Nothing was done. In fact, there

was no desire to discuss it. I was prepared to discuss all these things, but nothing was done.

That's why we are here today. Again I say this is not a jurisdictional question. I would like to ask the delegation of every organization seated in this convention—first, you know what your charter grants are. Some of the organizations at some time or another were in controversy and the A. F. of L. rendered a decision. Suppose some particular union served notice on the Executive Council that unless the President of the American Federation of Labor refused to notify the interested parties what their charter grants were, what awards were made to that organization, they would stop paying per capita tax. What would you do? I believe the same delegation would not be as patient as the Machinists have been. I believe you would have rebelled long ago. If we are to be condemned, then it is because of our patience.

This is not a Machinists' case. This case will determine the future policy affecting every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Suppose an organization with possibly 20, 25, 50 or a 100 votes had served notice on the Executive Council that unless they ceased sending out a decision of an organization having over 2,000 votes they would stop paying per capita tax. I don't know what would happen, but I believe they would have said, "Well, here's your hat, what's your hurry?"

I don't want a policy on the basis of might is right. I believe all of us recall that on the morning of October 6th, President Green responded to the addresses of invited speakers, and again yesterday in his forceful and eloquent manner, proclaimed to the world that we are going to give, even manpower if need be, to help those who are suffering because of the murdering hordes led by the leadership of the totalitarians who are trying to wipe out every vestige of democracy throughout the Old World. We applauded until the rafters quivered. I believe we were sincere. The time has come when you can prove whether our applause was a hollow mockery. If we are not to have democracy and democratic procedure within the American Federation of Labor,

then why the fight across the pond? Some of us have sons of military age, and who can tell, before this is all over across the pond it may be that the flower of American youth will be called upon to pay the supreme sacrifice for the maintenance of our representative and democratic forms of government. We believe that because of the preachings of the totalitarians, that their political state cannot survive unless it is world wide, that we must face the issue, even if it comes to furnishing man power.

Don't you believe that we should give evidence of our sincerity? We are willing to fight and give to put an end to the practice of confiscation, illegal seizure of rights and property of others. Well, shall that principle pass out of the American Federation of Labor? I say no.

If this convention refers this matter back to the Executive Council I say, on the face of the experience we have had, we will hold conferences and we will be told to hold more conferences. Let me put it more bluntly. Our membership throughout the United States and Canada for the last three and a half years have been asking this question: Are the Carpenters' per capita tax dollars brighter or bigger than the per capita tax dollars of the Machinists? And I think you can understand why they are asking that question.

On the basis of a survey that I personally made covering a period of 18 months from February of 1938, when the Executive Council issued that restraining order, up to the present time, our membership, by reason of the Carpenters performing our work, has been compelled to stand on the sidelines and suffer a loss of wages of over \$4,000,000. I think the records of the A. F. of L. will show that every time a question was decided affecting our organization, we took our medicine; we did not always like it, but we took our medicine. That is why I am making this plea to this convention to ask you to join with us, not for the Machinists alone, but for you, if you please, to turn down the report of the committee and bring on the floor of this convention the original resolution and dispose of that resolution.



What is that resolution? All we are asking is what the 1914 convention decided, when they issued a pronouncement to reaffirm our work jurisdiction. They directed the President and Executive Council to give their every assistance for the fulfillment and application of that resolution. All we are asking is that you untie the hands of the President of the American Federation of Labor so when he is called upon by an employer or an interested union he can advise them what the decision of the convention was.

It is possible, fellow delegates, that we may hear this afternoon, a statement made on several occasions when this was discussed before the A. F. of L. Council, that even though we do untie the hands of the President that will not settle the question. I regret that anyone should ever make that kind of a statement. That is no argument why we should not give to the Machinists that right and protection enjoyed by every other A. F. of L. affiliate. We are not worrying what is going to happen if the convention unties the hands of our President. I say that because the Executive Council—and it is so stated in the proceedings of the Council meetings—after they reviewed convention actions subsequent to 1914, finally concluded that the President should send out a telegram pursuant to the 1914 decision. When those telegrams went out Machinists' work was coming to Machinists. If that is not true, then why did the Carpenters in writing serve notice that "if you don't stop sending out those telegrams we are going to stop paying per capita tax"? There is the answer.

Now, Brother Chairman and Brothers, I regret the need of taking up so much time of this convention, but there was so much to say that I felt I would be remiss in my duty if I did not tell you the story. I am not going to make a threat, I merely want to voice the contentions and demands of our membership, who want to know why we are denied a right enjoyed by every other affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, and all because one union takes the position that if the employer is advised of an action by the A. F. of L., that

they cannot do the work which the A. F. of L. says does not belong to them but belongs to the Machinists. We cannot live as a trade union unless we enjoy the right enjoyed by every other union, but regardless of what comes out of this convention we are going to live. If you want the Machinists to work and fight with you, side by side—and when it comes to discharging our responsibilities as an affiliate of the A. F. of L., we don't take second place with any organization, but we must have our right—we must have that right to live. Whatever your decision is, we are going to live as a trade union.

I thank you.

President Green: Any further remarks?

Chairman Woll: The committee of course is fully familiar with the controversies involved. You have heard quite an extensive presentation of the difficulties encountered in this matter. It is rather difficult for me to understand that if there is no jurisdictional controversy involved in this question, what might properly constitute a jurisdictional question.

I think everyone will agree that there is a controversy existing between the Carpenters and Machinists regarding certain work to be performed and services to be rendered. Reference is made to a decision of 1914 and to a telegram sent out by President Green in 1938. While that may be true, it is also true that the Carpenters have serious objections to the interpretations placed upon actions of this convention not alone in 1914 but in all succeeding conventions, so that there is a high controversy involved between these two respective organizations.

Your committee, in viewing this entire matter, presents a procedure to this convention for approval which it, in its judgment, believes is the most sound, the most safe, and most secure decision that this convention can render under the existing circumstances.

The procedure is what? It is a procedure of endeavoring to reach a conclusion upon negotiations that have been entered into finally at the pleadings and urgencies of the Executive Council. The



Executive Council has felt that to render merely an interpretation of actions taken by a number of conventions would under no circumstances adjust the difficulty. That is admitted by the introducer of the resolution.

The Executive Council and your Committee are convinced that the procedure outlined in the resolution itself, instead of bringing about harmony and understanding will only embitter the antagonists in this jurisdictional problem, and will make for a worse situation than exists at present. Your committee therefore believes the negotiations that have been entered into, and that are still pending and that have not been concluded, ought to be carried out to a finality, and, if possible, an agreement should be reached.

Now, it is not outside of the realm of possibility that these two organizations can reach an agreement. They did at one time reach an understanding, they did reach an agreement that was mutually satisfactory to both organizations involved. Unfortunately that agreement was annulled, not by reason of any provisions contained in the agreement entered into, but by reasons of complaint made on the outside by other organizations who deemed themselves affected by the agreement reached. I mention that merely to indicate that there is the possibility of these organizations coming into an agreement if there is a will to have that agreement.

On the other hand, merely to define a decision of 1914 in the light of subsequent events, not only decisions of the Executive Council, but likewise developments that have taken place in the industries involved themselves, will not settle the question but will make it worse.

Now, if this convention should perchance reverse the recommendation of the committee, then of course the resolution itself will come before this committee, and then the procedure will be to concur or nonconcur in that resolution. I am frank to say that if that procedure is followed and the ultimate outcome is on the resolution itself, instead of harmonizing the conflicting interests concerned, instead of bringing about peace

and harmony and cooperation in this movement at a time when it is needed more than ever, then the fault must rest with this convention and not with your committee.

This committee is imbued with the thought that this above all is not a time to render asunder the American Federation of Labor by mere theoretical decisions that cannot adjust disputes. After all, we are a voluntary body, and the only way we can cooperate is by volition, reaching decisions by agreement and understanding and not by dictum of any convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Reference has been made that this controversy has been pending for the past 28 years. May I advise you of another controversy that has been pending almost as many years, involving the printing trades and my own organization. Yes, we too have been impatient, we have been implored to hold conferences and conferences and conferences, and yet I am ready to say, and as a committee later on will report—not our committee but another committee—that committee will report there is now ultimately in view the possibility of reaching an understanding and adjustment based upon voluntary action and not upon dictum of a convention.

And so you are going to have placed before you first the question, do you desire to adjust this controversy by means of conferences, by means of understanding, by means of agreement, or do you want to render asunder the American Federation of Labor by dictum that certain groups must do so and so, as we dictate, and especially at a time such as this?

Reference has been made to totalitarianism and the handing down of edicts. That is what you are going to be asked to do if the report of the committee is defeated. I implore you to support the committee in the procedure outlined. I implore you to favor the procedure we have laid before you to harmonize these conflicting interests and to bring them into harmony and cooperation, and thus render service to both organizations and to the labor movement as a whole.

President Green: Are there further remarks?

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I arise to correct a few statements that have just been made by the preceding speaker, and I speak out of experience, having participated through all of these controversies during the last 28 years.

The reference to the fact there was discussion on the floor of the convention in 1914 is correct. The presentation was made by myself and associate delegates of the International Association of Machinists. The Carpenters' full delegation was present during that discussion, and when the vote was taken there was no dissenting votes. So the statement that there was discussion by representatives of the organizations interested, and that the Carpenters declined in that convention to accept the decision, is not in accordance with the record.

I am somewhat surprised at the tolerance advocated by the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. I wonder just what we mean by "tolerance." I wonder how you would like to be told, you delegates, to go into conference after conference for a period of some 28 years, and after carrying out the mandates of this convention, and after reaching an agreement with the interested organizations and working it out harmoniously, to have objections raised on the floor of the convention by delegates who had directed us to take that very action, not because they had any fear that the Machinist was going to interfere with their jurisdiction? If the Machinists ever had a right to the name they have adopted and the work which they have always performed, we are now asking for that right to be continued. We are not infringing upon the jurisdiction of the Carpenters, and I don't think the Carpenters will say we are infringing on their jurisdiction.

We reached an agreement with the Carpenters' organization. The very best of relations, socially, friendly, and otherwise, fraternally, or any way you want to express it, have existed between the officers of the Carpenters' organization and myself in the capacity of President in the negotiations for many years; and even prior to that, as President of the

Railway Employees' Department, we never had any serious difficulty in sitting down and discussing these things. They were discussed in the most friendly and fraternal manner, and we finally reached that agreement, only to have it objected to by delegates on the convention floor in Cincinnati.

Now that agreement did not provide for any termination. It was a permanent agreement between the two organizations, and under its provisions everything was going along all right. Since that time there has been difficulty. Since the agreement was, we might say, set aside by an action of the Carpenters Executive Board, there has been continual and increasing difficulty, and when the Chairman of the Committee says that a decision of this body cannot be pronounced upon an inquiry of interested parties which we have requested should be made, I think he is making a very serious statement and one which these delegates should give very careful consideration to. Bear in mind we are not asking anyone to fight our battles. We are simply asking that this convention grant to us the right that has been granted to every other organization that came before it with a dispute of this character, and when the decision is rendered, that that decision be made known to interested parties when the occasion arose and it seemed to be necessary that such action should be taken.

All we asked of the President of the American Federation of Labor, and with which he complied with the consent of the Council, when I was a member of the Executive Council, was that the parties be notified as to the character of work which was recognized as coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists. There is no question of jurisdiction before this convention. The question before this convention is, shall the Machinists be permitted to have the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor to the extent of advising the interested parties as to what the decision of this convention was with respect to our jurisdiction? You make that statement through the office of the President

of this body and we will take care of the job.

The Machinists do this work, whether they are in the Carpenters or any other organization, because nobody but a Machinist is trained to do the work, and being trained to do that work we think we are able to perform the work and that we should enjoy the privileges and the rights that every organization affiliated with this body has enjoyed in the past. In the name of common sense and decency isn't there such a thing as a procedure that will at least give an organization the right to go out and perform the work which it is entitled to perform without being charged with bringing jurisdictional questions into this convention? I did not bring a jurisdictional dispute into the convention in the fourteen years I was President of the International Association of Machinists. I proceeded upon the basis that the best plan of procedure would be to sit down and work out these problems by conference among the organizations interested and entering into agreements between these organizations, and I challenge any organization in this convention to show where we stepped outside of those agreements once they were entered into, as well as whether we lived up to those agreements in good faith or not. That is the policy upon which we stand, and the only thing we ask from this convention is to give us the same right and the same privilege that every other organization has enjoyed. I don't think you can do less than this and hope for this organization to continue as a democratic body.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I just want to make a brief statement to correct the record. I do so because there is so much involved. It is possible that the remarks of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, unintentionally, however, may have left a wrong impression, and that is that the Machinists are not willing to go into conference. We are willing to go into conference, but we don't want to go into a conference bound and shackled. All we have been asking for three and a half years, since President Green's hands were tied, is to untie his hands, and if we are doing

work that the Carpenters or any other trade believes is their work, we will happily sit down with them, yes, in the presence of witnesses and explore the work, and if the work does not belong to us on the basis of our charter rights we say it is your job.

But you have no right to ask us to go into conference any further and at the same time give the offending organization an unfair advantage by reason of President Green not being permitted to send out the pronouncement coming out of the 1914 convention.

Yes, I will repeat, we will go into conference every day in the week if need be, but under the same terms that other unions go into conference, and that is that we don't want to go there gagged and bound.

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, may I also correct the last speaker? I did not say that I understood the Machinists were unwilling to go into conference. As a matter of fact, the report of the committee states very clearly that negotiations have been started, that conferences have proceeded, that they have not reached a final conclusion. The very foundation of our report is based upon the fact that they have not concluded present negotiations, and we urge that they be continued and that the American Federation of Labor Executive Council and its officers give every aid and co-operation toward the end of reaching a mutual agreement and understanding.

President Green: There is a feature of this controversy that it appears to me might well be brought to the attention of the delegates, and I do so, not for the purpose of influencing you in any way whatsoever regarding the merits of the jurisdictional controversy that, after all, is the underlying cause of it all. That is the basis of the subject matter that is now before the convention.

I am sure that the delegates understand pretty clearly what it is. It is a dispute between the Carpenters and the Machinists as to whether millwrights shall install certain forms of machinery or whether the Machinists shall do so. Of course in matters of this kind there is a disposition to go a little further

than we ever dreamed of on the part of the organizations whenever they have an opportunity to do so. Now that is the basis of it all, that is the cause of it all, and if we could settle that question between the two organizations there would be no trouble and we would not have the matter before this convention.

It is an old ghost. It has been marching around at a number of our conventions, the first time at Philadelphia in 1914. At that time a decision was reached, but, like other controversies of this kind, it bobbed up at subsequent conventions, as the records will show. It was discussed at conventions held later in Buffalo, New York, Baltimore, Maryland, and in one or two other cities.

Now the Council directed that the decision of the Philadelphia convention should be sent out when inquiries were made as to what the decision was. That was sent out. Then the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America demanded that if that decision was to be sent out then the action of other conventions upon that subject should be sent out also. They maintained that in fairness to that organization the action of not only the Philadelphia convention but of the Baltimore convention, the Buffalo convention and of some other conventions also be sent out. The Machinists objected to that because they said that to send out action that was taken by subsequent conventions would confuse the minds of people regarding the decision made at the Philadelphia convention.

Now the Council was face to face with that situation. They wanted to do the fair thing and hold the scales of justice fairly between the two contending organizations. The question, then, of whether the Philadelphia decision should be sent out, along with other actions of conventions on the same subject, was debated, and because a part wanted the Philadelphia decision sent alone and the other group wanted it all incorporated in any communications sent out, the Council just withheld action altogether.

I want to say to the delegation also that I arranged a conference between representatives of these two organizations years ago, and we patiently worked

together and finally reached the settlement of this dispute, and I was happy. An agreement was entered into. The Council was happy and incorporated it in the Council's report to the Cincinnati convention, hoping that the convention would approve it. To our surprise some other organizations raised objections to the convention approving an agreement entered into between two unions settling a jurisdictional dispute, and as a result of it the convention refrained from taking action, the agreement was terminated, and the whole question was thrown open again.

If the matter is approached in good faith upon the part of both sides, in an honest effort to find a basis of accommodation and solution of this question, I am firmly of the opinion that the matter can be adjusted. I understand the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have said that they were willing to negotiate an agreement through conferences based upon the old agreement—using that as a basis. Perhaps there would need to be some changes because of mechanical changes that have taken place throughout the years, and if they could sit down together and work out an agreement on the basis of that the whole question would be solved.

I am saying that to you, not for the purpose of appealing to you to do one thing or the other, but for the purpose of having you understand these facts. The real issue with the Council is, should it send out the Philadelphia decision alone or should it include with that actions taken at subsequent conventions upon this dispute? The Machinists objected to that and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners wanted it done. They were willing that the whole decision should be sent out, and as I understand it they are willing now, if there is included in the report all that has taken place at subsequent conventions.

Are there further remarks? If not, the motion is on the adoption of the committee's report. All who favor the adoption of the committee's report will please say "aye." Those opposed will say "no." The "ayes" seems to have it.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I move a roll call, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: Suppose we take a vote by show of hands. All in favor of the adoption of the committee's report will hold up their right hands. Those opposed.

Now it appears to me there should be no doubt. The motion is adopted.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I move a roll call, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: Brother Brown asks for a roll call. Is there a sufficient number asking for a roll call on this question? In order to determine that, let us have a show of hands.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide that a roll call may be ordered when one-tenth of the delegates call for it. The Secretary reports to me that 31 delegates have asked for a roll call. That means that less than one-tenth of the delegates have asked for a roll call, consequently the request for a roll call fails.

Chairman Woll continued the report, as follows:

### **Machinists vs. Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees**

**Resolution No. 15**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, During the 1940 American Federation of Labor convention, officers and delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, answering a complaint by the International Association of Machinists, promised that they and their associates would respect the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists and cooperate for fulfillment of the following agreement:

Washington, D. C.  
October 25, 1928.

It is hereby agreed between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, will release at the expiration of their present Agreements all claims to men working strictly at machinists' work, or men

who are devoting a majority of their time to machinists' work of the various street and electric railways of America, where the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America makes contracts, and in the future, the Amalgamated Association will not insert or cover in any manner in their agreements, the wages and working conditions of machinists, and at the next meeting of the General Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, which will be held in February of 1929, the General Executive Board, at this meeting will send out a circular letter to all local divisions of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, informing the membership of this agreement reached with the International Association of Machinists, and will advise in compliance with this agreement that all members who are working at machinists' work for street and electric railway companies, that they become members of the International Association of Machinists.

It is understood and agreed that men working in barns, stations, garages and at all other classes of work, except as herein provided, including men doing temporary repair work, are still eligible and will remain members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

In any locality where a dispute may arise over the provisions of this agreement which cannot be adjusted by the local representatives of the two organizations, there shall be sent by the International Presidents of the two organizations, a man from each of the International organizations to bring about a satisfactory understanding, and if they cannot agree then the two representatives shall lay all the facts in connection with this dispute before the President of the American Federation of Labor and both organizations agree to abide by his decision.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.

(Signed) W. D. MAHON, President.

International Association of Machinists.

(Signed) A. O. WHARTON, President.

Attest: WM. GREEN,

President, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have broken the promise they gave during the 1940 convention, in that they refused to cooperate for investigating and adjusting complaints referred to them pursuant to the above mentioned agreement; and officers and members

of said offending union have for the benefit of the employer interfered when the International Association of Machinists filed petition with a Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Executive Council, during a session held May 15, 1939, made the following declaration:

"The Executive Council grants jurisdiction over interurban and long distance passenger bus operators to the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

"Workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations or garages, come under the jurisdiction of the International Unions already granted to them by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, By reason of the action taken by the 1940 convention and the fact that the A. F. of L. President attested the agreement herein quoted, we petitioned President Wm. Green to intervene, but he too did not succeed in having the officers of the Amalgamated keep the promise they gave the 1940 convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America be hereby reprimanded for breaking their promise given to the 1940 convention, for their refusal to comply with an agreement they supposedly entered into in good faith with the Machinists Union, and for their unwarranted trespassing upon the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President at the earliest date circularize every city and state branch of the American Federation of Labor for advising that employees of Electric Railways, Local, Interurban and Long Distance Bus Companies who perform work commonly recognized as machinists' or auto mechanics' work, come under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists. That the President be further directed to notify (when called upon by the International Association of Machinists), Local, Interurban and Long Distance Transportation Companies, that the International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over their employees performing work commonly recognized as machinists' or auto mechanics' work, and that the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America do not have jurisdiction over workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service stations and garages, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the city and state branches

of the A. F. of L. be requested to cooperate in every way possible for carrying out the intent and purpose of this resolution.

Discussions on this resolution developed charges and counter-charges for failure to observe an agreement reached October 25th, 1928, between the contending organizations. The situation is rendered more complex by the recent determination of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway employees to enlarge its jurisdiction, attributable to disturbing situation created, not so much from jurisdictional conflict from within the Federation as from without.

Your committee believes the above subject requires a most careful consideration of all issues involved, and is impressed with the necessity of bringing both contending organizations into agreement and by conference method if that be possible. To that end we recommend reference of this subject to the Executive Council.

Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Again we are amazed that this matter should be referred to the Executive Council. Those of you who attended the New Orleans convention a year ago may recall a report from the Adjustment Committee, as a result of a resolution introduced by the Machinists, complaining because the Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees were refusing to abide by an agreement entered into, we believe, in good faith. The case was argued before the committee. Finally the officers and delegates of the Amalgamated Association gave assurance that they would abide by that agreement, and any differences arising would be handled pursuant to that agreement. That committee brought a report to the convention which was adopted by unanimous vote.

Before leaving New Orleans I conferred with President Mahon and his associate officer, Brother McMorrow, and I suggested, in order to reduce the



differences to a minimum, that both organizations notify their subordinate local unions of the action of the convention.

I did that and sent a copy to President Mahon, but as far as we can learn President Mahon refused or rather failed to notify his local union. That information is on the basis of whatever has been told to us by their local representatives.

We also agreed that we would select one transportation company to make a joint survey in an effort to bring about a settlement, and have that settlement serve as a yardstick for disposing of any other similar disputes. I have tried for over a year to have President Mahon carry out the promise he made at New Orleans, but I have not been successful. Possibly 15 or 20 cases have arisen since then where the Amalgamated had gone into conference, renewed agreements, refused to delete reference to those doing machinists' and auto mechanics' work. They renewed their agreements covering those working at our trade. In every instance I have notified President Mahon's office, asking him to join me in sending representatives to the scene of the controversy so that a joint survey could be made, and then handle the case pursuant to agreement between the two unions. In not one instance where I notified him of these controversies has he acknowledged the letter, nor have his associates acknowledged the letter, thus not indicating a desire to carry out the promise made before the Adjustment Committee at the New Orleans Convention.

All we are asking in this resolution is that the President of the American Federation of Labor notify all city and state branches of the American Federation of Labor relative to the agreement between the Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and likewise notify the managers of traction companies of that agreement when they call for the information. That is all we are asking for.

Now we are told by the Resolutions

Committee that that mere request must go to the Executive Council. May I say in passing that since our last convention President Green called into headquarters one of the General Officers of the Amalgamated Association and called me there for conference. President Green did not succeed in having the officers of the Amalgamated agree that they would abide by the agreement they signed with the Machinists Union, nor would they agree to abide by the decision of the last convention. And yet the Resolutions Committee is asking this convention to refer this back to the Executive Council.

I urge upon this delegation to vote down the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee and then act on the resolution and have the convention dispose of the question.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: As indicated in our report, there was an agreement entered into between the Machinists and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. Before our committee, charges and counter-charges were made of disregarding that agreement. The Amalgamated Association stated very clearly that in recent years conditions had changed, particularly with the development of the National Labor Relations Act and with the development of the CIO. They were confronted with difficulties from without, and much against their own wishes they admitted, in violation of the agreement, they were compelled in the interests of self-protection to disregard that agreement in order to maintain and hold together their organization. They further contended that the situation from without was such that at their recent convention they decided to increase their jurisdiction and enlarge it. That question will of necessity come before the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council.

In view of these developments your committee felt that, in the interests of all concerned, it was best that this



subject be referred to the Executive Council, by reason of the later developments having taken place and by reason of the recent action of the convention of the Amalgamated Association.

So that even if this convention would reprimand the Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees the reprimand would not amount to anything, because the request for extension of jurisdiction would nevertheless be presented, and thus whatever this convention would have done would have been for naught. Under those circumstances the committee felt that the interests of both organizations would best be served by referring the matter to the Executive Council and trying to bring about an understanding between the two organizations that will not only make it a harmonious and cooperative relation between the two organizations, but will strengthen our organizations in the conflicts with the CIO. Therefore, the recommendation we have presented to you.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a brief reply to the remarks of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. I do not believe that an announcement that the Amalgamated Association is going to declare for the industrial form of organization is an answer to the charge supported by proof that they are violating an agreement with the Machinists Union and are defying a decision by the American Federation of Labor.

Furthermore in the State of California we have the record here of at least one case — how many more, I don't know — where the Amalgamated has signed an agreement covering Machinists and other mechanics for a wage of less than one half of the wage scale that we have adopted or that we have secured, and that is paid to our members working as machinists and auto mechanics in that community. There are scores of cases throughout this nation where after trespassing on our jurisdiction they enter an agreement covering those performing our work at a rate of 25 or 30 per cent less than our

wage scale. Can you appreciate that type of handicap that we are facing in those communities?

To give you an idea of the type of agreement they enter into, I will give you a few of the classifications that they embody in their agreements—painters, coach carpenters, carpenters, mill men, machinists, welders, blacksmiths, air repairmen, truck repairmen, engine room employees, electricians, crane operators.

Furthermore, in two cases that we have got a record of where we had a majority of the members employed as machinists and auto mechanics, and the employer refused to recognize our organization as a bargaining agency, we then went to the National Labor Relations Board, and what happened? The Amalgamated intervened and said it was a jurisdictional controversy. As a result, the Board dismissed the case.

Can you imagine when the Amalgamated on one hand embodied in an agreement jointly signed by their representatives and our representatives that in the future they will not enroll as members those performing machinists' and auto mechanics' work, and will not represent them, and wherever they have that type of agreement that when the agreement expires they will delete all reference to those performing machinists' and auto mechanics' work, and then refused to carry out that agreement, but they rush to the Labor Board and they shout "jurisdictional dispute," because we are asking the employer to enter an agreement with us covering machinists and auto mechanics?

I can understand why management of traction companies, local transportation companies, may favor the Amalgamated when the Amalgamated signs agreements covering our trade at a wage as much as less than one-half of our wage scale in that community—the Amalgamated is guilty of that conduct. And we come before this convention and ask that you give us your moral support to the end that the agreement entered into between the unions be carried out, and that they respect the decision of this convention; then you are told that in

lieu of giving us that cooperation, refer it to the Executive Council.

I hope and urge that you will vote down the report of the committee and bring the resolution to the floor and let the convention dispose of it.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Joseph J. Kehoe, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America: I have listened with a great deal of interest to the statements made by President Brown of the Machinists' Union. He belittles the fact that we are having a life and death struggle in certain localities with the C.I.O. A short period back, right before this convention went into session, we had a very serious controversy in the city of Detroit where our people had to get out on the street in order to save our organization from the C.I.O. And in saving our organization from the C.I.O. we also saved other American Federation of Labor organizations from that same menace. I personally don't know of any contracts throughout the country—I am not disputing Brother Brown's word that certain classifications are mentioned in contracts, but I know in the city of Chicago there are no crafts mentioned in any of our contracts. In fact, in the city of Chicago we helped organize all the different crafts employed by the Chicago Surface Lines. I believe on that probably we have 18 or 19 different contracts covering machinists, boiler-makers, painters, carpenters, electricians and practically all other crafts. Personally, I do not believe that Brother Brown means to be quite as bitter as he is in some of his statements.

In the city of Chicago we had machinists working by the side of some of our car repairers some years back, and our common car repairers were drawing two cents an hour more than the machinists. That is another little situation that Brother Brown did not call to your attention, and I know Brother Brown knows of that because I spoke to him of it before.

The organization that I represent is facing a very serious situation at the

present time, and has for some years past, due to a dual international organization being in the field. We in our industry have always been a semi-industrial organization. We have no desire to spread out and make it a complete industrial organization if we can possibly avoid it. But I can assure the delegates of this convention that we are going to try and protect that organization. It is one of the oldest organizations in the Federation of Labor, and we intend to maintain it in the Federation of Labor, and we intend to keep it alive at almost any cost. Come what may, we will not sacrifice 25 or 30 per cent of our membership to any organization. That I say to you frankly. If we did that, inside of six months there would not be one of those fellows belonging to any organization. We had that experience some years back in the city of Chicago. At one time we had over 1,200 men in our organization in the various shops. The American Federation of Labor ordered us to turn those men over to the various organizations who filed claim to them, or made claim to them, and we followed out those orders. Inside of two years there wasn't 50 men that belonged to any organization in those shops.

Then we had to turn around and go into these organizations and drive them back into the different organizations in order to have them covered by contracts of the different organizations. That is the situation that arises in our industry. It is a little different from a factory, a plant, or anything of that kind.

To hear Brother Brown, you would think they had no one in their organization but out-and-out machinists. Our fellows are not machinists; the great majority of them are mere car putters, that put a few bolts on cars here and there. The machinists themselves in the city in which we are situated here today, in the Boeing Air Plant took in everybody in that plant, even janitors and clerks; they did not pick out just machinists, they took in the entire plant, and they took them covered by contract. And so the Machinists are not quite so lily white along that line. I have no

fault to find with them in making a contract of that kind. I say more power to them, go out and organize the unorganized, get them into some organization, cover them by contract if you possibly can, but get them into the American Federation of Labor and keep them out of the C.I.O. or other organizations who are trying to tear down the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

President Green: Are there further remarks?

Delegate D. M. Burrows, International Association of Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I am trying, if possible, to keep this issue from being beclouded by references to the C.I.O. My first experience—and it was a personal one—goes back to 1927 or 1928. I am not exactly sure of the date. I, in conjunction with the representative of the Teamsters' organization, organized the Shore Line Motor Coach operating in Lake County, Indiana. Pursuant to a decision by the A. F. of L., the local Teamsters' representative was instructed to turn those drivers over to the Amalgamated, and he carried out his instructions. Up until that time the Amalgamated had no one either as a driver or as a machinist or mechanic. We held several meetings seeking to negotiate an agreement. At that time the thing we were asking for was \$1.00 an hour. After three conferences, and seeking the fourth conference, the company notified us they could no longer meet as they had negotiated an agreement with the Amalgamated for a rate of 76 cents an hour. The men employed in that shop were notified that unless they appeared for initiation the following Wednesday they would not be allowed to work, as it was a closed-shop agreement. They had no part in making up the agreement. Five men who refused to be initiated into the Amalgamated were discharged. I am bringing that out because that was before the C.I.O. was in the picture.

Let me say that at the New Orleans convention we appeared before the Committee on Adjustment, had two meetings, I believe, and an agreement was reached. The agreement was that both

sides would investigate a given situation, and if they could not settle it then it would go to the President of the American Federation of Labor. We left New Orleans feeling that we had something, something that would straighten out a situation that had been very serious with our organization for a long time. As our chairman has said, there has been no effort to carry out the agreement that was made in New Orleans.

Brothers McMorro and Mahon took the position that Chicago should be the first point straightened out, saying at that meeting that Brother Kehoe and myself were good friends, and he felt we could make Chicago the starting point. Brother Kehoe agreed, and so did I. He asked exactly what we claimed to come under our jurisdiction, and we defined it very clearly—straight mechanics, straight mechanics' helpers, and apprentice mechanics, and nothing else. So when the issue is raised that we are stretching our jurisdiction, we really asked less than was previously granted to us.

I hate to disagree with my good friend Kehoe as to what was done in Chicago, but after the meeting here before the Resolutions Committee when Brother Kehoe had made the statement they had turned over some 1,200 men to the various crafts in Chicago, or organizations, I asked Mr. Sullivan, who is head of the Building Trades Department in the city of Chicago, exactly what had happened. He said to his knowledge the Amalgamated had never turned over anybody, and that the building trades and the Electricians—and he is a member of the Electricians' organization—did strike the street car companies, did cut off the electricity from 12:00 o'clock one night for 18 hours, and at the expiration of that time then the street car company in Chicago did agree the men could go into their respective organizations.

The figure of 1,200 is mentioned. I don't think there are 1,200 shop employees working in the shops of the street car company in Chicago.

As far as the Machinists are concerned, we have had agreements there

for the past 30 or 35 years, and no one gave them to the machinists' organization, they went out and organized them.

I want to clear up one more point, and then I will be through. The question was raised as to the Machinists stepping outside of their jurisdiction at the Boeing air plant. I think that is something that the President of this American Federation of Labor should clear up, namely, that the Machinists were selected to go into the airplane industry, to use their organizers and spend their money, and we would have jurisdiction over the airplane manufacturing plants. At no time did the Machinists take the position that anything and everything belonged to them, everyone who worked in those shops. We know there are a number of crafts in there, but we do know the Machinists' organization was instructed to be the spearhead to go in and organize that particular industry.

Now, let me say in conclusion that before the Resolutions Committee—this particular question was brought up, namely, that the system of organization is wrong in the A. F. of L., and it would be better if everything was organized along industrial lines.

That was brought out I think pretty clearly at a meeting held at 11:00 o'clock today over a local situation. I met with Mr. Hoover, who is a Vice-President of the Amalgamated, and he met with a committee of ours, and was not a bit backward about taking the position all organizations would be better, and the labor movement would be better, if all organizations were organized on an industrial basis. So I am wondering if the Amalgamated is turning away from our present form of organization and out boosting for the kind of organization expressed before the Resolutions Committee by one of their representatives no later than 11:00 o'clock today.

Delegate Henry Nelson, Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees: My voice permitting, I would like just a word on this resolution.

I believe the action of the committee is proper, that it should be referred to the

Executive Council for further consideration. This resolution, to my mind, covers a large territory, "that the railway employees of America do not have jurisdiction over workers employed in machine shops, repair shops, bus terminals, service station and garages." I am wondering just what the jurisdiction means here, over what class of work. If I am not incorrect, I think at some of the bus terminals they have soda jerkers. I am wondering if that is included in the claim for all.

Our organization is an industrial organization, has been. We take into our organization laborers; we have one or two janitors, we take in the track men and the colored men in our organization. Our organization, because of the nature of the work, practically is compelled to be a semi-industrial organization.

I wish to state, brother delegates, something of the conditions in the city of St. Louis. We are not claiming machinists. On our property in St. Louis the machinists have their organization, the carpenters have their organization, the blacksmiths have their organization, the electrical workers have their organization, and we are not claiming machinists as such. But in our work, particularly in the bus garages, we have men that are performing the work of washing, scrubbing, putting in windows and the various classes of work. If they are not employed at one job they are doing some other kind of work. Therefore, we want to see that all are in organization, have those men in our organization. We feel by the right of organization that these men are now in our organization.

In 1918 the carmen of St. Louis, after going on strike were successful in securing an organization. Prior to that time there had been no attempt made to organize anyone in that property, although the company at that time employed between six and seven thousand men, stationary firemen and engineers. The company then with their power plant were manufacturing and producing their own power. We were successful in organizing, after being on strike for I think perhaps a little over one week. Then of course came the claims, and the men were turned over to their

different craft organizations. I might say that in 1923 in the city of St. Louis the Peoples Motor Bus Company made its appearance, employing some 600 men. There was no attempt made by anyone to organize the Peoples Motor Bus employees until in 1930, the street car men assisting the employees of the Peoples Motor Bus Company of St. Louis were successful in securing an organization. That was after a 20-day strike. The street car men's organization in St. Louis paid out several hundred thousands of dollars in strike benefits in order to secure that organization in St. Louis. There had been no attempt made to organize the employees of the Peoples Motor Bus Company by machinists or anyone else, to my knowledge. Then of course after the organization it was the usual procedure. We claimed so and so, and they were turned over, some of them, to their respective organizations. I state this, brother delegates, following that we have some claim to membership that are at present in our organizations. I don't want to be arbitrary on this or in a spirit of fighting with any organization, but in justice.

Our organization has been raided by the C. I. O.; our organization has been raided by the Communists. The latest combination of Communists and C. I. O. was in Detroit. Prior to that it was the Transport Workers Organization in New York and in other places. We can understand perhaps sometimes why we are raided by such outfits as that, but it is beyond our understanding why we must submit to be raided by the Machinists organization, demanding our membership. At the present time in the city of St. Louis we have 218 men employed in the garages. That includes bus washers, greasers, washing of parts, scrubbing of seats, laborers. There are 180 of those men members of our organization, voluntarily members of our organization. I think thirty-eight are members of the Machinists Union and of the Automotive Workers organization. Now, we do not feel that in any manner are we entitled under the Wagner Act or the democracy under which we are living to deny men the right to be represented by organizations of their own

choosing, and we cannot see, we do not feel that we have even the power or the right to demand or turn our membership over to some other organizations. And I say this in all sincerity, one of the outstanding criticisms of the organized labor movement is these jurisdictional disputes often causing dissension within the ranks of labor and we must not forget fellow delegates that in days gone by, in the days of Gompers, organized labor secured what they had by their own initiative and their own efforts. With the coming of a friendly President into the picture and some friendly Senators and Representatives, organized labor has secured much through legislation but do not forget, fellow delegates, that the eyes of some labor hating representatives and senators in Washington are upon the American Federation of Labor in her jurisdictional disputes.

And don't forget with all the power that is invested in our Congress, they may use dissension in our own ranks again as a means of perhaps securing legislation that will take away from labor what it has gained through a friendly President and Senators and Representatives, as this body has power to make and unmake, so the national Government has power to take away some of the privileges and advantages that we have gained through legislation.

In these meetings I have heard the house of labor referred to, and I assume by that reference is made to a family relationship in a home—the house of labor. I am quite sure, brother delegates, that you who have homes know that if in that home the father and mother are in accord and the children are subject to obedience, that home can withstand almost any pressure from without that seeks to disrupt that home. But if in that home, on the other hand, at the head is a man who abuses his wife and the children will not obey their parents, then that home is open and subject to disruption from outside influences very quickly.

I refer to this American Federation of Labor, the great Federation of Labor. When within our ranks of the American Federation there is unity and accord, this labor organization does not fear

Communism or the C. I. O., but if you are going to destroy this organization, then let there be disruption over jurisdictional disputes, and when this one says if they can't do so and so then we will have to do something else, when that condition exists in the house of labor we are making ourselves an easier prey to the outside influences, Communist and C. I. O.

I don't see how, brother members under the Wagner Act and the democracy that he have heard spoken of so very fluently from this floor, the right of liberty of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, how we can deny the workers the freedom that is theirs under the Wagner Act and under democracy of going into organizations and being represented by those they voluntarily choose to represent them.

In closing let me say this. In 1916, I believe it was, there was launched a mighty ocean vessel that was deemed indestructible, the great Titanic. On her maiden trip the palatial boat was out to break speed records. Those in charge felt that nothing could destroy it, and as history tells us there came from the man on watch the word, "Go slow, icebergs ahead." There came from the Captain of that boat, regardless of that warning, "Full steam ahead," feeling that nothing could destroy that boat. You know the results, the loss of the boat and the lives of 1,500 or 1,600 people.

As a humble member of organized labor for forty years, I throw the warning to this organization today that labor has rocks ahead and the warning has been given on every side. Still some may say, "Full steam ahead with our jurisdictional disputes", and if we do that we are facing something that perhaps none of us are looking for and many of us do not want.

I thank you.

President Green: The question has been called for and the committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of bringing about conferences, and through these conferences a settlement of the dispute reasonably satisfactory to all concerned.

Those in favor of the motion to adopt the committee's report will say "aye". Those opposed will say "no". The "ayes" have it, the motion is adopted, and it is so ordered.

## Machinists vs. Building Trades Department

**Resolution No. 16**—By Delegates H. W. Brown, N. P. Alifas, John Clayton, D. M. Burrows, James Edgar, A. O. Wharton, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Building and Construction Trades Department is chartered by and subordinate to the American Federation of Labor and therefore the said Department or any of its officers are without authority to issue orders or make awards that attempt to set aside decisions rendered by an A. F. of L. convention, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled has very definitely announced that "the International Association of Machinists shall have jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used," (see final action on Resolution No. 152, 1914 convention proceedings), and

WHEREAS, The following are quoted decisions or orders by the President of the Building and Construction Trades Department and are in conflict with an A. F. of L. convention decision:

"October 25, 1940.

"Mr. James G. Larkin, Secretary, Hudson County Building and Construction Trades Council, 583 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In a dispute between the Millwrights, affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Machinists affiliated with the International Association of Machinists, a request for decision has been made to the Department over the setting and installation of Steam Turbines, Pumps, Preheaters, Motors, Forced Draft Fans, Induced Draft Fans, Scales, Coal Pulverizers, Conveyors, Automatic Stokers, Automatic Oilers and such machinery and equipment necessary in a power plant, on the Public Service Power House, Marion Plant, Jersey City, New Jersey, the following decision is hereby rendered:

"DECISION

"THE BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT RECOGNIZES THE MILLWRIGHTS AF-



FILIATED WITH THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA AS HAVING JURISDICTION OVER THE WORK INVOLVED IN THE DISPUTE MENTIONED ABOVE.

"The above mentioned decision shall apply on the above project only and your Council will be guided accordingly.

"Fraternally yours,

"John P. Coyne."

We now quote an exchange of telegrams involving a job at Oakland, California. President John P. Coyne, Building and Construction Trades Department, was telegraphed as follows:

"Jurisdictional dispute between Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Association of Machinists over the erection and installation of machinery on new construction job for Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company at 81st Ave. and San Leandro Blvd., Oakland. Please wire decision immediately as all but Machinists are off the job over the dispute. (Signed) Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council. C. R. Gurney, Secretary." This wire sent January 2, 1941.

Under date January 3, 1941, President Coyne replied:

"Retel jurisdiction dispute Carpenters and Machinists on Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company project. Be advised Machinists are not affiliated with Building and Construction Trades Dept., and should not do any building or construction work. The work involved therefore should be done by proper members of Building and Construction Trades Unions. (Signed) John P. Coyne."

On July 8, 1941, the Los Angeles Building and Construction Trades Council received an additional so-called decision from John P. Coyne, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department, as follows:

"I wish to advise you that the Building and Construction Trades Department recognizes the work of repairing rigs and machinery operated by engineers on building and construction projects as coming under the jurisdiction of the members of the International Union of Operating Engineers."

WHEREAS, It is presumed that the Unions comprising the Building and Construction Trades Department have resolved among themselves to authorize the officers of the said Department to render decisions under certain conditions and affecting Unions affiliated with the said Department, but such decisions cannot take precedence over a decision which an A. F. of L. convention rendered for the benefit of a Union not affiliated with and denied admission to the Building and Construction Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, During the 1936 convention, in response to a request of the then Building Trades Department to change its title or name to read "Building and Construction Trades Department," the committee dealing with the subject matter submitted the following report, which was adopted:

"The Committee recommends approval of change of the title with the distinct understanding that any substantial attempt on the part of organizations now affiliated with the Building Trades Department to extend their jurisdiction because of the change in title, such action shall automatically restore the original name and title of the Department."

It is our contention that the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department, in response to the desires of certain Unions to gain control of machinists' work, did by their decision, herein quoted, act contrary to and in violation of the understanding agreed to by the 1936 convention for changing the name of the said Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention declare null and void any and all decisions, orders or awards by the Building and Construction Trades Department or its officers, which aim to interfere, and are in conflict with, the trade rights and jurisdiction, the American Federation of Labor granted the members of the International Association of Machinists over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used, and that no additional such decisions, orders or awards which interfere with the herein stated trade rights of the members of the International Association of Machinists shall be rendered by the Building and Construction Trades Department or officers thereof; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this decision.

Concretely stated, and as developed in the discussions during the hearing on this resolution, the purport of this resolution is to define the authority of a Department of the Federation in matters of jurisdiction.

Your committee is of the opinion that where members of the Department in question have agreed that the Department may consider, define and determine conflicting claims of jurisdiction by such methods as they may approve, that such procedure is clearly within the discretion and authority of such De-



partment. However in the event a ruling or decision thus rendered by the Department affects the jurisdictional right of an organization not affiliated to such Department, and not having previously agreed to such arrangement or procedure, direct or indirect, that such ruling or decision shall not be binding on a non-affiliated organization to the Department. In other words the Department possesses no authority to render a decision in jurisdictional disputes, between an affiliated and non-affiliated union to the Department, unless by agreement of all the unions involved. On the other hand the Department is within its authority to safeguard, protect and promote the jurisdictional rights of its affiliated unions.

Your committee recommends approval of the foregoing in lieu of Resolution No. 16.

Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I would ask the Secretary of the Committee if he will, please, to read that last part of the recommendation. I did not understand it.

Chairman Woll: I will read the whole thing so you will get it.

Vice-President Woll re-read the report of the committee.

Delegate Brown: Mr. Chairman, I personally believe that a report of that kind should be available for study. I would like to ask the Chairman of the Committee what is the position of our organization, if the committee's report is adopted, if a dispute over erecting or repairing machinery arises and the Building and Construction Trades Department should decide that the work belongs to a trade other than the Machinists' craft, and also keeping in mind that the President of the American Federation of Labor told the Executive Council at the February, the May and the August meetings of this year that the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department are without authority to render a decision affecting the work jurisdiction of a union not

affiliated with the Building Trades Department.

President Green: Brother Brown, that is the committee's report—unless all parties agree that they shall do so—that is the committee's report.

Delegate Brown: Very well—unless all parties agree. I also believe that the report says that unless all parties agree it is not binding. Am I correct?

Vice-President Woll: That is what the committee states, but bear in mind the committee is not attempting to apply this defining of the powers of a Department to any specific case, because neither the committee, nor I as Chairman of the Committee feel that we should be required to render a decision on a jurisdictional dispute question.

Delegate Brown: I want to say a word on that, Mr. Chairman. With that understanding—unless all parties are agreeable, the decision shall not be binding—that does not mean a thing, and I will tell you why. The officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department, after you, Mr. President, were denied the right to send out a decision, announced the decision that the erecting and installing and repairing of machinery belongs to unions other than the Machinists Union. Now you may say that they repeat that it is not binding, but when they take that to a superintendent of construction their answer is that we must abide by that, believing that the Building and Construction Trades Department supercedes any action taken by the American Federation of Labor.

It is our position, and on the basis of an official opinion rendered by President Green, that the officers of no Department have the authority to announce a decision or order or award affecting the work jurisdiction of a union not affiliated, and decisions handed down by the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department assume to set aside the decision of the American Federation of Labor. The Metal Trades Department and the Railway Employees Department do not render decisions. If they did it would only affect the affiliated organizations, and I hope, Brother Chairman, that this convention will not be satisfied unless that report is interpreted to

mean that whenever the work of a trade whose union is not affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department, only because they will not admit them, is in dispute, that that Department or its officers cannot render a decision affecting the work jurisdiction of a union not affiliated, and if they attempt to do so, that the President of the American Federation of Labor is directed to issue a statement for the purpose of advising employers and management that no decision of a Department involving a union not affiliated shall supersede a decision or award of the American Federation of Labor. It is not my understanding that that report of that committee will give that kind of protection to a union not affiliated with the Department.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, as stated in the committee's report, the introducers of the resolution, in appearing before the Committee on Resolutions, stated that the real purpose of this resolution was to define the powers of a Department in jurisdictional matters. Your committee dealt with that subject without equivocation or evasion. We made clear that a Department may determine jurisdictional matters if all parties within the Department agree that that should be done. The committee states further that it is within their discretion and authority to determine the methods by which jurisdictional controversies may be adjusted. The committee then states that any decision reached or any ruling made by a Department affecting a non-affiliated organization, or an organization non-affiliated not having agreed to that procedure, whatever decision is rendered shall not be binding upon non-affiliated organizations. In other words, that the Department may only deal with affairs affecting their membership.

Then the committee states further that the Department is within its power to give support in defining jurisdictional rights of all parties within the Department. We believe that that decision is clear and definite, and it accords with the decision rendered by President Green to which the delegate referred.

The other subject deals with a contro-

versy that was dealt with in connection with Resolution No. 14, and your committee felt that it was not proper to again deal indirectly with that subject, because it was dealt with directly in Resolution No. 14. Hence we confined ourselves to defining the rights and privileges and prerogatives, giving the Department the relation to its affiliated organizations and the relation to the non-affiliated organizations, and if any organization has complaint to make in view of that defining of jurisdiction, then it is proper for them to refer that controversy or that complaint to the President of the Federation after this power of Departments has been clearly defined. We did not feel justified, I repeat, to deal with the question of the controversy between the Carpenters and the Machinists indirectly in this way, when we dealt with it more directly in Resolution 14, which the convention has already disposed of.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I would like to ask another question for information. I would like to ask the Chairman of the Committee this question: If this report is adopted and there is a repetition of the issuance of telegrams similar to the one I am about to read, if that happens what redress have the Machinists in support of their right to follow their trade. The telegram is as follows, addressed to President John P. Coyne:

"Jurisdictional dispute between Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Association of Machinists over the erection and installation of machinery on new construction job for Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company at 81st Ave., and San Leandro Blvd., Oakland. Please wire decision immediately as all but Machinists are off the job over the dispute. (Signed) Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council, C. R. Gurney, Secretary."

The following is the telegram that the President of the Building and Construction Trades Department sent in response to that inquiry.

"Retel jurisdiction dispute Carpenters and Machinists on Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company project. Be advised Machinists are not affiliated with Building and Construction Trades Department and should not do any building or construction work. The work involved therefore should be done by

proper members of Building and Construction Trades Unions.

"(Signed) John P. Coyne."

Another telegram addressed by President Coyne to Secretary Larkin, of the Hudson County Building and Construction Trades Department, reading as follows:

"Mr. James G. Larkin, Secretary,  
Hudson County Building and Construction Trades Council,  
583 Summit Avenue,  
Jersey City, New Jersey.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"In a dispute between the Millwrights, affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the Machinists affiliated with the International Association of Machinists, a request for decision has been made to the Department over the setting and installation of steam turbines, pumps, preheaters, motors, forced draft fans, induced draft fans, scales, coal pulverizers, conveyors, automatic stokers, automatic oilers and such machinery and equipment necessary in a power plant, on the Public Service Power House, Marion Plant, Jersey City, New Jersey, the following decision is hereby rendered:

#### "DECISION

"The Building and Construction Trades Department recognizes the millwrights affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America as having jurisdiction over the work involved in the dispute mentioned above."

Now, then, a decision rendered by President Coyne attempts to transfer to the Carpenters the very jurisdiction that the American Federation of Labor said belongs to the International Association of Machinists. Now if the report is adopted, what redress have we got for the purpose of permitting our members to follow our trade on a so-called building and construction job, even though the Building and Construction Trades Department will not accept us in affiliation?

Vice-President Woll: May I say first of all that, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, I am not empowered to render decisions in matters of that kind in behalf of the Federation. But insofar as the committee's report is concerned, it defines the powers and limitations of a Department, and if any one organization, including the organization of the delegate

who has just spoken, feels that a decision or a ruling has been made by a Department of which they are not a member and they feel aggrieved, then they have the recourse of presenting that complaint to the President of the American Federation of Labor and who in turn, I imagine, will also consult and bring into conference the organizations against whom the complaint is made, so that both sides might be heard, and then upon the facts presented by both sides, render a decision in accordance with the authority and limitations prescribed in your committee's report.

I think it is wholly unfair to ask the committee to define powers, and then having done so, attempt to apply that application to specific instances without giving all parties concerned the opportunity to present the situation and the facts and then to adjudge them properly.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: The question was not asked to take unfair advantage of the chairman of the committee, but merely to ascertain what redress we would have in case the report was adopted.

Now I would like to ask a question of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Having in mind what the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions just stated, if there is a repetition of that type of exchange of telegrams, and having in mind the President of the American Federation of Labor has announced that the building, assembling, erecting and repairing of machinery, no matter where the machinery may be used, is Machinists' work, if that type of telegram is again issued by the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department is it your position that a so-called decision of the Building and Construction Trades Department where our rights are involved shall not supersede or try to set aside a decision by the American Federation of Labor?

President Green: Vice-President Brown, I have made a ruling and it is not susceptible of more than one interpretation. I interpret the decision of the committee as acceptance of the ruling that I made, and that is that a Department created by the American Federation of Labor possesses the authority to make decisions in

jurisdiction questions which arise between organizations affiliated with the Department and to do so in accordance with power conferred upon the officers of said Department by the organizations affiliated with the Department.

But I have ruled that no authority has ever been granted to a Department of the American Federation of Labor to make a decision in a jurisdictional dispute which might arise between an organization affiliated with the Department and an unaffiliated organization outside of the Department. I can't make it any clearer than that.

Delegate Brown: Before coming to this convention you and I discussed this matter, President Green, and you believed that you did not feel you could go beyond announcing that official opinion in advance of any action taken by this convention. If this convention concurs in the recommendation of the Resolutions Committee, do you then feel privileged that if hereafter the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department send out a so-called decision declaring that the erection of machinery belongs to some trade other than the machinists' trade, you will be prepared, on request, to notify that contractor or his management that the work of erecting and installing machinery is the work of the International Association of Machinists?

President Green: Vice-President Brown, I will meet that like I have met every other problem in life, when it comes.

Delegate Rivers, Building and Construction Trades Department: The Secretary-Treasurer of the Building and Construction Trades Department advises the delegates that we are in accord with the committee's report. We have many questions of jurisdiction to settle throughout the year. Last year they ran a little over 1,200, handled by the President of the Department within that year. In some cases it has been necessary for the officers of the Department to step on the toes of other people. You always make an enemy and a friend when you render a decision on jurisdiction.

We have pledged the United States Government that we would not have a strike on building and construction work for any cause whatever, and if the dele-

gates in this convention think that that can be done without some authority of settling those disputes on building and construction projects, they had just better do a little sound thinking the other way.

I feel that the Department will be bound by the decision, if one is reached, of the Executive Council and the affiliated unions that are in dispute. We hope that this question will be definitely settled by the Federation so that it will remove it from the Building and Construction Trades Department, and I can assure Brother Brown that it is not the wish of the Department to injure his union, but it is the wish of the Department that we construct buildings without stoppage over jurisdiction questions.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer a motion, if I may, that the discussion verbatim on Resolutions Nos. 14, 15 and 16 appear in the convention proceedings.

Secretary Meany: For the information of Brother Brown, the discussion verbatim on all resolutions appears in the convention proceedings.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

### **COMMITTEE REPORT ON NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 113)**

Significant improvements in the administration of the National Labor Relations Act continue to flow from the efforts of the past four years on the part of the American Federation of Labor to bring about necessary reforms.

The background and reasons for the American Federation of Labor's decision to amend the Act are detailed in the reports of the Executive Council and the Resolutions Committee for the years 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940 and in the present report of the Executive Council.

Briefly, these reports demonstrated—and this demonstration has been fully corroborated by Congressional Commit-

tees and by subsequent events—that the original Board and its personnel administered the Act in a manner that not only prejudiced the interests and rights of the American Federation of Labor, but also perverted and endangered the basic principles embodied in the Act.

A few weeks ago the term of Board Member Edwin S. Smith expired. He was the last of the original Board members. The President did not offer his name to the Senate for reappointment, and this in itself represents a substantial victory for the American Federation of Labor. Board Member Smith was openly hostile to the interests of the Federation from the very beginning of the formation of the dual labor movement. No private individual has done as much as this public official to encourage opposition to the American Federation of Labor and to enhance and strengthen the development of a dual and rival organization. The elimination of Mr. Smith virtually completes the overhauling of a biased and unfair personnel and promises that hereafter the American Federation of Labor will receive fairer treatment before the Labor Board.

In addition to the removal of incompetent and unfair personnel, our amendments were addressed to four major objectives:

1. A change in the unit rule, so as to preserve the right of skilled craftsmen to designate their own representatives and to retain their own form of labor organization.

2. Amendments safeguarding the integrity of lawful collective bargaining agreements of bona fide labor organizations.

3. Procedural amendments that would eliminate harmful and unnecessary delays.

4. An amendment providing for a court review in Representation cases so as to protect against arbitrary decisions relating to the appropriate bargaining unit.

As reported to you by the Executive Council, many of our objectives have been obtained without amendment through changes in Board decisions and through court opinion. For example, the Longshoremen decision in May of this year

completely reversed the notorious decision of the old Board in the same case, whereby entire seaboard cities, organized by the American Federation of Labor and composed of 100 per cent A. F. of L. membership, were forced to be represented by a dual and rival organization. Under the new decision the same employees in these ports have at long last been given the right of self-organization and of free choice of their own representatives.

Similarly, the Board recently reversed its decision in the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Company case in a manner that gave employees in one of the plants of that company, completely organized by the American Federation of Labor but who had heretofore been obliged to be bargained for by an undesired group, the right to designate their own A. F. of L. bargaining representative.

Outstanding, too, is the decision of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in the Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company case which reversed a decision of the old Board that had arbitrarily invalidated an A. F. of L. contract with unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department. The present Board, too, in the Calvert Distillery Company case and others, evidenced a changed and wholesome attitude with respect to lawful collective bargaining contracts.

Finally, through a change in their rules of procedure, the present Board has succeeded to a considerable extent in removing harmful delays.

Thus, it will be seen that the activities of the American Federation of Labor have indeed proved fruitful. And yet, the need for legislating these changes, rather than depending upon the particular personnel at a particular time, is self-evident. Even the present Board itself has, particularly with respect to the unit question, rendered opinions that strike directly at the vital interests of the American Federation of Labor. In the Inland Steel Company case, Teamsters were denied the right to vote whether they desired to be represented by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters or by a dual organization; and in the Weyerhaeuser case wherein the Machinists were lumped

with other crafts into one unit against the wishes of the separate crafts.

This Board, as well as the former Board, has assumed absolute and unreviewable power to shape and determine the structure of trade unions in this country in accordance with the economic predilections of the personnel of the Board. We can conceive of no circumstances that justify this tremendous power. Already, the American Federation of Labor has suffered incalculable harm because of the abuse of this power by a biased Board. Removal of that Board has not removed the assumption of this power. Ignorance or mistake in the exercise of that power, no less than calculated abuse, constitutes a threat to the American Federation of Labor, since there is no appeal provided for from decisions in representation or unit cases. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the American Federation of Labor to persist in its efforts to have the Wagner Act amended in accordance with its proposals now pending before Congress.

We recommend concurrence in the Executive Council's report.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

### Welding

**Resolution No. 130**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its annual convention 1916, adopted a decision that "welding is performed with a tool which is used by all metal workers, which can no more come under the exclusive jurisdiction of any one trade or calling than can the hammer or the saw," and

WHEREAS, In 1919 the so-called "Wilson Award" was handed down, said award giving complete affirmation to the fact that any welding apparatus was a tool which properly came under the jurisdiction of every metal working organization using it, and

WHEREAS, This decision and the principle contained therein were reaffirmed by the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. in 1920; 1929; 1934; 1936; and 1940, and

WHEREAS, It is advisable that the policy of the American Federation of Labor towards the using of welding apparatus

may not be subject to misunderstanding or misconception; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its previous decision on the subject of all welding tools.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, just prior to the assembling of this convention a group of welders in the city of Seattle, claiming support from welders in establishments in shipyards throughout the Pacific Coast, publicly threatened to go out on strike on the opening day of this convention if the convention of the Federation did not agree to give them a separate national charter or take action which would provide for them transference of cards into any union under whose jurisdiction they desired to work.

For your information, there are some five or six of the metal working national unions as diverse as sheet metal workers and structural iron workers whose members must do a certain amount of welding. All of the metal work which was previously bent, seamed and riveted now comes under welding processes.

There is no jurisdictional dispute between any of these International Unions as to the use of the welding tool. The question has come from those members of these unions who follow welding exclusively. The method they adopted to secure a hearing was to threaten to strike all of the ship yards. On this Coast earlier in the year what is known as the Master Agreement was arrived at, covering all shipbuilding from one end of the Pacific Coast to the other within the confines of the United States. That agreement was voted upon by every Metal Trades Council of the Metal Trades Department. It was voted upon by every local union affiliated with those Metal Trades Councils, and by an overwhelming vote they voted in favor of the agreement. In some of our metal trades where a very large number of welders are employed, because they wanted to be by themselves, they were given separate

charters so they meet as welders' locals of one of the internationals.

Now this Master Agreement provided under no circumstances was there to be a stoppage of work on ships of the United States, but in their effort to secure a separate International Union, welders, members of affiliated International Unions seated here, decided to force the issue some five weeks ago. They notified the ship builders in the port of Los Angeles, and in violation of the Master Agreement the ship builders had entered into with us, that unless these ship yards entered into a separate, independent agreement with the Welders, recognizing them as a separate organization and no part of the Master Agreement they would strike the yards. And they did.

Now, they were unable to secure a sufficient number to make the strike impressive, one reason being notice had been served on them by all of the local unions affiliated with the Los Angeles Metal Trades Council, that if the Welders tried to stop production on ships for the United States by going out on strike to secure an independent agreement they would learn something from the Metal Trades. They did.

But that did not teach the lesson here. The papers have carried statements from the local representative, I think district representative, of this group, that he had been denied a hearing, that his members were suffering from taxation without representation, and the public mind has been fired with the thought that somehow or other this American Federation of Labor was unwilling to give those of their members who were welding a fair hearing.

Now, some facts. Before the convention of the Metal Trades Department I talked with the representative of this group for some two hours in the Department's office, explained to him that he could not get the floor of the Department's convention because he was not a delegate, but that the proper method of procedure was for him to advise Welders who were members of the Machinists' Union, those of the Steamfitters' Union, the Boilermakers' Union, and one or two others, to talk with their

national presidents who were all here. The proof we wanted to work out a solution, if that were possible, was evident from my giving him all the time that he wanted. I assured him these other International Presidents would be glad to sit down and discuss with their welder members the problems they wanted to discuss. But that was not what they wanted. They wanted publicity. They wanted the press to carry such stories as "Taxation Without Representation," to stir up the public mind and stir up within the Metal Trades more or less dissension.

Now, as most of you know—I shouldn't say that. I wouldn't think a Garment Worker would know it—but with the enormous increase of welding replacing riveting in ship construction and other construction, welding schools have been set up all over the country, and they turn out what is known as sixty-day welders. Our International Unions have taken these young men, with only sixty days' experience, and secured for them the basic rate of pay we secure in agreements for the most competent mechanics. There are no men engaged in any form of metal work who have profited so much in dollars and cents and in wages and conditions as welder members of these unions.

I have made this explanation, leading up to an incident that happened yesterday. The papers had carried the statement the welders would strike unless this convention gave them a national charter or something else that would equally satisfy them. And, to my dismay, last evening's papers carried a statement from the Commandant of the 13th Naval District, Admiral C. S. Freeman, in which it appeared the Admiral was taking sides in this question, was giving these welders every encouragement, and was criticising the American Federation of Labor for not having given the welder and his problems the attention which they should.

I was late in coming to the convention this afternoon because it was not until early afternoon that I was able to contact Admiral Freeman and to tell him that in my opinion it was most regrettable that a representative of the United



States Navy should make a public statement in connection with a question which we were dealing with. In all fairness to the Admiral, I know now from my conversation over the telephone with him that his prime interest was in production for national defense, and that he made the statement he did believing that he understood both sides of the question and was therefore competent to express a public opinion without consulting with officers of these International Unions who have welder membership, or the Metal Trades Department or the American Federation of Labor. I informed Admiral Freeman that I could not let a statement of that kind go by without mentioning it in the convention of the American Federation of Labor, calling attention to the fact that if naval authorities and army authorities desire to do their full share in connection with labor's activities in national defense the last thing they should ever attempt to do is to express a public opinion in connection with a controversial question inside our movements.

Now I want it understood that no press release was prepared by the Admiral. The Admiral talked with newspaper men. I have interviewed those newspaper men. I have talked with an officer of the Navy Department entrusted with information, and I find that the statement given by the press and attributed to Admiral Freeman is identical in substance and in language with what the Admiral authorized.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if anything could be more regrettable than a public official injecting himself in the press through our internal problems I do not know what that would be, unless it is a representative of the Army or Navy attempting to do the same thing. And so that there can be no misunderstanding as to the position of the Metal Trades Department, when I return to Washington I will lay the case before the highest authority in the Navy and demand that consideration be given to instructing all representatives of the Navy that hereafter, regardless of their desire to be helpful, that they make no public statements taking a position one way or

another in connection with differences of opinion we have in our own ranks.

I wanted that statement in the record so the Admiral would know where I stand, and so when the convention acts upon the report of the committee they will have in mind all that is involved.

That is all, Mr. Chairman, that I desire to say.

Delegate Felix Reisdorf, Federal Labor Union, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: I am representing a Federal Labor Union in which we have some 700 welders. I am not quarreling with the remarks Brother Frey made in regard to the welders. However, I am arising on the resolution on the premise that the resolution itself and some of the reasons advanced for it are outmoded, and the delegates should take careful note lest they adopt some policy here that the most uninformed rank and file member of any union knows is foolish and unworkable.

I am interested, having 700 members in our organization, to retain them, just as much as anyone is interested, in an international union, to retain those welders. However, there is a little more to it than just having jurisdiction in the metal trades. The resolution gives as a reason that the welding apparatus was a tool which properly came under the jurisdiction of every metal trade working organization. That may be true if the machinist, the sheet metal worker, and boiler maker were teaching welding in connection with the machinist's trade, the boiler maker's trade, and sheet metal worker's trade, and so on; there would not be any quarrel whatsoever, because the machinist and boiler maker and sheet metal worker then would not have to go outside of his own organization to get a welder.

What are we to do with the seven or eight hundred welders that, for instance, are in our plant? They have never learned the machinist's trade or sheet metal worker's trade or the boiler maker's trade; and we are today in our plant teaching welding to several hundred more men.

Now the machinists in our plant, and the company, want those welders to work on any job they have around the

plant. In some instances it will be necessary for a welder to weld a tie for a machinist, it will be necessary for him to weld a spray bath for a sheet metal worker, and necessary for him some time to weld a crane shoe for an electrician. I grant you having these welders in our union, we haven't any trouble, but I have found any requests for any change usually come due to some misunderstanding, or some condition is not right. I don't know if these stories are true, I haven't checked them, I haven't had any opportunity to check them, and I didn't want to do it. However, the fact remains if there is any truth to the matter that a welder working and belonging to the Machinists Union, and is assigned by his foreman to go over and weld something for the electrician, and must first get a permit—fellow delegates, I think that is wrong.

We haven't had any trouble whatsoever with our welders, but I find it is for this reason, if either the manufacturer or manager of a company, finds it convenient to assign the welder to a department, he reports there in the morning and is assigned to whatever job is around the plant, assigned to welding a big crack in a vessel, or automobile frames, or assigned to welding for the machinist or electrician. The fact re-

mains, because the welders want to correct some abuses, and want to do something about it, probably the only way they know to correct them is to try to get an organization. I am as opposed to that as anyone else here, because I want to keep those 700 welders in our organization, but I would like to have someone explain to me since men go out and take up welding as welding only what is to be their position when the International Organizations ask them for permit money on any job they want to go and the boss assigns them to? I think they have some kind of grievance, and I don't want to take the position they are one hundred per cent right, but I think we ought to consider their case, I think we ought to consider those welders outside of their trade, and do something about it, because if you don't the result will be these fellows will carry it further, and not only the Machinists, the Sheet Metal Workers and Iron Workers lose their members, but even the federal labor unions, such as ours, will lose their 700 members. We are vitally concerned that we don't lose them.

The report of the committee was adopted.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 15, 1941.

**SEVENTH DAY — WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION****Seattle, Washington, October 15, 1941**

President Green called the convention to order at 9:45 o'clock.

President Green: We have with us this morning Rev. Francis J. Van Horn, Pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Seattle, who will pronounce the invocation. We are glad to have him with us.

**INVOCATION**

**(Rev. Francis J. Van Horn, Pastor,  
Plymouth Congregational Church)**

Lord God of our Fathers, God of all the nations of the earth, we thank Thee for this new morning, for the rest of the night, and for the challenge of this new day. We pray now for wisdom and guidance that we may be ready to meet the challenge of the day. Give us, we pray Thee, patience and forbearance. Give to us judgment, we pray Thee, and grant that there may be a great spirit of brotherhood in all our hearts. And as we thank Thee for this, our land, we think of the lands where men do not meet to talk things over, but to fight things out, and we think ours is so much the better way that we humbly pray Thee, our Father, that in Thine own good time there may be wrought out that kingdom of goodwill for which we often pray, and that in all the lands of the earth there may be those who shall work together for the coming of the finer day toward which we all look.

And now as we set ourselves to the tasks of this new day we pray, indeed, for wisdom, we pray that we may have understanding, we pray that we may have patience to deal quietly and thoughtfully with all these problems. And as we know that multitudes of people look to this place and to this hour, we ask that they may not be disappointed in the things that shall be said and done and resolved and taken out of the people of this land.

So we commit ourselves to Thy care and ask for Thy guidance this day and always, and to Thee will we give our praise and our thanksgiving now and through the years to come—Amen.

President Green: Thank you very much.

**Escort Committee to Meet  
Mr. Altmeyer**

President Green: Mr. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, expected to be here earlier in the convention, but because of duties in Washington he has been delayed. I am informed that he is expected in the City of Seattle some time today. I cannot tell the exact time.

I would like to appoint a committee to meet Mr. Altmeyer and arrange for him to come to the convention when it is possible for him to do so. I will appoint on that committee Brother Joseph McCurdy, President of the United Garment Workers of America; Brother N. P. Alifas, delegate of the Machinists' International Association, and Brother John W. Locher, representing the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Lyons, of the Committee on State Organizations, for a report—Chairman Lyons, President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON  
STATE ORGANIZATIONS**

Delegate Lyons, Chairman of the Committee; Mr. President and delegates, the Committee on State Organizations has completed its report, and at this time I want to present the Secretary of our Committee, Berniece B. Heffner, who will read the various recommendations of our committee.

Delegate Berniece B. Heffner, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the officers and delegates of the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Committee on State Organizations has the honor to submit the following report:

## STATE LABOR LEGISLATION — 1941

(Executive Council's Report, Page 148)

The Committee wishes to compliment the States of Rhode Island, New Jersey and Florida for legislative progress made in the face of the national trend towards anti-labor legislation.

We express regret that more general progress in labor legislation was not possible during 1941, but we feel the State Federations of Labor should be complimented for the outstanding success achieved by them in defeating the efforts of anti-labor groups to place restrictive measures on the statutes of the various states.

Your Committee is of the opinion that under the guise of the defense emergency new, and perhaps more forceful efforts, will be made to hamper labor by restrictive legislation. Therefore, the position of the State Federations of Labor, in protecting the right of Local, National and International Unions to perform their economic functions, will be increasingly important in the next few years. We recommend that every effort be made by the Federation and the National and International Unions to successfully meet this challenge.

## STATE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR

(Executive Council's Report, Page 148)

Mention is made in the report that the Indiana Division of Labor was transferred to a newly created Department of Public Works. The purpose of this law was to take away from the Governor the power to appoint the Commissioner of Labor and place it in the hands of this committee composed of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and Treasurer.

The Supreme Court of Indiana has since declared this law unconstitutional. Therefore, the Division of Labor was unchanged and the appointive power still rests in the hands of the Governor.

Your committee recommends that all State Federations of Labor work unceasingly for the creation of effective Departments of Labor in every state.

## WAGES AND HOURS LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 148-149)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports State Wage and Hours Bills were introduced the past year in 26 States and two Territories, of which only one was enacted, and that in Puerto Rico. In several of the States progress in securing such appears.

Distinct progress is noted in several of the States in the enactment of wage collection laws, and placing the responsibility for the collection of wages upon certain public officials and corporations.

Your Committee commends the State Federations of Labor upon their activities in relation to legislation on these two subjects and prevailing rate of wages legislation to govern the letting of contracts for public work and recommends that they continue to endeavor to secure the enactment of such legislation, where it does not now exist, by the Legislatures of their respective States.

## CHILD LABOR

(Executive Council's Report, Page 149)

We commend the record of achievement of the State of Florida in its child labor standards but note with regret that certain States have repealed existing laws. Your Committee urges the State Federations of Labor to be eternally vigilant and on the alert to improve the child labor laws in their respective States, and to the end that all of the States will soon have adopted child labor legislation.

## WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 149-150)

Under this heading the report of the Executive Council goes into detail noting the progress that has been made this year. Your Committee expresses its pleasure over this splendid progress but urges the State Federations of

Labor to be ever watchful, to work unceasingly to improve and strengthen their existing Workmen's Compensation Laws, and to endeavor to have established laws providing for exclusive state funds.

## INDUSTRIAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

(Executive Council's Report, Page 150)

Under this caption in the report of the Executive Council, your committee notes with pleasure the standards that have been set up by some States. Your Committee recommends that the State Federations of Labor endeavor to have State Funds set up to improve the safety laws, for "Safety is better than Compensation."

## INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 150)

Your Committee urges the State Federations of Labor to continue in their efforts to secure the passage of these anti-injunction bills.

## APPRENTICESHIP

(Executive Council's Report, Page 151)

Under this caption in the Executive Council's report, your Committee recommends to the State Federations of Labor that they encourage the establishment of apprenticeship councils—with labor representation—to work with the Departments of Labor.

## ANTI-UNION BILLS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 151)

Under the caption "Report of State Labor Legislation—1941" and under the sub-head "Anti-union Bills," on page 151, the Executive Council reports that the State of Nebraska, along with Florida and Georgia, passed a law regulating the payment of union dues and fees.

We are happy to report that the report, so far as this applies to Nebraska, is in error. Legislative Bill No. 504

as originally introduced by Senator Bevins, a member of the C. I. O. Packing House Workers, had this objective. Later, however, this entire bill, except the number and a portion of the title, was erased by unanimous consent. The number and title was used as a vehicle to present to the Legislature a bill dealing with racial discrimination by labor unions. The bill finally passed—but when passed merely contained a statement of public policy regarding racial discrimination that parallels the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

The 1941 session of the Nebraska Legislature passed no legislation which we considered unfavorable to organized labor. The only major gains which were recorded were some amendments to the Unemployment Compensation law, liberalizing the qualifying provisions and slightly liberalizing the benefit structure.

Your Committee deplores the fact that the trend of certain legislation is being introduced which will impede union activity and functions, and urges all State Federations of Labor to strengthen their Legislative Committees and to work unceasingly for the prevention of passage of such legislation. We urge them to be constantly on the alert and rally all support possible in defeating this legislation.

We recommend that at the earliest possible date State Federations of Labor take steps to have repealed these four bills which were enacted into law.

## ANTI-SABOTAGE BILLS

(Executive Council's Report  
Pages 152-157)

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council give to the State Federations of Labor its aid in combatting proposed anti-sabotage legislation which is intended to prevent labor unions functioning within their lawful sphere and to also aid in having such legislation repealed in the States where it has been enacted and is in effect anti-union labor legislation.

### Reports of Individual States

The report of the Executive Council giving a summary of laws enacted in the several states protective of wage earners should receive the attention and study of the Delegates to the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the officers and members of affiliated organizations. Particular note is made of the general improvement made in the Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Compensation Laws.

Your committee recommends that a continued effort be made to improve these laws in the several states. Further, your Committee recommends that this convention again go on record as in favor of a continued campaign upon the part of labor to have enacted exclusive state fund laws in states where now non-existent.

### AFFILIATION TO STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

(Executive Council's Report, Page 158)

Your Committee joins in the recommendation of the Executive Council that all National and International Unions urge their locals to affiliate with State Federations of Labor — and further recommends that the Executive Council direct the Director of Organization to instruct all organizers of the A. F. of L. to see that affiliation with each branch of American Federation of Labor in the State is accomplished at the time Federal Labor and Local Unions are chartered.

In conclusion your Committee recommends to the Executive Council the suggestion that in the promulgation of the legislative program of the Federation, they take into consideration the feasibility of calling into a conference the officers of the State Federations of Labor, to the end that uniformity may be developed in the carrying out of such legislative program as the convention may adopt.

Secretary Heffner moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, I thought that perhaps a word should be said about this report, and call attention to the fact that as far as we have gone in this convention with the reports of other committees there has been an almost uniform recommendation that State Federations of Labor should perform certain work. Of course you realize, and I think perhaps the great majority of International Officers and delegates to this convention realize that we succeed in achieving the program of the American Federation of Labor just to the extent that we have strong and capable State Federations of Labor. When you go through this formula we have here of passing upon these subjects and referring them to the State Federations of Labor it does appear to me there should be a very great interest on the part of every National and International organization to see that the State Federations of Labor are made strong enough to accomplish the purpose for which they were organized. When you get to the State Federations of Labor you get down to the grass roots of trade unionism, because in those conventions there are delegates from your local unions, those who are interested in the State situation in the States in which they live and in which they work.

Now, it appears to me, Mr. President, that ought to be considered. There is one recommendation there you will note that the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, when organizing and presenting charters to federal labor unions, shall then and there see that they affiliate with the state and central organizations. The State Federations of Labor very generally have no funds for organizing purposes, and the dues are generally so small per month that they haven't the money to tour their states and attempt to secure affiliations through personal contacts. It must be done very largely through printed matter, correspondence and assistance from the American Federation of Labor and the International Union or Unions to which those locals belong. So I felt this morning I should say a word on

this subject, because I have had the honor of being an officer of the Ohio State Federation of Labor for many, many years and I have naturally observed the progress made in other states.

I find that the programs of the American Federation of Labor are not completed in States in which State Federations of Labor are not receiving the support they should from the members of the American Federation of Labor in those states, so I think perhaps talking again on it, as I generally do in these conventions, it might carry a little more weight by repeating it a few more times.

Delegate Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I would like to support Brother Donnelly in his remarks on affiliations with the State Federations of Labor.

In Wisconsin we have 709 affiliated unions and 504 non-affiliated. Surprising as it may seem, we also have ten federal labor unions still not affiliated with the State Federation of Labor. We have in Wisconsin, however, a little different set-up than they generally have in States. We have full time organizers working out of the offices of the State Federation of Labor. We not only go out and organize and assist in organizing federal labor unions, International and National Unions, but we also assist them in negotiating contracts, we assist them in their strikes. We have a legal staff hired by the year. We pay the office of Judge Padway a retainer fee, and in addition when the local unions in the State of Wisconsin are in need of legal services we assign the attorneys to the job and pay them for their traveling expenses and filing of briefs.

Our difficulty arises sometimes when some of these unaffiliated local unions come in and want the services of the State Federation of Labor. We are then compelled to turn them down. We just cannot afford to go out and use the money that is paid in by affiliated local unions and give the services to the local unions that are not affiliated. That naturally causes friction and sometimes we are criticized.

Some local unions are not affiliated with the State Federation of Labor but they are affiliated with the Central Body, and they will go to the Central Body and ask for the assistance of the State Federation of Labor through the Central Body. And again I have been compelled to turn them down. I don't permit them to get away with that subterfuge, which does not make for the most harmonious relations we would like to see. Therefore I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee, and if all the International and National Unions become affiliated then we will be able to do more work.

I just want to say this in explanation; I don't want to appear to be boasting; but there was a resolution yesterday on organizers' salaries. We have two full time men on the payroll at the rate of \$70 a week, plus five cents a mile for car allowance and up to \$8.00 a day hotel allowance, when they are away from town. We put these men in towns when they need help, not only for a day at a time, but sometimes for weeks.

Right now one of our men is taking the place of Brother Hall, who is an organizer in LaCrosse, because Brother Hall is at the convention. Our representative, paid by the State Federation of Labor, will do Brother Hall's work for the three weeks it will take Brother Hall to come to this convention and return. That is part of the service we furnish.

In addition to that we have three more that we are paying at the rate of \$12.00 a day, and the same expenses, if and when we need them. One of them works four or five days a week, and some of them we use as we need them.

In addition to that we have about twelve men throughout the State added to our Executive Board, and whenever somebody is needed in that particular district we wire or we call them up long distance and tell them to take care of a case when it is necessary and has to be done right away. We pay the bills. We are willing to do that and willing to do the work.

I think the time has come when the State Federations of Labor must carry



on the organization work. They cannot merely sit back and take care of the legislative work while the legislature is in session, and take care of legislative bills. I think our job is to service organizations, to give service to these members of the organizations. If we cannot give service, then I do not know why we are in existence. This whole labor movement is a service organization and local union members must service the state bodies and the affiliated local unions must be serviced, otherwise they have no real reason for existence. I think that these organizations should be affiliated with the State Federations of Labor so that we can carry on our work in a more efficient manner.

At the last convention the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor authorized me as President to employ two more full-time organizers in the State of Wisconsin, if we deem it necessary.

I thank you.

Delegate James D. Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I want to say a word in favor of the committee's report where the report asks that the Internationals assist in getting affiliations to the Federation of Labor.

In our state, Montana, we have been fighting continually, doing the battle for the workers of that state in a way that the Internationals cannot act. In the Legislature twice we have fought down a Bill to put a tax on the workers' pay checks for unemployment compensation. Four years ago the Bill provided for a three per cent tax on all workers' pay for the purpose of unemployment compensation, and we beat the bill after a hard struggle. Last February there was an amendment proposed to the Unemployment Compensation Act to tax all workers' pay checks one per cent. After a battle, we defeated that.

We have had to fight to keep our standard of workmen's compensation and we have had to fight hard.

The building trades and the woodworkers would have suffered in the last effort that was made to cut them, it would have cut the workmen's com-

pensation for injuries 50 per cent. Now, we had to make that fight, and got no assistance from the Internationals; and we are not complaining against the Internationals for that, we are only asking for their cooperation.

We have to go into the Supreme Court occasionally to uphold labor legislation. We have gone into the Supreme Court for the benefit of International Unions. We have paid the expenses. We have got some first-class decisions in favor of labor. Today the Montana Federation of Labor is in the court again to get unemployment compensation for woodworkers that were locked out. We are in the state courts, and from there we are going into the Supreme Court in an effort to get these men the money that is rightfully due them under the law while they were locked out.

Now, there are things like that, and we are working all the time. I might state that in the past we secured a court decision that prevents any injunction against the members of organized labor while they are out on strike. We took the lead of the states in the nation, but it cost the Montana State Federation of Labor \$15,000.00 in that fight. Therefore, I hope the Internationals will support the move to get the cooperation of their local unions to affiliate with the State Federations of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was unanimously carried.

Secretary Heffner: Mr. President, this completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the following:

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman  
 THOMAS J. LYONS, Act. Chairman  
 BERNICE B. HEFFNER, Sec'y  
 WM. E. WALTER  
 JOSEPH D. SHAUGHNESSY  
 CARL H. MULLEN  
 JOSEPH A. MULLANEY  
 JOHN CLINTON  
 RUDOLPH HEINL  
 THOMAS DONNELLY  
 CHARLES T. CRANE  
 W. S. GROSS  
 CLIFFORD B. NOXON  
 THOS. E. HINTON  
 GUST ANDERSON  
 ROY BREWER  
 LOUIS KOENIG  
 O. C. MOORE  
 BERNARD QUINN  
 JAMES D. GRAHAM  
 CLAUDE O'REILLY  
 Committee on State Organizations.

Secretary Heffner moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I thank the committee for the report and for the service rendered.

I want to present to you now the General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Brother Schevenels, who just landed in the United States after completing a very interesting trip from London, England. He came to the United States for the purpose of attending the meeting of the International Labor Organization which will be held in New York within the next ten days. I invited him to be our guest, to visit with us, and to speak to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

I know most of you know and understand the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It represents the world organization of affiliated trade unions. Brother Schevenels has been serving with satisfaction and distinction as the General Secretary of this great International Federation. When the war began in Europe he was compelled to leave Amsterdam, where the headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions has been established, and take refuge in London. He has gone through a most trying experience, both he and his family, making the trip from Amsterdam when he was compelled to flee and landing in London.

I am pleased to present him to you this morning for a brief address. He is a native of Belgium, a tool maker by trade, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Union of Antwerp, Belgium, since 1921. He is General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions since 1929.

Brother Schevenels left Lisbon, Portugal, on Saturday, October 11, and flew from Lisbon to New York and from New York to Seattle to be our guest here today, and that is decidedly interesting.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother Walter Schevenels, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

### MR. WALTER SCHEVENELS

(General Secretary, International Federation of Trade Unions)

President Green, fellow trade unionists, ladies and gentlemen: First of all I want to thank you for the cordial welcome given to me at your convention. I also want to thank President Green for his kind invitation to attend, as a representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions, your Sixty-First Annual Convention. As he has told you already, it was almost impossible on short notice to make the trip from London to Seattle. Although I left London in time, on the 2nd of October, on the understanding that I could catch the Clipper in Lisbon on the 4th of October, which would have enabled me to be with you on the opening of your convention, I was kept in Lisbon, maybe as a consequence of a misunderstanding. I was told there that I could not leave before the 20th of October. I spent about seven days cabling to London and to President Green in an effort to make this misunderstanding clear, and it was only after eight days that instructions came from the State Department in Washington that everything must be done so that I could get the next plane leaving Lisbon. In fact, the next day I was able to get the Clipper and last Monday I reached New York. I had only two hours in New York to clear customs and the immigration officers and get my plane for Seattle, and as you all see, at last I managed to come to your convention before its close.

As President Green has already told you, our International Federation of Trade Unions is the body that tried for many years to federate, to organize in a world-wide organization all the trade union Federations like yours and the British Trade Union Congress and the French Federation of Labor in one single body with the main purpose of enabling you to meet on an international plan the leaders of the trade unions of other countries, exchange experiences and knowledge of their national actions in industrial fields, exchange information about industry, trade, work conditions, labor conditions in general, and to plan and examine the possibilities of a common policy to improve generally the working conditions in each country and in the world generally.

Today I am representing here a crippled International Federation of Trade Unions. Since Hitler came into power in

1933 one after another trade union center has crashed, one after another free democratic country as been conquered, dominated and oppressed by the armed forces of Nazi Germany. And so in the last eight years we have lost almost all our continental European trade union centers. Today we have only fourteen countries affiliated normally in our International. True, we have in London reconstituted as a foreign delegation in Great Britain these trade union centers that have been destroyed by the Nazi and their terror, to represent abroad those millions of faithful, voluntarily organized workers of the European continent, to represent them and speak in their behalf, since they are no longer able to express freely and publicly their feelings and their views.

As I said just a month ago to the British Trade Union Congress, meeting in Edinburgh, Scotland, I feel just as sure as I was eight years ago, speaking on behalf of those 20,000,000 European workers who were organized and affiliated in our International Federation—I feel the International Federation of Trade Unions has today the same authority to speak in their behalf and to defend their interests and their views against the oppression and the barbarism of Hitler in Europe. Other quarters feel just the same.

As President Green has told you, we are here in the States to attend the International Labor Conference. There, too, the International Federation played an important part in representing the views of world wide organized labor, and today, in spite of all the nominal losses we have suffered in the last years, the International Federation of Trade Unions is still recognized by governments and by employers as the true and unique representation for world labor in the International Labor Office.

I would not like to take up much of your time, but after making this trip of seven thousand miles you will excuse me if I put before you two points about which we are very much concerned. In this war in Europe we meet in our own midst and also in other countries and in yours with objections that I should like in a few words to correct or to put right. Too often we hear in some quarters that the war going on in Europe today is in fact another Imperialistic war like so many we have fought in the past. Let me say that this war is not a war such as happened before. Since Hitler threatened the democratic state of Germany, since Hitler took power in Germany, the workers and responsible leaders of labor on the continent, without any objection, did not cease to warn the world against this menace. We, living in these countries, had to recognize from the first day what a menace for our very exist-

ence as free communities and as individuals the rule of Hitler over Germany and his ambitions for world domination would mean to us. We had understood, because we lived among them all those years, and we warned all the countries. We asked our government, no matter whether they were Right or Left, no matter whether they were coalitions of Right and Left, to defend their independence, to defend their national liberty, and to defend generally human liberties before it would be too late. Everybody in those days believed that they could escape from the fate which had befallen their neighbors, and one after another they fell victims of that ambitious conquest of Hitlerism—Austria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and even today, after all the other countries of Europe on the continent, we may say Italy has fallen a victim of Hitler.

An imperialistic war? Why, first of all, did organized labor in Europe ask for an uncompromising and determined policy against Hitler? Was that to please the City of London to restore the uncompromised domination of big capitalism, the City of London or Wall Street? Surely not. Maybe in those first days there were capitalists with combinations trying to drag the world into a war and trying to get all the benefit of it after the destruction of imperialism, when they could then have the absolute domination they enjoyed in the 19th century. Could they think for one moment that they could get rid of those workers' organizations, all those democratic forces who tried to tell them how they would like to live and how they would like to have their existence recognized in those countries?

But those big capitalists, after the experience of these last years, must have understood that they deceived themselves and their supporters. Where are the capitalists who financed Hitler to get power in Germany? Where are the capitalists who asked Hitler to save them from democracy in Austria? Where are the Quislings in Yugoslavia and even in Italy? They are slaves—maybe privileged slaves, but slaves just the same. They are no longer what they hoped to be again, the absolute rulers and proprietors of their industry. They are just well paid instruments and tools for the Hitler regime and the Hitler ambitions. And even the German industrialists and workers, so-called, belonging to that super race which will rule the world, even they are poor slaves and will remain poor slaves as long as that terror state of Hitler remains in power.

That is what we are fighting. That is why we are fighting against Hitler armies. We are fighting for the maintenance of our liberties and the independence of our countries where they are still independent, and we are fight-

ing to liberate those who are now under the cruelest and most ruthless oppression ever known in history. Even the German workers and the German people hope in their hearts that the victory over Von Hitler will even restore their liberty and their independence.

There is one other delicate point I would like to raise and then I will finish—Russia. I know it is a very delicate point, but isn't it better to talk quite truthfully and frankly about it, rather than let misunderstandings make our position difficult? Russia has been attacked by the Hitler armies and is fighting Hitler now with the same courage, the same heroism and the same determination as Great Britain and all her Allies have been doing for two years. Russia is a Communist state. The I. F. T. U. has been fighting Communism since its existence, since 1919, and it will go on fighting Communist ideals, Communist conceptions and Communist methods with the same force and the same decision as before.

But that is not the matter. Today the point in Europe is exclusively a military question, and in the struggle in Europe Russia is today fighting a big army for its own existence as a state and as individuals. Russia is fighting the same enemy we are fighting and the enemy that we must defeat, lest we be annihilated. I know it is difficult to understand, to believe all the stories you hear about the cruelty and the ruthlessness of the Hitler regime. It is difficult to believe what we are saying, what we are witnessing every day in Europe. Believe me, I was in those countries not long ago. I know what is going on in those countries. We still have ways and means to be currently and truthfully informed about what is happening there.

Let me tell you, and believe me I am saying it with much care and after long reflection. Hitler today, even before he has won the war, has started to annihilate systematically various people in Europe. It is not only the question of defeating Hitler which will save some of those peoples, it is a question of how rapidly we can defeat Hitler. Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, and France, are today the subjects of a systematic, physical destruction. Hitler's people are by all means concentrated in the annihilation of those peoples. Millions will die in the next month or years if Hitler is allowed to go on with his policy, and those who will be allowed to live will later regret, perhaps, that they did not die in the first years. That is the position in Europe. It sounds incredible, but it is true, believe me.

While fighting against that menace, fighting with the only means that can be understood by those gangsters—machine guns, tanks and planes—Russia is bringing on all fronts those machine guns, those planes and those tanks, and

those millions of soldiers who are giving their lives for the defense of their country, which is also the defense of ours, because only the defeat of Hitler will save our countries, will save our human beings, and will save our liberties and our future.

After this war is won will Communism get the benefit of victory? Quite frankly I say no. Think for one moment that the dictatorship was maintained in a country like Russia, as a defense against the interior and against the enemy from abroad. Tomorrow that enemy, Germany, will be defeated. More, the Allies of today, imperialistic Britain and big, capitalistic United States, will, on the side of Russia, have some chance to make their influence felt in the settlement of peace and in the reconstruction of Europe and the world. That influence will be brought into the balance, and I count much more upon the moral effect of this common struggle in the defense of national, indefatigable and moral integrity of mankind. There is the first battle after Hitler has been defeated, where we will also have defeated Communism, because no longer even in Russia will there be necessity to maintain the present system in that country.

It is for us, true and convinced and faithful democrats, to safeguard those liberties after we will have defeated the immediate and urgent menace represented by the present Hitler regime, and it is in that spirit that I want to convey to you the best fraternal greetings and the sincere wishes for success of your work now and always, because tomorrow, when the war will be won—and it will be won because it must—it is your American trade union movement, along with our British trade union movement who will surely have the greatest and most determined influence in the Peace Conference.

I would specially thank your President Green for the words spoken in his opening address—and his words will carry very much weight—where he demands that around that Peace Conference table the workers of all countries will be represented, so that they can collaborate and participate in the reconstruction of the new world based on democracy, on social justice, and on human liberties, so that it will be possible to work again in the future for the improvement of workers and for the better life in this world.

President Green. I thank Brother Schevenels for his visit to the convention this morning and for this most interesting address which he has delivered.

Our great American Federation of Labor is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and as an

affiliate of that international trade union movement we will cooperate fully and completely with the representatives of all organizations who hold membership in this great International Federation.

I know that Brother Schevenels must have learned through press reports and otherwise of the declarations made at this convention. Consequently it is unnecessary for me to repeat them. He knows where we stand, and I want to assure him we will stand just there immovably all the way through.

I thank you.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions, to continue the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Frey, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

#### Auxiliary Locals

**Resolution No. 19**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Auxiliary locals organized by some international unions, affiliated with the A. F. of L. is a grave violation and nullification of American democracy and sound trade union principles, since they are a notorious specie of taxation without representation and creates a separation and division of the workers which makes for weakness; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. at Seattle, Washington, go on record as condemning the auxiliary form of organization, since it denies workers, because of race, color, religion or national origin, the privileges of full fledged membership, in the national or international union, enjoyed by the other workers, and that this Convention, in harmony with sound trade union principles, calls upon the national and international unions that have auxiliary local unions to disestablish said auxiliary local unions.

Your committee is aware that many International Unions, for most advisable reasons, have established auxiliary local unions, and that the membership of these auxiliary locals is not based upon

any distinction or discrimination of race, color or creed, but are intended solely to increase the field of organization.

Attention must be called to the valuable support given to many International Unions through the organization of Ladies Auxiliaries.

Your committee would further call attention to the fact that several organizations against whom there have been charges of discrimination because of color, have established auxiliaries for the purpose of bringing colored workers into the trade union movement.

As this resolution, if adopted, would condemn all such auxiliaries, your committee recommends non-concurrence.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman, I want to make a few brief remarks on this resolution. The auxiliary form of organization does not provide for the members of the auxiliary unions the status of full-fledged membership. In other words, members of auxiliary unions do not possess the right to vote on policies affecting the national organization or the auxiliary unions. For instance, no member of an auxiliary union can attend a national convention of a national organization. He has not the right to vote for a delegate to the national organization nor has he the privilege of being voted for as a delegate to that convention. It seems to me that if there is no objection on the part of certain national and international organizations to take in workers without regard to color, race, religion or national origin, there would be no auxiliary union, because the primary purpose of the auxiliary unions is to give the impression that these national unions are taking Negro workers in when they are actually keeping them out.

These are the grounds of the objection of the Sleeping Car Porters to the auxiliary locals. You will notice in this convention there are only two colored delegates. In the last convention there were about 15 or 20. These delegates who lost out came from various federal locals, but the charters of these federal locals have been

taken up on the grounds that the national organizations had jurisdiction over these workers and that they were going to grant them auxiliary charters. That has been done, and as a consequence the voice of the federal local is no longer heard in this convention. It is a strange interpretation that is being given to the auxiliary local when it is contended that they do not represent any form of discrimination. Why have them at all?

And so, fellow delegates, it is the hope that ultimately by a process of education that various National and International Unions will recognize the validity of accepting workers as members into their national organizations as such and not establish these Jim Crow auxiliary forms of organization.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, this convention should be under no misunderstanding as to the resolution which the committee recommends non-concurrence with. The resolution is directed against all auxiliary unions. It is very definite on that point. And a number of the International Unions seated here have had auxiliary unions which have had nothing at all to do with any kind of race, color or creed. These auxiliary unions have been of great advantage not only to their members but to their Internationals and to the trade union movement in general.

There was one hopeful word in the statement that has just been made, and that was that education would be helpful in working out the problem. That has been the position of the American Federation of Labor from the beginning. We must take men and women and communities as we find them, and we must educate them to a point of view or else drive them unwillingly into some form of organization they know little about or care less.

It was not so many years ago we listened to the complaint, and a justifiable one, that the Negro worker was unorganized and could not elevate his social and industrial position except through trade union organization. This American Federation of Labor undertook a campaign of education, and as a result hundreds of thousands of Negroes are now not only organized but they are within the fold of

the American Federation of Labor. If in some communities, because of conditions which the American Federation of Labor had nothing whatsoever to do in creating, it has been found difficult to organize the Negro and bring him into the white local unions as a member, then certainly it is a long step in advance from conditions as they were when we bring him into the fold of trade union organizations. I am thankful that the note of criticism, bitter, biting, unjustified criticism which we listened to yesterday was not in the address of the delegate made a few moments ago.

Now, this convention will not place itself on record, in the committee's opinion, as opposed to auxiliary unions which we have organized, the auxiliary unions, created from the wives and the daughters and the sisters of trade unionists, or from the other auxiliaries that we have, like the Apprentice Boys Auxiliary Unions to our International Unions, which are the means by which we help to educate the apprentice to understand what the trade union movement really means to him the moment he becomes a journeyman, and so your committee, because of the wholesale condemnation of the policy of organizing auxiliaries embodied in the resolution, made its recommendation of non-concurrence.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee, non-concurring with Resolution No. 19, was carried.

### Lend-Lease Aid to Ethiopia

**Resolution No. 20**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia has played and is now playing an heroic role in the struggle against the Axis powers, having been the battleground of some of the fiercest and bloodiest encounters of the democratic forces against sinister totalitarian states; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in its 61st Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse and support lend-lease aid by the United States to Ethiopia, since lend-lease aid is intended for all countries allied with the democratic nations in the fight against Nazism and



that a military and scientific and economic commission be sent to Ethiopia to help in her defensive and offensive struggles.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Pol Tax

**Resolution No. 21**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Poll Tax is a pernicious device of a small oligarchy to disfranchise the great mass of black and white workers in eight states of the South; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing and supporting anti-Poll Tax legislation and court action.

Your committee endorsed a similar proposal, submitted by the same delegation, a year ago, and recommends that the former action of the convention be reaffirmed.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Fair Employment Practice Committee

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, A Fair Employment Practice Committee has been set up by President Roosevelt under an Executive Order to abolish discriminations in national defense on account of race, creed, color, religion or national origin, for the purpose of utilizing the skill and labor of every available worker and to practice the principles of democracy we preach that coincides with the repeated declarations of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Milton P. Webster, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and delegates

to the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I arise as a representative of the Sleeping Car delegation that introduced this resolution to offer commendation to the Resolutions Committee for its approval of this resolution endorsing the Fair Employment Practice Committee. I wish also to take this opportunity to extend our thanks and appreciation to President William Green for complying with our request in inviting Mark Etheridge, the Chairman of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to address this convention. Mr. Etheridge delivered quite a scholarly and informative address on the functions of this particular committee.

I wish to take this opportunity to acquaint the delegates of this convention with some of the background that has been responsible for prompting the President of the United States to appoint this Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

Almost immediately after the institution of the widespread defense program the Negro workers of the nation found themselves in an almost unprecedented position of not being allowed to work in many of the defense industries. The agitation among the Negro workers of the nation became so great that some of the Negro leaders in the trade union movement, particularly the American Federation of Labor, stepped into the situation and organized the widespread protests that were being made throughout the nation by Negro workers and other representatives of Negro organizations against this practice of not allowing the Negro workers to be integrated into the national defense program. As the result of the organization a committee was organized and prevailed upon various officials of the Government to take some action in reference to this particular situation. After a large number of conferences with many of the officials of the United States Government, the Committee finally got a conference with our great president, President Roosevelt, and after going into an exhaustive investigation of this particular situation, the President agreed with the committee that this was an unusual situation which called for some unusual ac-



tion, and at the request of this committee the President issued an executive order in connection with the question of discrimination against Negro workers in the defense industries.

The Negro representatives of the American Federation of Labor played quite an important part in the conferences with the officials of the United States Government and the President of the United States, which was responsible for the issuance of this Executive Order and the appointment of a Committee on Fair Employment Practice. We had as members of this committee representative Negro trade unionists from the International Ladies' Garment Workers, from the International Hotel Workers' Alliance and Bartenders' League, from the National Teachers' Federation, and from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The committee has been appointed, and there is a good representation of trades unionists on the committee, including President William Green, President Philip Murray of the C. I. O., and myself from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The committee has had a number of meetings and there have been a large number of complaints forwarded to the committee affecting all forms of discrimination against Negroes, preventing them from being integrated into the defense industries, and unfortunately many of them have been directed towards some of our trade unions; and so this committee is starting out on this program with the purpose of trying to solve some of these problems.

We very greatly appreciate the action of the committee in recommending approval of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and we feel this recommendation coming from this convention will be able to influence many of the national and international unions against which these complaints are made, to cooperate with us to the utmost extent, to the end that a large number of workers in this country who have heretofore been prevented from being integrated into the defense industries because of the unfortunate discriminatory practices that have prevailed in America, may be so employed. We wish to

express our thanks and appreciation, and I am sure the committee is willing to cooperate with the national and international unions. We certainly hope we get the cooperation from the national and international unions to the end that this problem, insofar as the defense industries are concerned may be settled in some degree of equity with the least disturbance in connection with the carrying out the program and practices of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice.

The motion to adopt the committee's report, concurring in Resolution No. 22, was carried unanimously.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee was proceeding with the resolutions in their numerical order, but believes it advisable to bring in some of its report on the Executive Council's report. We would like to submit two portions of the Executive Council's report at this time.

#### **REPRESENTATION BEFORE ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES**

(Executive Council's Report, Page 141)

#### **LABOR'S DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATION IN DEFENSE POLICIES**

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 204-205)

#### **and RESOLUTION No. 10 Labor Representation on All National Defense Boards and Agencies**

**Resolution No. 10**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, We recognize that in a period of unlimited national emergency it is imperative that all the constructive and creative elements of the national life be called into full action, and

WHEREAS, The morale, cooperation and enthusiasm of labor, in every form and manifestation, are primary conditions of achievement and success in the all-embracing defense effort, and

WHEREAS, The example of England, where the trade union movement is participating in all phases of the national struggle for survival with genuine representation on all planning boards, on industry councils, in the cabinet, and on cost-of-living committees, proves beyond peradventure that only such form of participation is capable of yielding a maximum of result and security for the democracy on the home front; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 61st convention at Seattle, Wash., continue to adhere to its policy of insistence on greater, wider and deeper labor representation on all boards, agencies and councils associated with the productive and regulative functions of national defense.

In connection with your committee's report on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Representation Before Administrative Agencies" and "Labor's Demand for Representation in Defense Policies," your committee includes Resolution No. 10.

That our nation faces the greatest emergency in its history since the Revolutionary War is self-evident. It is the patriotic responsibility of all citizens to contribute their full share to defending the nation from the threat now facing it because of Nazi determination to destroy self-government and democratic institutions throughout the world.

Our nation is justified in expecting that the American Federation of Labor and its millions of members will unstintingly contribute their full share to production for national defense. In fact without this whole-souled cooperation by labor, it would be impossible for the Government to successfully secure the production of necessary material.

Not only do the people of the United States, but the Government itself, feel justified in expecting labor to do its full share. So far as lies within its power labor has already indicated not only its willingness, but its determination, to give full contribution of services to national defense.

It is the conviction of your committee that labor's contribution would be even greater had labor been requested to select from its representatives those who might be appointed on the various agencies which have been created for the purpose of developing to the greatest degree pos-

sible the industrial productive forces of our country.

Let us be frank and definite on this question. There are none in the nation who better understand the practical problems of production, the ways and means by which it can be carried on most efficiently, than the trained representatives of our trade union movement. In addition, they have had practical experience in dealing with human nature as it is found among their own membership, and as it exists among employers. They are the most highly skilled group in the nation in finding the ways and means, the common ground upon which practical cooperation can be established and maintained between labor and management.

It is the conviction of your committee that had these trained men from the ranks of labor been placed in responsible positions in the Federal agencies, charged with providing for national defense, that this program would have been materially advanced. Labor's experience in the last year has indicated in numerous instances, that some of those directing Federal agencies while influenced by the most high-minded and patriotic motives, were handicapped in their laudable efforts because of insufficient experience in the practical problems of production, and in the human relationship which must exist between management and labor if the highest volume of production is to be secured.

The American Federation of Labor has declared its intention to contribute in every way possible to national defense, and has followed this declaration by active evidence of its full patriotic service. But the nation is entitled to know in this critical hour, that labor's fullest contribution cannot be given until the trained men in the trade union movement, those in whom our members and employers have confidence, are appointed to responsible positions in connection with national defense as a result of nomination and recommendation by the American Federation of Labor.

Because of labor's desire to give unstintingly of its services and its practical

knowledge gained in the field of industrial experience, we call upon the government of the United States to make much greater use of this as yet largely untapped sources of usefulness to the nation in connection with national defense.

In connection with this preliminary statement by your committee, it recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, and concurrence with Resolution No. 10.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

## COMPLIANCE WITH LAW AND LAWFUL PROCEDURE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 69)

The founders of the American Federation of Labor were trade unionists, affiliated with their respective organizations. For the purpose of strengthening their organizations and the promotion of the welfare of their members, they determined to bring into existence a federation of trade unions. They considered the form and structure which would be most effective in accomplishing their purposes. They determined to adopt the form and structure of the Federal Government as outlined in the Constitution of the United States.

They determined that each National and International Union, affiliating with the Federation, shall be a sovereign, autonomous organization. They reserved to each National and International Union all powers to deal with their internal affairs; manage their properties, deal with every problem affecting the officers, the local unions, and the members of such National or International Union. They granted to the Federation only such powers as were expressly delegated in the written Constitution then adopted and as amended from time to time.

These autonomous National and International Unions have deemed it wise to maintain the form and structure borrowed from the Federal Constitution. Thus the power and authority to discipline officers, locals and members of National

or International Unions for wrong-doing, has been reserved to the National and International Unions. By virtue of such reservation there is no power in the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to exercise disciplinary authority for any offense committed by an officer or member of a National or International Union.

As the report of the Executive Council points out, limitation of authority in this respect is identical with the constitutional limit placed on the President of the United States and his Cabinet. The President of the United States cannot discipline an official of any state or municipality for any wrong or violation of state or municipal law committed by such officer of a state or municipality. The framers of the American Constitution concluded that this reservation of power to the states was consistent with democratic institutions. It determined that a contrary policy would lead to dictatorship. So, with the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor they, too, adopted this procedure of democratic government.

The National and International Unions have established and maintained clean and honorable labor organizations given over to the promotion of benefits and interests of its members. That is manifested by the thousands of agreements with employers providing for fair wages, limited hours and improved working conditions for the members of these unions. It is further manifested in the hundreds of state and national legislative enactments establishing the best working standards for workers anywhere in the world.

However, in organizations, the membership of which totals more than five millions of persons, there will be found a few dishonest individuals. These individuals may be ordinary members or may be persons in high office. The dishonest individual and the law-breaker is not confined to any particular class or position, nor to any particular institution. They will be found among the membership of Bar Associations, Medical Associations, Fraternal Organizations, Religious Or-

ganizations, and in Trade Unions. Human propensities, whether for good or bad, are not limited to class, race, creed, color or institution. Wrong-doers and violators of the law have been found among presidents of Bar Associations, of Medical Societies, of Stock Exchanges, bankers, governors of states, judges, and even Cabinet members. Considering however, the fact that labor organizations accept into membership numbers which far exceed the membership of most other organizations, or institutions, those officers or members of trade unions who have offended against the law are, by comparison, considerably less than those found in other organizations or institutions.

But just as these other organizations and institutions do not condone any dishonesty or violation of law on the part of officers and members, likewise the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor condemn these practices. The affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor itself, have condemned the racketeer, the gangster and the criminal in most vigorous terms, whether he is in the ranks of labor or in the ranks of any other organization or institution.

Where proof exists of violation of the public laws, the unions themselves have asked that prosecution be instituted against the violators. Where members have violated the constitution and rules of the organization, disciplinary measures have been taken against offenders by the tribunals of such trade unions.

It may be well to observe, however, that courts have not in all instances been cooperative with trade unions which have sought to impose punishment upon union officials and members who have violated the laws of the union. It has proved discouraging to organizations which have tried and disciplined an officer, or member, for violation of union laws, to find that the court has reversed the action of the union and reinstated the offender. Likewise courts have at times injected themselves into the internal affairs of organizations, as the result of which unions which have taken action on these matters through their own tribunals have been subjected to long, troublesome and

expensive litigation in order to sustain their own action.

Although the American Federation of Labor has no authority to discipline officers of International Unions, or locals affiliated with Internationals, or the membership affiliated with such locals, it has nevertheless called upon National and International Organizations to take prompt and decisive action, when men of this kind are found, to discipline offenders within their organizations and to rid themselves of criminals, racketeers, dishonest persons and violators of law. The law requires that regardless of the position in the union of the person accused and regardless of the character or magnitude of the accusation, charges must be preferred and a hearing accorded the accused. A number of International Unions, which have in the past year held conventions, have revised and amended their constitutions so as to vest specific power in the general officers and boards to prefer such charges, to conduct such trials, to take over local unions and appoint receivers for them, and to make mandatory upon local unions their duty to expel any officer or member who has been found guilty of crime or serious wrong-doing which tends to bring dishonor on the union. It is gratifying to the American Federation of Labor to observe this ready response on the part of these Internationals to the request of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor again calls upon all National and International Unions to re-examine their constitution, laws and rules, and at the earliest opportunity amend the same where amendments are necessary, so that prompt and diligent action may be taken against locals, officers and members who are guilty of offenses against public laws, and the laws of the National or International Union.

The anti-labor columnists and the newspapers which publish their articles, do not promote public welfare by condemning all organized labor for the misdeeds of a few officers and members. In their vicious and misleading attacks upon the entire institution of organized labor they harm the interests of the public as well as labor, because by such

malicious and untruthful attacks they encourage anti-labor forces in State Legislatures and the Congress to endeavor to pass legislation which would effectively destroy the free democratic institutions of organized labor.

Labor has always sought to maintain a clean house. With the surge and influx of new members since the end of the depression, the problem of preventing the entrance and activities of the racketeer and the criminal, has become of utmost importance. Millions of men and women who belong to trade unions will not tolerate the racketeer, the gangster, and the criminal in their midst. They will eliminate him, and have eliminated him. Insofar as public prosecutions are concerned, the law vests that function only with the public authorities. No one more than the labor movement itself, understands the value of public confidence. The American Federation of Labor appreciates the necessity for National and International Unions and their affiliates to maintain that confidence by elimination of the racketeer and the criminal from their ranks.

Therefore, the American Federation of Labor once again calls upon its affiliates to take prompt action whenever racketeering, wrong-doing, or other crime is engaged in by any of its officers or members, which tends to bring dishonor on the trade union movement. To that end the American Federation of Labor will give every aid and support to its affiliated organizations.

Insofar as the American Federation of Labor is concerned with respect to those directly affiliated organizations over which there has been delegated to it the power to discipline officers and members of such unions and to discipline such unions, the American Federation of Labor has acted with promptness and decisiveness. Members have been ordered expelled, officers removed, and charters revoked when, after trial, an offender has been found guilty.

In order to further the program of wiping out racketeering and crime wherever it may exist, the American Federation of Labor directs all central bodies to refuse the seating of any delegate from a union who has been con-

victed of serious wrong-doing which reflects dishonor on the trade union movement; and such delegate, if convicted after being seated, shall be unseated by such central labor body.

With the foregoing your committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Frey: The committee will resume its report on resolutions.

### Anti-Lynching Legislation

**Resolution No. 23**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Thousands of black and white workers have been lynched in the United States and constitute a stigma and disgrace upon American democracy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 61st Convention of the A. F. of L. at Seattle, Washington, go on record as definitely and sharply expressing its opposition to lynching and mob law and reaffirm its stand endorsing and supporting a federal anti-lynching law.

This resolution is similar in substance and purpose to Resolution No. 22 introduced by the same delegation at the New Orleans Convention, 1940. Your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the action taken at that time.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Equal Pay for Women on Government Contracts

**Resolution No. 25**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Defense Program requires many American men to leave their homes and jobs for military training, and

WHEREAS, The burden of keeping the homes of American families from breaking up falls more and more upon our women, and

WHEREAS, The leaving of men from factories for military training and the increasing tempo of our defense production creates vacancies and openings for employment of women, and

WHEREAS, Unpatriotic, unscrupulous, profit-seeking employers often fill these vacancies and openings with women and pay them a much lower rate of wages than were formerly paid to the men whom they replace, and

WHEREAS, This practice of exploiting the women will ultimately reduce the American standard of living; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best efforts to enact laws that would prohibit the awarding of government contracts to employers of both men and women who pay women lower bonuses, piece rates, hourly, weekly or monthly wages or salaries than is being paid to males similarly employed.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Fair and Equitable Initiation Fees for Workers Affected by Priority Unemployment**

**Resolution No. 26**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Office of Production Management in Washington, D. C., has ruled that materials essential to defense needs will be curtailed in the manufacture of civilian products, and

WHEREAS, Such an edict necessarily means the loss of employment for the employees of firms not equipped to manufacture defense needs and will undoubtedly cause a migration of labor to the defense manufacturing areas for the duration of this national emergency, and

WHEREAS, Most of the workers affected by this necessary policy are unskilled workers who if organized are organized into Federal Labor Unions, and

WHEREAS, This policy will no doubt in some cases affect members of international unions, who may have to transfer their membership from one international to another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the convention use their influence in their local organizations in an effort to establish a fair and equitable initiation fee for those members of organized labor seeking admittance into their organizations and if at all possible recognize all bona fide transfers during this period of national emergency; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, requests the American Federation of Labor to urge the international unions of the American Federation of Labor to be lenient in dealing with this

problem during the national defense emergency.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objective expressed in this resolution. In lieu of its adoption by the convention, your committee requests that the Presidents of the affiliated National and International Unions, A. F. of L., give the purpose of this resolution every possible consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Extension of General Labor Laws to State and Local Government Employees**

**Resolution No. 27**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, Clifford B. Noxon, John F. McCann, Gordon W. Chapman, W. W. Miller, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Your committee recommends amending this resolution by adding the word "State" before the words "Labor Relations Act," and before the words "Unemployment Compensation Acts," appearing in the 5th and 6th lines of the Resolve. The amended resolution then reads:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been successful in securing the passage of legislation by Congress which is of great benefit to the workers of the country, and

WHEREAS, The federal government, because of our system of dual sovereignty, does not have authority to include states and their subdivisions as employers in this regulatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, Federal statutes have excluded state and local government employees from the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and other labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, The several states in passing state acts patterned after federal acts have also excluded state and local governments as employers, thus completely excluding state and local government employees from the protection and benefits of labor legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the state federations of labor to include in their legislative activities efforts to extend general labor laws, such as the State Labor Relations Acts, State Unemployment Compensation Acts, and others, so as to



include state and local government employees.

Thus amended, your committee recommends approval.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **A. F. of L. Representation in Canal Zone During National Emergency**

**Resolution No. 28**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some 500 million dollars are to be spent on the Panama Canal for new locks and defense projects during the next 10 years, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of new employees are being employed by the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad Company, the new locks division of the Canal, and government contractors, and

WHEREAS, No official of the American Federation of Labor has better knowledge of labor activities and organization at the Canal, and

WHEREAS, Recent visits of Mr. William C. Hushing, Chairman, National Legislative Committee, American Federation of Labor, have boosted the morale of the employees to a considerable extent, and

WHEREAS, These vast defense projects in the Canal Zone, at the crossroad of the world, are of vital interest nationally and particularly to officials of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct Mr. Hushing to visit the Isthmus of Panama at least once every six months during the period of national emergency.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Jurisdiction Over Express Drivers**

**Resolution No. 29**—By Delegate Hugh S. O'Neill, Industrial Council, Kansas City, Missouri.

The introducer of Resolution No. 29 has requested its withdrawal, and your committee recommends that permission to withdraw be granted by the convention.

In offering this recommendation your committee calls attention to the impropriety of resolutions dealing with juris-

ditional questions between affiliated National and International Unions which are introduced by local unions, Central Labor Bodies or State Federations of Labor.

Your committee therefore recommends that it shall be the policy of the American Federation of Labor to withhold all resolutions dealing with jurisdictional questions from the convention when these are presented by local unions, Central Labor Councils, or State Federations. The right to introduce such resolutions is inherently the right of National and International Unions and none others.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: The introducer of the resolution referred to requests the privilege of withdrawing the resolution. Are there objections? If not, the resolution is withdrawn and it is so ordered.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, on the committee's report, the committee then proceeded to advise that in the future all resolutions dealing with jurisdictional questions introduced by local unions, Central Labor Councils or State Federations be withheld from the convention, as the right to introduce such resolutions is inherently only within the National and International Unions themselves.

President Green: What has that got to do with the withdrawal of a resolution?

Secretary Frey: Well, it has nothing to do with the withdrawal of the resolution, but the committee believed it advisable to bring that other question to the attention of the convention.

President Green: All in favor of the motion will say "aye." Those opposed will say "no." The motion is carried.

### **National Health Compensation Act**

**Resolution No. 30**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The percentage of draftees rejected for military service has brought the workers of the Nation to the realization that we are far from being a super race physically, and

WHEREAS, With proper medical attention when needed, the percentage of



rejections could have been greatly decreased; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as recommending a National Health Compensation Act, so that the workers of the Nation can get adequate medical attention.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Support for American Foreign Policy**

**Resolution No. 31.**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, A new front has been opened in the world fight against Fascism and Hitler, and

**WHEREAS**, President Roosevelt has declared that the United States will give aid and support to all nations fighting Hitler and Hitlerism, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Labor movement keenly understands that all aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China on the part of the United States opens the way to the final defeat of Hitler's armies and reaction all over the world, and

**WHEREAS**, President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill both point out that a blow struck now, each machine sent to Britain or the Soviet Union means the sooner will Fascism be crushed, and

**WHEREAS**, The future of America and organized labor is bound up with the successful defeat of Fascism; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as commending the stand of President Roosevelt in urging increased aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and China for victory over Hitlerism, and we declare ourselves ready to join with the people of our organizations in support of President Roosevelt's policy.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: The next two resolutions deal with jurisdictional matters and hence the report is being presented by the Chairman.

### **Painters Jurisdictional Rights**

**Resolution No. 33.**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

**WHEREAS**, It so often happens that we are confronted, in our daily organizing activity for our Union, that we find men doing painting work who are members of the Teamsters, Brewers, Iron Workers, Electricians or other craft unions, and

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America is the only recognized craft union in the American Federation of Labor, conceded to do painting in all its branches as prescribed in our respective charters, and

**WHEREAS**, Any other craft union doing such painting is an infringement on our working rights; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record requesting the American Federation of Labor to insist that all crafts be ordered to immediately cease infringing on our trade jurisdiction and to order such painters of other crafts to join our Brotherhood; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to recognize the Brotherhood of Painters as being the only union permitted to do painting anywhere.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Painters Application for Jurisdiction Over Linoleum Layers**

**Resolution No. 35.**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

**WHEREAS**, The work of the Carpet, Linoleum and Resilient Floor Decorator is widely varied and consists of many types and phases of operation, and

**WHEREAS**, At the instant of their transfer from the Upholsters' Brotherhood to that of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, the jurisdictional claims hereinafter specified were affirmed by the above mentioned Brotherhoods; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the jurisdictional claims of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers be recog-

nized and accepted by the American Federation of Labor, as follows:

Measuring, cutting, fabricating, fitting, installing and waxing of all materials to be cemented, tacked or otherwise applied to its base, wherever it may be, whether materials are used either as a decorative covering or as an acoustical appliance such as carpets of all types and designs, linoleum of all types and designs, sheet rubber, rubber tile, asphalt tile, cork tile, cork carpet, linoleum tile, interlocking tile, mastic in sheet or tile form, composition in sheet or tile form and all derivatives of the above; the fitting of all devices for the attachment of the above materials and the fitting of all decorative or protective trim to and adjoining the above materials which shall include the drilling and plugging of holes and attaching of strips, slats, nosings, etc., on any base where the above materials are to be installed or applied such as drilling, plugging and slatting for installing of fastening of carpets, the installing of all nosings, cap strips, corner beads and edgings of any material.

Inasmuch as the subject matter of this resolution applies to International Unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department, and that Department has an accepted referee to which such subjects may be referred, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey continued the report of the committee as follows:

### Support for Farmers

**Resolution No. 36**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement recognizes the just demands and needs of the farmer, and

WHEREAS, The farmers of Vermont stand in need of better prices for their products, which the food and milk monopolies could give while lowering prices to the consumer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as supporting the demands of the farmers.

This resolution refers to the farmers of but a single state. For this reason your committee believes that the resolution should appropriately be left for the State Federation of Labor of Vermont to act upon.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Security Rights and Working Conditions of Members of Federal Labor Union No. 19657

**Resolution No. 37**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Zenith Furnace Division of the Interlake Iron Corporation has for the past thirty-seven years maintained and operated its own railroad and engines, and

WHEREAS, In June of this year the Interstate Commerce Commission served notice that the Northern Pacific Railroad would do all switching on and off the coal dock of the above plant, and

WHEREAS, This action affects the seniority and working conditions of a considerable group of men who are members of Coke and Gas Workers Union No. 19657, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This Union was not notified in order to have an opportunity to protest the above action and protect the seniority of its members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor through its proper channels render all possible assistance in protesting this action to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that adequate inquiry can be made to ascertain all of the facts. Your committee further recommends after these facts have been secured, that the Executive Council give every assistance to the Federal Labor Union at interest.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Protest Against Director of 18th Regional District of National Labor Relations Board

**Resolution No. 38**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has a consistent campaign to rid the National Labor Relations Board and its administration of biased members and biased subordinate administrators, and

WHEREAS, For a number of years in various parts of the country the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor and State Federations of Labor have had occasion to protest against official designations for representatives of the National Labor Relations Board against American Federation of Labor unions, and

WHEREAS, On numerous occasions recently Robert S. Rissman, Regional Director of the Eighteenth Regional District of the National Labor Relations Board, has openly and notoriously shown his prejudice against the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has published all-out aid and support to the National Administration in the formation of the National Defense Program, and

WHEREAS, Prejudice and bias against the American Federation of Labor by the National Labor Relations Board through its representatives at this time when the American Federation of Labor is seeking to carry on an organizational program to speed national defense, is in fact a threat to national defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, support the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in its protest to the President of the United States and to the National Labor Relations Board against the discrimination of the said Robert S. Rissman and urge that the proper authorities be directed to make a complete and impartial investigation of these charges of discrimination to the end that if found true, the said Robert S. Rissman be dismissed and relieved of his responsibilities.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Health Insurance

**Resolution No. 39**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Social Security program has greatly strengthened the economic outlook of every individual so that in his or her declining years he or she will be offered some measure of protection, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment insurance has covered the gap during which a worker suffers from unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Workmen's Compensation Insurance likewise guarantees a partial return to those who are injured during the course of their employment, and

WHEREAS, Sickness is not covered and results in a decreased income during the time of such misfortune in such a

manner that the average working person is not able to provide proper medical care in these emergencies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, favors federal legislation for the purpose of securing health insurance as a part of the Social Security set-up.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Defense Bonds

**Resolution No. 40**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The democracies of the world are now facing the acid test in their fight for survival as opposed to the Nazi and Fascist systems of dictatorship, and

WHEREAS, If the workers of America are to preserve the American system of the rights which are guaranteed to us under the Bill of Rights, it is imperative that this Government have no restrictions whatsoever in the financing of a system of defense which will make this nation invulnerable to the attack of the dictator aggressor, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious to any student of economics that during the post-defense period there will descend upon our industrial system widespread unemployment and chaos such as usually follows any period of great industrial activity caused by an emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That for the two-fold purpose of aiding the United States in financing the Defense Program that every union and every member of organized labor purchase as many defense bonds as possible, so that the Nation may be properly armed, and so that the workers may have a systematic saving for the purpose of hedging against the depression which will inevitably follow.

Your committee recommends amending this resolution by the addition of the following: "be it further

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses and applauds the voluntary principle upon which the program of defense saving is based, and its approval is especially extended to voluntary pay-roll allotment plans, as sponsored by individual unions and en-

tered into freely by their members in accordance with sound trade union principles."

Thus amended, your committee recommends approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Taxation of Labor Organizations

**Resolution No. 41**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now pending in the Federal Congress legislation which has for its purpose the taxing of the income of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, This legislation has been originated by the enemies of labor to hinder its progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as opposing any Congressional action having for its purpose the taxation of labor organizations.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Citizenship for Filipino Employees of U. S. Government

**Resolution No. 42**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Post Office Clerks Union, Local No. 1, has many members of Filipino nationality, and

WHEREAS, These Filipino members of Local No. 1 have helped and supported unions in government industry throughout the years, and

WHEREAS, The Filipino Post Office Employees have many years of service and their livelihood and existence is dependent upon their continued employment as Civil Service Employees, and

WHEREAS, They have contributed their labor and loyalty to the government, and

WHEREAS, Filipinos are denied the privilege of American Citizenship and their future status as government employees is endangered, notwithstanding the fact that many of them have been in the government service for 25 years, and

WHEREAS, Many legislators have introduced and supported legislation in the halls of Congress extending citizen-

ship to these faithful public servants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring legislation that will grant citizenship to Filipino employees of the government.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Anti-Labor Policy American Book Company

**Resolution No. 65**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, with plants located in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Bloomfield, N. J., are operating these plants under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have for many years endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have on numerous occasions misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts from school boards who believed this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are at the present time carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company, and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plants, both in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Bloomfield, N. J., in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposed to the American Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various International Unions, Central Trades and Labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor**

**Resolution No. 111**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers' and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions of Government workers in this Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are herein inscribed do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and the fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Your committee notes the expression of appreciation and thanks expressed, which requires no action by your committee or the convention.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Martel, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan, Central Labor Body: I would like to make a few observations on this resolution. I am very glad that the Committee on Resolutions has not brought in a recommendation of concurrence, because concurrence in this resolution would be a contradiction of the facts so far as the policies of the executives and officials of the Post Office Department toward its employees are concerned, because there is ample evidence that the attitude of the officials of the United States Post Office Department is anything but friendly to the trade union movement.

The proceedings of our convention show some 29 resolutions introduced by delegates representing the postal employees. All 29 of these resolutions are complaints against their conditions of employment, complaints against the treatment they are receiving from post office officials, demands that agencies be set up to protect the officials of the postal employees' unions against the Gestapo that they now maintain in the postal service under the guise of the inspectorship.

I hold in my hand an issue of the Postal Record, the official publication of the National Association of Letter Carriers. This is the convention proceedings of the Letter Carriers Union held in the city of Los Angeles in the month just preceding this convention. The proceedings of the Letter Carriers' convention shows a similar resentment against the treatment accorded the members of that organization by the high officials and the local administrative officials of the United States Post Office Department. Some 29 pages of these proceedings of the Letter Carriers' convention cover an expression of resentment against the arbitrary and unreasonable conduct of United States Post Office officials against the officers and members of the Letter Carriers Union.

I would like to call this convention's attention to an instance right here in the State of Washington, where the Presi-

dents of two of the local unions are now on the pan, one of them discharged for his activity in the interests of the membership of his local union.

A similar situation exists in the city of Detroit, the President of the Detroit Letter Carriers Union now sitting in this convention as a delegate, and so far as he knows he doesn't even have a job, because since he came to this convention he has been served with a notice by the inspector at Detroit to show cause why he should not be discharged on a trumped-up charge that the Civil Service Commission brought over a year ago. Just recently the President of the Detroit Letter Carriers Union was called in by the inspector and told there was no reason why Local Letter Carriers Unions should affiliate with City Central Bodies, that the Post Office Department did not approve of it and that they did not approve of the President of the Letter Carriers Union trying to defend members of his organization when they were being picked on by the post office officials.

It was my pleasure about two months ago to go to the city of Washington with a delegation of the local Letter Carriers Union from our district to protest against a change in their working conditions, and in my presence Mr. Donaldson, the First Deputy Assistant Postmaster-General of the United States, threatened the President of the Detroit Letter Carriers Union that if he did not stop coming down to Washington complaining about things in the city of Detroit, they would run him out of the service.

I say to you, my friends, it is about time that there was some public expose of the arbitrary and unreasonable and anti-trade union attitude that the high officials in the postal service maintain against employees in that service, denying them rights that are guaranteed not only by the constitution but which the present administration pays tribute to in the form of the National Labor Relations Act. I think it is time that we ask the question, are postal employees citizens of the United States or are they a separate group without the right of citizenship?

Then, my friends, there is another thing I want to tell you about the postal service. Those of you who put first class postage on your mail, let me warn you to buy the large envelopes that look like business envelopes, because in our city they have two classes of first class postage. There is the first class postage and then there is what has become known as the "super-duper" first class postage. That is the kind that the business man send out in the No. 10 envelopes. That goes out first. The matter in the small envelopes stays on the racks for 24 to 36 hours, until the postal department can deliver the "super-duper" first class mail and then the daily newspapers, and then your private mail follows that.

The speed-up system that they have inaugurated in the Post Office system is next door to the glorified prison system that was introduced in the automobile plants in Detroit. It compares in this respect: In the automobile plants they have the conveyor line, and if you work for Henry Ford you have to put on nut 16 as the flivver goes by or you lose your chance. In the Detroit Post Office they load you up with a backful of mail and they tell you you have to deliver it within the eight hours of your stretch.

Then again there is another objection that ought to be called to the attention of the people of this country, and that is the breaking down of the wage standards of postal employees by the employment for long periods of time, in many cases as high as two and three years, of substitute employees and at wage scales 20 to 30 cents an hour below the established wage scale for regular postal employees. And while Uncle Sam is browbeating unreasonable employers under the Wage and Hour Law—and I am glad he is—to give the American citizen who is a wage worker engaged in interstate commerce a six-day week, he himself, as the employer of your letter carriers in the city of Detroit, has had 200 substitute postal employees working seven days a week, and the only way they can get a day off is to feign sickness, and in doing that they take a chance of being kicked off the job. These men work seven days a week and for 20



cents an hour less than the established scale, and when their delegations go to Washington and ask for more regular clerks and regular carriers they are threatened with discharge for daring to protest that condition.

Mr. Chairman, I want to submit to you the record of the abuses of post office officials as made in the convention of the Letter Carriers Union, and I hope this resolution and this record will be taken by the Executive Council and that they will give the people of this country a full and proper expose of the unreasonable and arbitrary conduct on the part of the high public officials in the Post Office Department toward our fellow trade unionists, the Post Office employees.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: As I understand the reading of the resolution, the resolution that was reported to the convention just now was Resolution No. 111. Is that not true?

Secretary Frey: It was Resolution No. 111 which we reported upon.

Delegate George: And the previous speaker, I believe, was speaking on Resolution No. 112?

Secretary Frey: Which has not yet been reported upon.

Delegate George: Is it the intention of the committee to report that immediately?

Vice-President Woll: Yes.

The motion to adopt the committee's report on Resolution No. 111 was adopted by unanimous vote.

### **Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials**

**Resolution No. 112**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, The Postmaster-General and other policy forming officials of the Post Office Department have repeatedly

declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesmanship through their duly elected representatives, and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the Post Office Department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

Your committee notes these expressions of appreciation and thanks, which require no action by your committee or the convention.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to the report of the committee or the adoption of the committee's recommendation. The statement made by Delegate Martel, however, covered quite a wide field in reference to conditions in the postal service. The opening of his remarks were addressed to this particular resolution, one which has previously been endorsed by conventions of the American Federation of Labor and then introduced in this convention with the endorsement of all of the affiliated postal organizations who are represented here at this convention, including the National Association of Letter Carriers, the Railway Mail Association, the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, the National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, and the National Federation of Special Delivery Messengers.

The reason for the introduction of this resolution was that, as many of the older delegates know, and as the officers of this Federation know, there were



many years when the postal employees were not only denied the right of effective organization, but they were denied the right of petition to Congress. They were denied the right even to transmit to Congress any information regarding the conditions under which they worked, and that is why the first group of postal employees 41 years ago applied for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and came to this organization for its support and cooperation.

In 1912 the Congress enacted a law termed the Lloyd-LaFollette Anti-Gag Law which was placed upon the statute books largely and almost entirely through the efforts of the President of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor. That gave the postal employees the right to organize, the right to petition Congress and the right to affiliate with this organization. It is true that in many instances, altogether too many instances, officials of the Post Office Department and local officials in post offices have sought to subvert that right and have imposed penalties upon members of these organizations who were active in behalf of their fellow workers.

The present Administration, however, has on many, many occasions upon the public platform, recognized the right of the organizations of postal employees to be represented by their duly elected representatives. It is the first time that we have ever received official recognition from Department officials. We originally prepared to introduce this resolution a number of years ago, and a number of the resolutions request that the attitude of the heads of the Post Office Department in this Administration be extended to minor officials and to other Government officials dealing with Government employees.

Recently the present Postmaster-General promulgated an order that recognizes for the first time in an official document, over the signature of a Cabinet member in the Post Office, the right of employees to appeal their grievances through representatives of their own choosing. It defines a very clear-cut method of appealing grievances all the

way to the Postmaster-General. I am sorry that this criticism of the present officials in the Post Office Department at Washington has taken place on this floor. I think this could have been avoided by the organization in question by a request to have their endorsement of it withdrawn when the resolution was first prepared and presented.

However, in reference to some of the other parts of the address of Brother Martel, I want to endorse some of the complaints he has made about the conditions of work in post offices, as well as on the streets by postal employees; and there are resolutions in here, some of which have already been adopted, and by which we are seeking to have those conditions corrected, but a great many of those conditions that are referred to in resolutions to which Brother Martel referred are matters of legislation and are not matters of administration.

I just wanted to make this statement, because I think it is due to the fair policy that has been exhibited by the former Postmaster-General, Mr. Farley, and the present Postmaster-General, Mr. Walker, and the other officials of the Postal Department in dealing with organizations of employees during the last eight years.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Delegate Martel, Detroit Central Labor Body: I would like to have the record corrected so it will show my remarks were aimed at Resolution No. 112 instead of Resolution No. 111.

President Green: That will be granted.

We will now interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions to receive the report from the Committee on Adjustment.

The chair recognizes Chairman Knight of the Committee on Adjustment.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Vice-President Knight, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. President, the veteran Secretary of the Committee on Adjustment, Brother James Maloney will read the report.

President Green; Secretary James Maloney, of the Glass Bottle Blowers International Union, will submit the report of the Committee on Adjustment. Secretary Maloney.

Secretary Maloney: Mr. Chairman, before reading the report, with your permission I would like to make a very brief observation.

The members of this committee, along with all of the delegates, listened with sadness to the beautiful tribute paid by the Committee on Executive Council's Report over the passing of Vice-President Thomas A. Rickert. He also served for a long period of time as Chairman of this Adjustment Committee, and we who served with him and under him learned and developed rather a great affection for him. We are convinced after working with him for many years on this committee there is no delegate to this convention who had a greater or wider knowledge of the problems confronting every International Union affiliated with this Federation than he. Consequently we wanted to mark his passing in this manner, and to also express both personally and officially, our deep sympathy to his family, to his splendid organization and to this Federation over his passing, and also the prayer that the very great soul of Tom Rickert rest in peace through all eternity.

### **ENGINEERS - FIREMEN AND OILERS**

**(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 64-65)**

The Executive Council under the caption, "Engineer-Firemen and Oilers," reports they are convinced that the real solution of the differences which exist between the two organizations involved can only be found through an amalgamation of these two International Unions upon a basis acceptable and satisfactory to the officers and members of each of the two organizations, and in which the rights of the membership of both organizations will be fully and adequately protected. The Council further recommends that the representatives of the two International Unions named work out a plan of amal-

gamation as outlined at the earliest possible date.

Your committee approves the conclusion reached by the Executive Council and recommends that representatives of both Unions proceed to work out a plan for the settlement of the controversy by amalgamation or otherwise in conformity with the Council's report.

Furthermore that the Executive Council continue to assist in every way possible in bringing about a satisfactory settlement.

Secretary Maloney moved adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate James L. Kelley, Firemen and Oilers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers consists of about 1,500 local unions scattered throughout the breadth of this land and Canada. We are willing at any time to sit down and talk across the table with delegates from any organization, to work out a peaceful and voluntary solution of any difficulties that may be between the two organizations. We have never refused, and we have always advocated that procedure. Our International President, who is ill at his home in Boston, on several different occasions met with the Executive Council on those occasions. He asked that we get together and work out a plan of peaceful cooperation between the two organizations which eventually might lead to an amalgamation. That we are willing to do now. But under no circumstances does the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers subscribe to any orders that might be construed as forcing an amalgamation.

We are willing to go along and see if something can be worked out that will protect the interests of our organization and all of its members. The matter of amalgamation is so complicated that I don't think anyone is justified in ordering such a procedure. We are willing, as I said before, to get together. I know President McNamara would make the same statement were he here, to get together and see if something can be worked out, and then submit it to our membership, and we will abide by their decision.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

President Green: May the Chair report to the delegates that Brother Kelley, who just addressed you, was honored by appointment as head of the Department of Conciliation of the State of Minnesota. I understand his appointment becomes effective today.

In behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, I congratulate Brother Kelley upon this high honor conferred upon him and we wish him a full measure of success in all his work.

Secretary Maloney will continue.

## PRINTING TRADES - LITHOGRAPHERS

(Report of Executive Council, Page 61)

The Executive Council under the caption, "Printing Trades-Lithographers" reports that pursuant to instructions of the New Orleans (1940) Convention, several conferences have been held between the contending organizations, and it was the opinion of all those who participated that definite progress had been made at each of the meetings held.

The Council stated further they were encouraged in the hope that this long dispute may ultimately reach an amicable adjustment.

Your committee has been informed by the representatives of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union, International Photo Engravers' Union, and Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association they feel satisfied this controversy can be definitely adjusted within a reasonable period of time.

Your committee therefore recommends that this case be continued and left in the hands of the Executive Council.

Secretary Maloney moved adoption of the report of the committee.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

## Painters vs. Building Service Employees

**Resolution No. 55**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, James P. Meehan, Christian M.

Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Building Service Employees' International Union is constantly infringing upon the jurisdiction of our Brotherhood in the painting of hotels, office buildings, department stores and club rooms in this vicinity, and

WHEREAS, The action of the Building Service Employees' International Union is not alone taking the work rightfully belonging to our members but is also lowering the wage scale to such an extent that its action is affecting the hourly wage rates of members of our Brotherhood who are working as maintenance painters and have been receiving the wages duly established in this vicinity by District Council No. 4, and

WHEREAS, It is realized by District Council No. 4 and its affiliates in this district, that if this infringement upon our jurisdiction is permitted to continue unchecked, it will mean that our greatest source of employment will vanish because of the cheap labor furnished by the Building Service Employees International Union, especially during a depression in our craft, which is bound to come to pass after the National Defense Program comes to an end; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the Building Service Employees' International Union release all members of its organization who rightfully belong to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in accordance with the jurisdiction granted to the Brotherhood of Painters.

Your committee recommends that President Green call a conference of the representatives of both organizations within a period of 90 days for the purpose of endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of this dispute.

Secretary Maloney moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: I wish to say that I am in accord with the recommendation of the committee. For the information of the delegates, I wish to state that several conferences have been held between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Painters and the Building Service Employees. Further conferences will be held next week in the city of Chicago and later on in the city of New York. I feel confident that a satisfactory and amicable adjustment can be made of the difficulties between the two organizations.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was unanimously carried.

**The International Hod Carriers',  
Building and Common Laborers'  
Union vs. American Federation  
of State, County and Municipal  
Employees**

**Resolution No. 158**—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees at the time of receipt of their charter from the American Federation of Labor, agreed that they would not infringe upon the jurisdiction of existing International Unions, and

WHEREAS, The said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees has, on numerous occasions, infringed upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, in many localities throughout the United States, by taking into membership those doing work coming within the calling of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and also by conducting membership drives for the purpose of inducing workers who did rightfully belong to or who were eligible for membership in the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, to join the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and

WHEREAS, Many conferences have been held between the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, at which conferences the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees agreed and promised to correct all of the existing infringements and that it would further see to it that no other infringements would take place, and

WHEREAS, The said matter of infringements by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was before the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the year 1940 and the said matter was referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action, and

WHEREAS, The said American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees has misrepresented its jurisdiction

to many municipal, county, state, and federal employing authorities and has thereby caused great confusion in the minds of the said authorities as to which organization has proper jurisdiction and has also thereby prevented the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other American Federation of Labor affiliates from properly organizing men doing work that comes within their calling, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees has not lived up to the agreements and promises made by it, as above referred to, but still continues to infringe upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and

WHEREAS, No decisive action was taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as the result of the referral of the said matter to it by the last Convention, and

WHEREAS, At the recent Convention of said International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, held September 15-19, 1941, in St. Louis, Missouri, the said Convention instructed the officers and delegates of the said International Union in attendance at the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to present a resolution to this effect to the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter of infringement by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America and other national and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the misrepresentations made by the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees which impede the proper national and International Unions from organizing those doing work coming within their calling, as above outlined, be referred to the Incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of directing the said American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees to immediately cease and desist from infringing upon the jurisdiction of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, and other National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also that it cease and desist from misrepresenting to any properly constituted municipal, county, state, or federal authority its jurisdiction as granted by the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered, in the event that the said American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees does not carry out and fulfill the order referred to

in the first resolve hereof, within ninety (90) days from the date of notice to that effect, that it be sufficient reason for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees to show cause why its charter should not be revoked, recalled, and cancelled.

Your committee recommends this matter be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of clearing up the grievances complained of in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This concludes the committee's report, which is signed by the following members:

FELIX H. KNIGHT, Chairman  
 JAMES MALONEY, Sec'y  
 ROY HORN,  
 JOHN CASSELMAN,  
 J. B. ETCHISON,  
 CHARLES L. BAGLEY,  
 ARTHUR SEWARD,  
 C. E. CROOK,  
 FRANK BREWSTER,  
 E. J. BROWN,  
 D. J. MALONEY,  
 L. A. HUTCHISON,  
 JAMES EDGAR,  
 GEORGE W. LAWSON,  
 DAVID SULLIVAN,  
 ARTHUR WALLACE,  
 HARRY NACEY,  
 JOSEPH J. DELANEY,  
 ALBERT E. FISCHER,  
 JOSEPH O'NEILL,  
 JOSEPH P. MCCURDY,  
 Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Maloney: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: We thank the committee for the report it made and for the service rendered the convention.

We will now resume the regular order of business, a continuance of the report of the Resolutions Committee.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey reported as follows:

### Endorsing I. L. O.

**Resolution No. 113**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is a recognized fact that universal peace can only be established and maintained in the world if it is based upon social justice, and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization has been established for the purpose of bringing social justice to the world, and has effectively contributed to that end, and

WHEREAS, Our country is a member of the International Labor Organization; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Seattle, Washington, endorse the work of the International Labor Organization and the principle for which it stands, and urge in this day of world crisis that the International Labor Organization should be maintained and strengthened.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Defense of Hod Carriers International

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Slandorous attacks have been made upon the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, its officers and members, by a Claude E. McGovern, pseudo president of the Northern California District Council of Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, In making these attacks this same pretender has fraudulently and arrogantly claimed that his baseless charges were authorized by the Northern California District Council of Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, Because of this person's violation and betrayal of his oath of office to obey and honor the laws of the International Union, of which he was a paid officer for over three years, charges were preferred against him by members of the Northern California District Council, and

WHEREAS, To prevent these charges from being properly investigated, this self-styled Labor leader swore to an injunction in which he incorporated atrociously untrue and malicious charges which were copied from the poisonous column of Westbrook Pegler, and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union repudiated these attacks and showed complete contempt for them by electing unanimously each of its officers who had been maligned and unpardonably smeared, and

WHEREAS, These ridiculous and unfounded charges were given the widest publicity, thereby doing irreparable dam-

age to the good name of the American Federation of Labor, its officers, and members and affiliated unions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, that we hereby denounce these unjustifiable and unprincipled attacks as being viciously anti-union and detrimental to Organized Labor.

The provisions of this resolution indicate that it is a question brought forward by a State Federation of Labor and should be acted upon by a convention of the State Federation of Labor rather than a convention of the A. F. of L. For this reason it is not properly before this convention. Your committee therefore recommends no further action be taken.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Embargo on Shipments to Japan**

**Resolution No. 115**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America has seen fit to place an embargo on certain commodities in demand by the militarists of Japan to be used in its war of aggression against the Chinese people, and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States of America has officially approved aid to China, and as most of the material used by the Japanese aggressors is imported from the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, This in effect constitutes an attack on the Chinese people whose valorous struggle for national liberation from the Fascist aggressors of Japan has continued under most unfavorable conditions for the last five years, and

WHEREAS, This aggressive attitude on the part of the militarist government of Japan constitutes a threat against the security of the democratic nations throughout the world, and especially to the interests of the people of the United States of America in their struggle against Hitlerism; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as favoring an immediate, full and complete embargo on the shipment of all materials to Japan; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention memorialize Congress to pass such law as may be necessary in order to accomplish said purpose.

Your committee is in sympathy with the purpose of this resolution, but also

believes that it should be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **To Extend Provisions of Social Security Act and State Unemployment Compensation to Certain Employees Now Excluded**

**Resolution No. 116**—Presented by Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record favoring the extension of Social Security and State Unemployment Compensation to include the employees of hospitals and institutions and other so-called non-profit institutions whose major revenues are derived from fees and charges for services rendered.

Your committee is in sympathy with this resolution, and recommends that it be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Condemning Action of Federal Trade Commission**

**Resolution No. 172**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; Delegates Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Marx Lewis, Herman Finkelstein, Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

WHEREAS, Recent trends have made it apparent that the Federal Trade Commission, under the guise of suppressing restraints of trade and unfair competition, has embarked upon a policy of utilizing the Federal Anti-Trust Laws, the Clayton Act and other federal statutes against trade unions in their efforts to achieve stabilization of industry and to prevent retrogression to the chaotic and unbridled conditions which existed prior to 1933, and

WHEREAS, In pursuance of this policy, the Federal Trade Commission has



caused complaints to issue against several trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and stabilization boards created by them jointly with employers' associations with which they are under collective agreement for the purpose of fostering fair competitive conditions in industry, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Trade Commission is also levelling its attack upon the labels adopted by the aforesaid stabilization boards, and

WHEREAS, These labels have attained nation-wide recognition as an insignia of protection under fair labor standards and have won the support of the trade union movement and socially minded organizations and consumer groups representing millions of members, and have been commended and acclaimed by responsible agencies of the United States Government, including the Departments of Labor, Commerce and Agriculture, who have urged consumers to purchase labelled garments, and

WHEREAS, The policy and action of the Federal Trade Commission threaten to nullify the substantial gains achieved by the trade union movement in the various industries where it is part of the stabilizing machinery and to hinder the movement towards industrial self-government by joint control of labor and management; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deprecates the trend towards the misuse by the Federal Trade Commission of the federal anti-trust statutes against the lawful pursuits of the trade union movement in its efforts to protect and promote fair labor standards in industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor vigorously protests against the various complaints caused to be filed by the Federal Trade Commission against the trade unions and the stabilization boards of which they are part, as unjustified and contrary to the public interest; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledges its full support to any of its affiliates who are engaged in resisting and opposing the aforesaid complaints.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

Secretary Maloney moved that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Isidore Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention, in my estimation, the resolution that is before you is

of great importance, not only to the organizations affected, but to the entire labor movement, especially those organizations which are a part of the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

This unwarranted action on the part of the Federal Trade Commission threatens the stability of a \$300,000,000 coat and suit industry, which is an integral part of the ladies' garment industry in this country. It threatens, as well, the living standards of approximately 55,000 workers engaged in that branch of the ladies' garment industry; and I do not hesitate to state at this very moment that if the Federal Trade Commission is successful in enforcing this arbitrary stand upon this industry and the workers engaged in it, it will create a great deal of chaos. I wonder if the Federal Trade Commission wishes to assume this great responsibility?

We, like a good many other unions, have fought the evil of the sweat shop for a great many years, and I am afraid that if the Federal Trade Commission is successful that once again we will see the sweat shop evil reappear in this industry, as well as in a good many other industries. We, as a good many other unions, have been successful in bringing about an insignia in the form of a label, in order to give the consumers of our nation an opportunity to distinguish between merchandise manufactured under fair labor standards and merchandise manufactured in the sweat shops.

For a good many years outstanding public citizens of this nation have taken a keen interest in the many problems that have confronted our industry. I want to call to the attention of the delegates that way back approximately 31 years ago, under the chairmanship of the late Supreme Court Justice, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, who was the chairman of the first Protocol of Peace in this particular industry, a Joint Board of Sanitary Control was established, seeking to abolish the sweat shop evil. Shops were then inspected periodically in order to see whether the regulations were observed. Shop cards were posted in every shop where the shop was observant of the regulations. But this did



not satisfy the consumer, because the consumer could not make the rounds of the shops in order to ascertain whether there was a shop card attesting to the fact that the garments manufactured were made under proper labor standards.

So for a number of years this dissatisfaction continued, and in the year of 1924 the ex-Governor of the State of New York, Alfred E. Smith, appointed a committee of outstanding citizens, and one of these citizens was Herbert E. Lehman, now the Honorable Governor of the State of New York. This committee, after an exhaustive study of the problems of the industry, recommended a label be adopted in this particular industry in order that we might carry out our purpose of assuring the women who were to wear these garments that they were manufactured under proper sanitary conditions and under fair and equitable labor standards.

That continued for a number of years until the depression hit us, as well as the labor movement generally, and things began to break down and the sweat shop began to reappear.

Again, in the year 1930, the present President of the United States, then Governor of the State of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, appointed the famous Alger Commission of three public-spirited citizens, who sought to bring about many adjustments between the employers and labor unions, and they caused a meeting of the various retailers to be held in the city of New York, who were addressed by the then Governor, President Roosevelt, and they sought the cooperation of these retailers in order to make it possible to insure that the women of our nation are clothed with merchandise that is made under proper labor standards. But you know, as well as I know, under what conditions we labored in 1930 and 1931 and until the year of 1933, when the National Industrial Recovery Act was established, with the Blue Eagle.

I want to call this to the attention of the delegates, that we were greatly honored in that our Union and the industry with which we have had collective bargaining for a number of years, adopted the fifth code to be established within

our nation under the National Industrial Recovery Act, the first code to provide for a 35-hour week, proper minimum wage standards, and a very important provision in that each garment that was sold to the consumer must bear the Blue Eagle label on the garment.

We were again honored to have the First Lady of the land, Mrs. Roosevelt, sew on the first label upon the first garment during that period.

This again lasted for a short time until the National Industrial Recovery Act was invalidated by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Following the invalidation of the Act, our Union and the employers, on a voluntary basis, organized a stabilization board known as the National Coat and Suit Industrial Recovery Code, and thereupon adopted voluntarily an insignia in the form of a label, voluntarily under collective arrangements, and this label has been very successful. This label has been praised by consumers' leagues, by women's organizations, by agencies of our Government—yes, by this very Government.

As a matter of great interest, let me quote for a moment, so you may see how two agencies are inconsistent on one subject matter. I quote now from a pamphlet of the United States Department of Labor, entitled, "A Policy Insuring Value to the Woman Buyer, and A Livelihood to Apparel Makers."

I quote now:

"The experience of half a century and the cooperative activities initiated by the National Recovery Administration convinced thoughtful men and women in the women's coat and suit industry and in the millinery industry that 'fair and equitable standards of labor' and 'standards of fair commercial practice' could be established and maintained permanently only through the cooperation and systematic effort of employer, employee and consumer. Accordingly, voluntary organizations were formed, representing all groups in each industry, to 'promote the common welfare of the industry and the public good'. These are called the National Coat and Suit Industry Re-

covery Board, organized in July, 1935, and the Millinery Stabilization Commission, formed later in the year. The creation of these two agencies merged effectively the apparent conflict of group interests; nine-tenths of the member concerns in the coat and suit industry and four-fifths of the firms in the millinery industry agreed to far-reaching objectives and to support effective administrative control. Bringing together over 2,200 members of an industry and representatives of 20,000 women and over 30,000 men employees, in a cooperative effort to eliminate unfair trade practices and to better labor conditions in the coat and suit industry, bringing together over 1,100 firms and representatives of over 25,000 employees in the millinery industry, has been a tremendous task and one worthy of public admiration and support. These group-interest mergers represent a new and fundamental effort at industrial self-regulation in industries made up of many small units. That they have within themselves the seeds of life is shown by their continued growth after the judicial extinction of the NRA under which they were brought into existence.

"Never before has industrial self-regulation been attempted among so large a number. But the one-tenth and one-fifth minorities that have refused cooperation are a constant menace to the 90 per cent and 80 per cent majorities in the great forward movement. A temporary undercutting of prices of coats and suits or hats may force the weaker concerns who are cooperating to give way. The women purchaser can thwart the attempts of these minorities to undermine a movement that bids fair to assure to her, permanently, good merchandise value for her money through the production of such merchandise under adequate wage scales and excellent working conditions."

I quoted, Mr. President, and delegates, the very words with which an agency of our Government has showered praise on this undertaking and achievement.

Notwithstanding these facts, the Fed-

eral Trade Commission, another agency of the Government, seeks to destroy the very thing that the United States Department of Labor has praised since the very inception of this particular label.

What we are asking is that this action of the Federal Trade Commission must be stopped here and now, lest the Commission reach far afield and wreck established trade labels throughout our union movement, labels that stand for proper sanitary conditions in shops and fair standards of labor.

We respectfully urge the convention to show its unanimous cooperation in opposing the action of the Federal Trade Commission in this particular regard.

The motion was carried, and the committee's recommendation of concurrence with Resolution 172 was adopted.

### Auto Workers' Jurisdiction

**Resolution No. 129**—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The United Automobile Workers of America, when chartered by the American Federation of Labor, was granted the following jurisdiction:

"That a charter for a national or international union automobile workers be issued at once to embrace all employees directly engaged in the manufacture of parts (not including tools, dies and machinery) and assembling of those parts into completed automobiles, but not including job or contract shops manufacturing parts or any other employee engaged in said automobile production plants," and

WHEREAS, In numerous instances the representatives of the United Automobile Workers of America are trespassing upon the jurisdiction of a number of the International Unions of metal workers, and the protests addressed to the officers of the United Automobile Workers of America have received no consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That should the officers of the United Automobile Workers of America decline to meet the representatives of the other International Unions affected, and endeavor to reach understandings which will be acceptable, that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to apply its friendly efforts to bring about such necessary adjustments; and further, that should

these friendly efforts fail, that the Executive Council will apply the necessary discipline of the American Federation of Labor so that the jurisdiction of the International Unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., will be safeguarded.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: May the Chair remind the delegates that the election of officers and the selection of the convention city for the American Federation of Labor is a special order for 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, so don't forget about it; keep it in mind.

There were a number of miscellaneous announcements made.

At 12:35 o'clock the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

## SEVENTH DAY — WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock by President Green.

### Resolutions Introduced by Unanimous Consent

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

Secretary Meany: Unanimous consent is asked for the introduction of two resolutions—one from delegates representing the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America on farmers' products legislation, the other from the delegate from the Central Labor Council of Seattle, Washington, in regard to government operated pig iron plants for the Pacific Coast.

President Green: Are there objections to the introduction of these resolutions? Hearing none they will be received and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolutions are as follows:

### Farmers' Products Price Legislation

**Resolution No. 175**—By Delegates George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, J. B. Boscoe, Joseph D. Shaughnessy, Frank Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Organized labor realizes that its welfare is to a great extent dependent on the welfare of the farmer and that upon the welfare of both de-

pend the moral and physical strength of the Nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention go on record as being opposed to legislation which would set a ceiling on the price of farm products at the farm, and as favoring legislation which would guarantee to the farmer a return equal to the cost of production plus a reasonable return for his effort.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

### Government Operated Pig Iron Plants for the Pacific Coast

**Resolution No. 176**—By Delegate Claude O'Reilly, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, Twice within the last generation the United States Government has asked the Metal Trades workers to build and man hundreds of new shipyards up and down the Pacific Coast to meet a national emergency. Pursuant to the last request more than one hundred thousand men are now engaged directly in building ships on this coast and many thousand others are employed in affiliated occupations. The climax of this employment is still several years distant, by which time these members will have increased so greatly that approximately a million people will be directly or indirectly dependent upon this employment. A similar crisis developed on this coast during the first world war. At the end of that crisis every shipyard was dismantled and every employee thrown out of work. Why? Because we do not produce a pound of iron or steel on the entire Pacific Coast. All of it comes from somewhere in the East. The iron ore is mined in Michigan, Alabama or Brazil.

It is manufactured into iron and steel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Gary, Indiana, or other eastern points, then shipped to the Pacific Coast where it is fabricated into vessels which are then sent back to the Atlantic Coast to engage in trade with Europe. The economic waste involved is obvious—so obvious, indeed, that when the crises have passed the big steel and shipbuilding companies promptly eliminated this waste by transferring all their shipbuilding operations back to the East Coast where their iron mines and steel mills were located. Bad as it is, this economic waste is relatively insignificant compared with the suffering entailed upon the employees and their dependents. Why should this be? Three materials are essential to the manufacture of pig iron, viz: coking coal, lime-rock and iron ore. It cannot be successfully denied that all three of these essential materials exist on the Pacific Coast in abundant quantities. Nor is there any doubt that we have on this coast an abundant supply of native-born skilled workmen and the finest hardwood and the finest climate for shipbuilding to be found anywhere in the world. The shipbuilding industry, however, is controlled by the steel industry and it is a matter of all too common knowledge that if the steel industry can prevent it there will be no competition on the Pacific Coast, because the freight rate on pig iron from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the Pacific Coast is \$15.00 a ton and it can be manufactured on the Pacific Coast for less than half of that price. Obviously, therefore, if a steel and iron industry is developed on the Pacific Coast the eastern steel companies will lose not only the coast trade but all the Oriental trade flowing through Pacific Coast ports. Just now, however—it is the present that concerns us most—there is a pressing need for more steel products than the entire industry can possibly supply. Intercoastal shipping by way of the Canal has practically stopped for lack of ships and the railroads admit that they need from forty thousand to seventy-five thousand additional cars to meet existing traffic demands. So much for the economic picture—and it is bad enough. A much more serious matter, however, is that the closing down of our shipyards is going to throw more than one hundred and fifty thousand men out of employment and throw more than three-quarters of a million people onto public relief rolls. All this can readily be avoided if the Government will but spend a few million dollars in establishing one or two pig iron plants on the Pacific Coast. Not only will this save our shipbuilding industry, but it will provide new employment in our iron mines, coal mines and lime quarries. No cheaper or more whole-

some social security than this is possible; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Government of the United States build two or more pig iron plants at strategically located points on the Pacific Coast, precisely as it has already built aluminum plants and that to prevent these plants from falling into the control of the steel industry the Government operate them under its own supervision; and be it further

**RESOLVED,** That we ask the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to concur in this resolution, and that we ask all other labor organizations and all civic and industrial organizations on the Pacific Coast to cooperate with us in securing this new industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: Just before we proceeded to take up the special order of business I want to present to you a visitor who heads a section of the department of government in which the officers and members of this Federation are deeply interested. I have stated on a number of occasions that the membership of the American Federation of Labor take a special interest in the Department of Labor, because we accept that department of the government as the department that deals with problems that seriously affect us.

As you will recall there was created in the Department of Labor a section known as the Mediation Department. That department works very closely with us. We have been very much pleased with the services rendered by the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor.

Dr. Steelman, the Director in charge of the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor, is here in Seattle visiting with us. We are pleased to have him at this afternoon's session. I know you will be pleased to hear from him, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you Dr. John R. Steelman, head of the Mediation Section of the Department of Labor.

**DR. JOHN R. STEELMAN**  
**(Mediation Section, Department of Labor)**

President Green, delegates and friends —We approach the end of another successful and constructive convention. You have heard many good speeches. The Secretary of Labor has brought a message from the Department of Labor. Other talks are on the regular schedule.

Thank you, Mr. Green, for introducing me. I come not to make a speech but to meet again and to shake hands with a thousand friends. I greet you, renew my pledge of cooperation with you and my faith that your great and powerful organization will fulfill with honor the heavy responsibilities that lie ahead.

I thank you.

President Green: I want to thank Dr. Steelman for the very sweet, short speech that he delivered just now. I am sure we appreciate it very greatly. It was right to the point and we are grateful to him for coming to our convention and for the message he delivered.

I thank you in behalf of and in the name of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, Doctor.

**SPECIAL ORDER — ELECTION  
OF OFFICERS**

President Green: Now we have arrived at the time when, in accordance with the instructions of this convention, we shall take up the election of officers and the selection of a convention city for the American Federation of Labor Convention for 1942.

I ask President Lindelof, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to preside.

**President**

Delegate L. P. Lindelof, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, presiding.

Chairman Lindelof: The special order of business before this convention is the election of officers. I feel very much honored to be requested to preside during the nomination and election of President of the American Federation of Labor.

I now declare nominations open for President.

Delegate Frank Duffy, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America: Mr. Chairman and delegates, we are now about to choose, select and elect a President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. That is an important matter. That is a serious job, but we can accomplish it as we have accomplished other jobs.

I consider the American Federation of Labor the greatest and best organization in America. I might even go further than that and say I consider it the greatest labor organization in the world. To substantiate that statement I want to quote about three of the speakers who appeared at this convention last week and gave addresses of welcome.

On the first day of the convention the Governor of this great State, in his address to the delegates and friends said:

"The American Federation of Labor is a great organization; I doubt if any organization in this entire land holds the responsibilities that you men and women do."

On the second day of the convention Madame Perkins, the Secretary of Labor of the United States, in her address to this convention said, among other things:

"There is no question that any group which continues and grows in influence and membership and in the estimation of the people for over sixty years becomes, by that fact, one of the great American institutions, an institution fraught with public interest and public importance."

Then on the fourth day of the convention, last Friday, Bishop Shaughnessy, Bishop of Seattle, said in his address:

"I say with all the fervor of my being that it should be the duty of the American labor man, of the American Federation of Labor to stand prudently and patriotically, but courageously and steadfastly, against any threat to destroy labor and labor unions."

That has been the position of our predecessors who have passed to the Great Beyond. That is our position now and will be to the crack of doom.

So you realize that when those outside the ranks of organized labor speak in such candid and far-seeing manner, they must know something of the good we have accomplished in the last sixty years.

The man at the head of the American Federation of Labor must be tactful, courageous, far-seeing, resourceful, determined. At the same time he must be friendly, courteous and obliging. His duties are numerous. I know whereof I speak. I have been intimately acquainted with and worked with Samuel Gompers when he was President of the American Federation of Labor, and I worked with Bill Green for many years after he became the successor of Samuel Gompers.

Last year in New Orleans we discussed the duties of the President of the American Federation of Labor. I took particular notice of the statement made by one delegate at that convention. I have always paid particular attention to him. When my dear, level-headed, deep thinking, clear minded, conservative, good friend, Joe Weber, now the Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and formerly International President of the American Federation of Musicians, speaks he says, to use the language of the street, a mouthful in a few words. At that convention in New Orleans Joe Weber took the floor and said this about the duties of the President of the American Federation of Labor: It is here published in the American Federationist, for December, 1940. That is pretty nearly a year ago. Joe said:

"The President of the American Federation of Labor holds the most responsible and the most difficult position of any officer of any American labor movement. The destiny of the entire American Federation of Labor is in his hands. He works day and night to protect and safeguard the interests of the American Federation of Labor."

I have in mind a man whom I think and believe can fill that position satisfactorily. He has made his mark in public life and in private life. He has

left his footprints on the sands of time in the labor movement—

Footprints that perhaps another,  
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,  
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,  
Seeing, may take heart again.

And I refer to none other than my good friend, William Green.

And it is now with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that I nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Lindelof: Are there any further nominations?

If not, I herewith declare the nominations closed. The Chair will entertain a motion.

Delegate Albert Adamski, United Garment Workers: I second the nomination, Mr. Chairman, and move you that the Secretary cast one ballot for the election of William Green as President for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Chairman Lindelof: I hereby declare William Green elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: Chairman Lindelof, officers and delegates in attendance at this convention this afternoon. I regard this as another momentous event in my busy life. You have called me to serve you on other occasions, and each time the call came I was deeply conscious of all that it meant and of all the responsibilities that went with it. But I must confess a deep sense of responsibility this afternoon, for as I look into the future I think I can see a hard road over which we will travel during the coming year. I cannot tell, I cannot see, I cannot correctly anticipate the experiences through which this great American Federation of Labor and those connected with it may be called upon to undergo. Neither fate nor fortune ever cast the

lines of my life along the easy way. I have been compelled to travel the hard road, as many of you have done, and I know that in accepting this call for service again during the year 1942, as President of the American Federation of Labor it will not be along the easy way. But I shall face it courageously, as you will face it.

I shall be moved by a deep devotion to the great cause which we represent and, as in the years gone by, I pledge to you I will give all the power I possess and all the service at my command in the interests of the American Federation of Labor.

Along with you I am proud of our noble institution, I am proud of the part I have been privileged to take in the development and establishment and maintenance of this great institution. I am conscious of the fact that you have made your contribution, perhaps even to a greater degree than I have, in the establishment and preservation of this great institution.

One significant fact stands out in this convention, and I am proud of that fact. It is that we came here a united family; we have remained a united family all during the proceedings of this convention; we are going out from here more thoroughly united than ever before, the great family of the American Federation of Labor.

We know of the difficulties encountered in the maintenance of unity and solidarity within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, many difficulties to overcome, and in overcoming these difficulties everyone who deals with them is called upon to demonstrate ability to be patient, to exercise self-control, to manifest a degree of sagacity that must characterize the conduct of a successful leader, because the prime necessity of our great movement is the maintenance of unity and solidarity. Here we are knit together in a common family. Discussion here in this convention has been of the most intellectual and of the highest order. Men have presented their points of view vigorously and with the evidence of all sincerity, and not much of it has been in conflict with the opinions of others, but that

matters not, it has been a great democratic institution in action, and there is no bitterness here because of debate or of discussion; and that to me is most significant, it demonstrates the self-control of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

Men and women here, I am proud to be associated with such a great movement, and now, in response to your call to serve you for another year, I want to thank you most sincerely for this confidence you have manifested in me, and for the unanimous call of this afternoon.

Now for the future, just a moment. We shall meet it as we have met unforeseen difficulties in years gone by. I cannot tell what the problems may be, what the difficulties are, but I have faith in myself, faith in you, and faith in the American Federation of Labor. Strengthened by that faith and by a noble purpose, we shall go from here with our hope strong, courageously fixed upon the future, and in our hearts and minds a fixed determination that come what may the integrity, the honesty and the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor shall be preserved.

I thank you.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: Now the Chair calls for the nomination for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

### Vice-Presidents

Delegate Duffy, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor we want men of standing, of character, of determination, men who will stand solidly for the welfare, growth, advancement and progress of the American Federation of Labor. These men on the Executive Council have many things to do, and on their shoulders rest enormous responsibilities.

I have a man in mind for First Vice-President of this great organization who can fill that position. He has done it be-



fore, he can do it again, and he can make good, as he has already done. His record is one to be proud of. He has been elected and re-elected time after time in his own organization as the General President. I am referring to the organization I have the honor to represent here today, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He is a straightforward sort of a fellow, he is one you can depend on at all times. He will give you a fair show and a square deal on all issues. He is a fine type of a trade unionist, none better. I know whereof I speak; I have worked with him week in and week out, month in and month out, all the year around for thirty years. He can fill this position satisfactorily, and now it gives me pleasure to nominate William L. Hutcheson, the General President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, for the position of First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: I rise to second the nomination of Brother William L. Hutcheson and move that Secretary Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Brother Hutcheson.

Delegate Hanson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the nominations be closed on the name of Brother William L. Hutcheson for First Vice-President, and I further request that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the ensuing term.

President Green: If there are no further nominations the Chair declares nominations closed. Delegate Hanson moves that Secretary-Treasurer Meany be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for the election of Brother William L. Hutcheson as First Vice-President.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William L. Hutcheson for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision I declare William L.

Hutcheson elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and recognizes President Maloney, of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers Association: Mr. Chairman, after listening to the splendid nominating speech made by Delegate Duffy and the very patriotic acceptance speech by President Green, I am rather fearful that I may not be able to do justice and find words that will be proper to nominate the Second Vice-President.

As you all know, we are living in very, very difficult times. I am firmly of the opinion that civilization itself is at stake at this moment. I am in full accord with the statements made by the Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions here this morning. When I was in Europe two years ago, just before war was declared, I saw the great station in Cologne crowded with German soldiers, young men of 19 or 20 years of age. I found then that Germany had been mobilizing for five days.

Without a doubt, gentlemen, we are at a crisis not only in the affairs of this Federation, but, as I have indicated, as far as civilization itself is concerned. Never in the history of the American Federation of Labor have strong leaders been needed as at this particular time.

The man I expect to nominate, like President Green, also came up the hard way. As an immigrant boy from Luxembourg he landed in New York years ago. He has been blessed by nature, both physically and mentally, and he has a capacity for hard work. For after all, no matter what his virtues may have been, unless he had the capacity for work to develop them he would never have been the successful leader that he is today—a diplomat, an orator and a statesman with vision and a determination to do what is right, a man of character, and with it all courage in his soul. As I have indicated, he is the type of man and leader that we need at this period of our career. As has been well said, institutions are judged, whether we like it or not, by their representatives.

And so it is a great pleasure and an honor to present to you here my very good friend and your good friend, and with all his good qualities just a regular fellow, for the office of Second Vice-President of this Federation, Matthew Woll, of the International Photo Engravers Union of America.

President Green: Brother Matthew Woll has been nominated. Are there other nominations?

Delegate Madsen, Painters and Decorators: I move, Mr. President, that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with your instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll for Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement made by the Secretary-Treasurer I officially declare Matthew Woll elected to serve as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Bagley, American Federation of Musicians: Mr. Chairman, at a convention of the American Federation of Musicians held in Denver, Colorado, in 1929 it was my privilege to read a telegram to the delegates conveying the information that our International President, Joseph N. Weber, had been elected a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. He has held that office continuously ever since. Contemplating his more than twelve years of constructive activity, realizing as I do the breadth of his experience, knowing the quality of his brilliant and far-seeing mind, it is now my happy privilege to nominate Joseph N. Weber for Third Vice-President of this Federation.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

Delegate Steep, Musicians: I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention on the name of Joseph N. Weber.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber for Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Joseph N. Weber elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Paulson, Electrical Workers: Mr. Chairman, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination the name of G. M. Bugnizet for Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

Delegate Keneflick, Electrical Workers: I rise to second the nomination of G. M. Bugnizet for Fourth Vice-President and I move the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for him.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugnizet as Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare G. M. Bugnizet elected Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Holleran, Maintenance of Way Employees: I rise to place in nomination for Fifth Vice-President George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: Mr. President, I consider it a privilege to second the nomination of George M. Harrison, and I move that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the

unanimous vote of this convention in behalf of Brother Harrison for Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison for Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George M. Harrison elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair calls for nominations for Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Gillespie, Teamsters and Chauffeurs: I desire to place in nomination for Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers, Daniel J. Tobin.

President H. W. Brown, Machinists: I desire to second the nomination of Brother Tobin, and move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be directed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the re-election of Brother Tobin.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Daniel J. Tobin as Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement made by Secretary-Treasurer Meany, I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected as the Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: Mr. President, fellow delegates of this convention, I take extreme pride in nominating for the position of Seventh Vice-President of this great American Fed-

eration of Labor, Harry C. Bates, the General President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

Delegate McCarthy, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers: I arise to second the nomination of Harry C. Bates for Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot for Harry C. Bates for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Harry C. Bates as Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with the decision you have just made and the announcement of Secretary-Treasurer Meany, I officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected as Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Doherty, Letter Carriers: I arise for the purpose of placing in nomination the name of Edward J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers, for the office of Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Gorman, Letter Carriers: I arise to second the nomination of President Gainor and move that the nominations be closed, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward J. Gainor as Eighth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Edward J. Gainor as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of Secretary-Treasurer Meany, I officially

declare Brother Edward J. Gainer elected as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kehoe, Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I take great pleasure in nominating for Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor our International President, W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Robert Arnott, Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, with very much pleasure at this time I second the nomination of our worthy President, W. D. Mahon, and I move you, Mr. Chairman, that nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot in favor of W. D. Mahon as Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for W. D. Mahon as Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision and the announcement just made, the Chair officially declares Brother W. D. Mahon elected as the Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I would like at this time to nominate Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, for Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tremblay, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I am pleased to second the motion, and I move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous ballot in favor of Felix H. Knight as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Felix H. Knight as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision, and the announcement made by Secretary-Treasurer Meany, I officially declare Brother Felix H. Knight elected as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Ernst, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, at this time I would like to place in nomination a man who answers the qualifications set down by President Green in his speech today as to diligence, patience, sagacity and self-control. Those were the four points President Green made, and I believe that the gentleman I am about to place in nomination answers everyone of them 100%.

He has been the General President of our International Union for 31 years, and while our International Union today ranks fourth on the list so far as membership is concerned, there was a time when we were very low down, numerically speaking, owing to some unwise legislation that was placed on the statute books of this country, but because of the sagacity, because of the leadership, because of the self-control of the man I am about to place in nomination, we were able to rise to the position that we hold at the present time.

Two hundred and fifty thousand culinary workers cannot be wrong in re-electing this man year after year without any opposition. He has also served as Vice-President of this great American Federation of Labor with distinction to himself and the Federation. He has further been honored in being sent as a representative for this great movement as a fraternal delegate to Great Britain.

All this indicates that he will in the future, as he has in the past, represent the great American Federation of Labor

with distinction and honor to himself and to the movement.

I therefore take great pleasure in placing in nomination for the position of Eleventh Vice-President the General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, Brother Edward Flore.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to second the nomination of Edward Flore for the office of Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Green, Stage Employees: At this time I wish to place in nomination for the office of Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, the name of George E. Browne, President of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and a present incumbent on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brock, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees: I second the nomination of George E. Browne.

President Green: Are there any further nominations? If not, the Chair declares the nominations closed.

Now we will proceed to the election of Eleventh Vice-President. The Secretary will call the roll of delegates and the delegates will vote for their choice of Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. Please bear in mind, Brother Edward Flore, President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union is nominated, and Brother George Browne.

The candidates, therefore, are Brother Flore and Brother Browne.

Secretary Meany proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

## ROLL CALL VOTE ON ELEVENTH VICE-PRESIDENT

For FLORE — Cary, Aldred, Noll, Washburn, Myrup, Schmidt, Beisel, McGuern, Winter (H.), Birthright, Crane (C. T.), Whitman, Robinson (J. B.), Merlino, Horn (R.), Weibel, Franklin (J. A.), Walter (Wm. E.), Davis (J. N.), Nacey, Mara, Anderson (F. W.), Cory, Obergfell, Kugler, Hauser, Bowen (Wm. J.), Bates, Matthews (W. T.), Moran (Wm. J.), Nolan, O'Donnell (T. H.),

Kasten, Tracy (Wm.), Morrin, Lyons (J. H.), Woods (E. M.), Myers (L. L.), Strickland (C. F.), McFetridge, Fletcher (J.), Cooper (Wm. H.), Sullivan (D.), Hardy, Knight, Tremblay, Barney, Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (Wm. L.), Hutcheson (M. A.), Duffy (F.), Hanson (C. W.), Sexton, Rajoppi, Ricketts, Fischer, Schoenberg, Strunk, Ferron, Forrest (J.), Van Horn, George Horner, Henriksen, Seyb, Shuster, Harrison (G. M.), Hinton, Amo, Desepte, Coulter (C. C.), Atkinson, Doyle (J. J.), Toussaint, Brown (E. J.), Martin (A. E.), Bugniazet, Hudson, Milne, Kenefick, Paulsen, MacDonald (J. C.), Milton, Comfort, Maloney (W. E.) Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter, Delaney, Swain, Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Maximilian, Clinton (J.), Kelley (J. L.), England, Wright, Caselmann, McCurdy, Adamski, Slater (G. C.), Brooks (W. R.), Blumberg, Tobin (W.), Molisani, Plotkin, Shane, Breslaw, Nagler, Antonini, Maloney (J.), Campbell (W. W.), Warren (J. B.), Frey (R. L.), Cook (H. H.), Hatch (H. C.), McCormick (L. A.), Burns (J. B.), Heffner, Schwandt, Zaritsky, Lawlor (M.), Lewis (M.), Finkelstein, Spector, Flore, Ernst, Koveleski, Lane (C.), Koenig, Newman (P.), Messing, McSorley, Hagen, Matthews (W. M.), Donovan (W. J.), Byers, Moore (F. A.), Nickelson (R.), Doherty, Gorman (Wm. J.), Bang, Cox, Lieberman, Madison (J. V.), Riehl, Bruck, Castro, Ryan (J. P.), Owens (J. R.), Thronson, Brown (H. W.), Alfias, Clayton (J.), Burrows, Edgar, Wharton, Milliman, Farnan, Holleran (T. F.), Crook, Finneran, McCarthy (Wm.), Conway (J. J.), Gorman (P. E.), Lloyd (T. J.), Jimerson, Hofmann (J.), Maxwell (M. S.), Walsh (J. J.), Byron, Ryan (J. J.), Close, Moriarty (J. T.), Stevenson (H.), Hutchinson (L. A.), Hogan (J. F.), Jeannette, Stein, Petrillo, Weber, Bagley, Steeper, Riccardi, Castromovo, Lindelof, Clarke (J. F.), Oliver (J.), Meehan (J. P.), Madsen, Wallace (A. W.), Huggins, Lambton, Addy, Lynch (G. Q.), Ross (G.), Rooney (J. E.), McDonough (M. J.), Donlin, Feeley, Masterton, Burke (Thos. E.), Meany, Rau, Ames, Reinlib, Laderman, Britton, Kelsay, Randolph (A. P.), Webster, Duffy (J. M.), Hull, Chadwick, Dickey, Honey, Berry, Orr, Boscoe, Shaughnessy, Smith (F.), Burke (J. P.), Sherman, Killen, Ashton, Meinz, Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, Nelson (H.), Wigstrom, Arnott, Seward, Strickland, Howard (W. E.), Jones (G. W.), Gaviak, Lundeborg, Waugh, Coester, Murphy (H.), Zander, Noxon, McCann, Chapman (G. W.), Miller (Wm. W.), Givens, Cullen (P. J.), Counts, Kuenzli, Turley, Borchardt, Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Brewster (F. W.), O'Rourke (J.), Wilson (G.), Lester, Brown (H. G.), Mahoney (D. J.), Allen (W. L.), Hoffman (S. B.), Rota, Gord, Sims, Frey (J. P.), Wade (R. R.), Leh-

mann (C. T.), Egan (J. J.), Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Blangers, Heatley, Taylor (K. I.), Lawson (G. W.), Graham (J. D.), Keefe, Marcante, Lyons (Thos. J.), Fink, Nickerson (D. E.), Martinez, Moore (O. C.), Seide, Cahill, Brackinreed, Lawler, Rowe, Cartmel, Peterson (I. M.), Kearney, Blair, Johnson (J. O.), Strausser, Slater (T. L.), Soutter, Ricks, Carmichael, Thompson (A. G.), Chinella, O'Neill (H. S.), Weizenacker, Young (J. G.), Hall (G. W.), Watt, Tousley, Murphy (E.), Ranne, Hansen (H. I.), Derhammer, Hurley, Burch (F.), Adams (Wm. C.), Anderson (G.), Day (P.), Finnegan (Wm.), Ennis, Tipton, Baldwin (E. T.), Phillips (W. J.), Mason (A.), O'Reilly (C.), Mueller, Hawley (C.), McKenna (G.), Bengough, Palmer, Locher, Lehman (G.), McCoy (C. V.), Smith (C. L.), Ingebright, Lea, Ketner, Pratt, Paque, Erickson, Pierce, Mason (W. J.), Dahlbeck (C. G.), Ming, Prine, Williams (O.), Simon, Turco, Frobey, Groner, Firth, Marock, Wahner, Mahan, representing 37,950 votes.

For BROWN—Green (T. V.), Brock (E. J.), Jacobson (O. M.) Brayfield (G. W.), representing 421 votes.

Not voting—Gillmore, Behncke, Mulaney (J. A.), Sickles, Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Becker (A.), Gross (W. S.), Greenwald, Minaden, Zitello, O'Neill (J.), Cilento, Rosemund, Mayeur, Foley (Laurence), Russo, Moersch, Marshall (Joseph), Rivers (Herbert), Bove, Etchison, D'Andrea, Sheets (Robert), Levine, Quinn (B. G.), May (C. F.), Warfel (George L.), Buckley, Sumner (C. A.), Winter (E. J.), Lewis (J.), Batty, Smith (W. Warren), Heini, Coyne (J. P.), Ornburn, Hill (L. H.), Johnson (D. L.), Mullen (C. H.), Couch, Dean (G. W.), Ross (H.), Bingel, Brewer (R. M.), Barry (J. L.), Murrey (W. W.), Donnelly (T. J.), McDevitt (J. L.), Loring, Acreman, Taylor (J. A.), Cairns (T.), Dykes, Finch (W. W.), Gresty, Gossett, Harris (D.), Summers (D.), Morgan (J. K.), Fyhen, Snyder (F. W.), Meyers (M. M.), Goudie (L. G.), Hurst (J. J.), Gooch (P. H.), Lenehan, Garrett (H. M.), Rains, Beck (Gordon E.), Inge, Fix, Voorhees, Martel (F. X.), Hatter, Van Fossan, Birchall, Cushing (G. F.), Burke (M. J.), Egan (J. C.), Bomegardner, Doll (M.), Cauley, Ortiz, Fritz (A. J.), Augustino, Harrison (Geo. J.), Hankins (W. H.), Edsall, Camden, Reid (John), Buzzell, Le Bow, Tower, Brown (Raymond F.), Rivin, Blanchard, Janson, Smith (Earl), Bobst, Soule, Quinn (James C.), Jackson (J. B.), Sullivan (James), Draper (P. M.), Haggerty (C. J.), Templeton, Estabrook, Lambert (M. D.), Wald, Brandt (J. B.), Cushman (F. E.), Neilson (O. F.), Powers (Joseph), Little (K.), Kyle (W. J.), Welsh (W. S.), Toman (M.), Crory, Kenyon, Latter, Harris (L. F.), Pierce (E. F.), Jenott, Tanner (W. M.), Smith (Floyd

T.), Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, McIlvaigh, Covert (W. P.), Paulsen, Chesebro, Hult (H. H.), Bonallo, Sterling (Arthur), Parkinson (M. J.), Rubin (M. E.), Dann (S. O.), Kuhnley, Stahl (E. R.), Boutiette, Freitas, Houser (G.), Stredicke, Melger, Stuckey, Lemon (Roy), Williams (W. J.), Driscoll (J. H.), Watkins (C. A.), Reisdorf, Tuttle (J. D.), Kellogg (J. H.), Headrick, Sharpe (E.), Hopkins (T. M.), Hefner (L. L.), Meagher (P.), Lyman (J. W.), Frederick (R. T.), Bracy (E. L.), Paulson (R.), Garrett (H. B.), Cline (A.), Hicks (J. H.), Goodwin (E. A.), Lamberton (W. L.), McLean (A. M.), Johnson (V.), Gatchell (R. E.), Munson, Bregante, Gary (W. L.), Scales, Suarez, Dunaway, Cardwell, Lufrano, Grossman, Thomson (G. W.), Hough, Simpson (H. C.), representing 3,455 votes.

Delegate Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Delegate Batty, of the Textile Workers of America, was required to leave the convention on official business before the name of his union was called on the roll. He authorized me to announce that if he were here he would cast the 153 votes of his Union for Mr. Flore. If it is irregular to have them tabulated I desire to have my statement become part of the proceedings.

President Green: Delegate Taylor, it would be impossible to record the votes of the United Textile Workers unless you were duly delegated and accredited to do so. The record, however, will show your statement.

There are those who did not respond to the roll call, but it appears to the Chair that the vote, when announced, will be quite decisive. For that reason I hardly think it necessary to call the roll for absentees again, but the Chair will announce that any absentees who failed to respond to their names may record their vote with Secretary-Treasurer Meany any time.

We will announce the result of the roll call in just a moment:

Secretary-Treasurer Meany will announce the result of the roll call on the election of Eleventh Vice-President.

Secretary Meany: The result of the roll call shows:

For Edward Flore.....37,950 votes  
For George E. Browne..... 421 votes

President Green: Brother Edward Flore having received a majority of the



votes cast is officially declared elected as the Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate Wharton, International Association of Machinists: Mr. Chairman, three years ago I was the President of the International Association of Machinists, from which position I voluntarily resigned because of the state of my health, and at that time I doubted very much whether I would ever again have the privilege of sitting with my associates in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. I am happy to be here today, and I am proud of the opportunity to place before this convention the name of my successor, a man with whom I have been associated for some thirty odd years. I knew him when he first came into this organization, and I have had the opportunity of observing him at work through all these years. I have found him a man whom you could depend upon as a man among trade unionists, honorable, upright and a credit to his organization and this great movement. I was greatly pleased and honored when this convention saw fit to place him upon the Executive Council subsequent to my resignation from that honorable body.

I now take great pleasure in placing in nomination this man with whom I have been associated during all these years, and who was associated with me as my assistant at headquarters for some five years, by name, Harvey W. Brown, President of the International Association of Machinists, for the position of Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Hutcheson: I second the nomination of Harvey Brown for Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists: In view of this happy turn of events I move nominations be closed and that the Secretary of this convention be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Harvey W. Brown to the office of Twelfth Vice-President of the American

Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Harvey W. Brown as Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair officially declares Brother Harvey W. Brown duly elected as Twelfth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Thirteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Merlino, Barbers' International Union: At this time I deem it a great privilege and an honor to place in nomination the General President and General Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America, William C. Birthright, to succeed himself for Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate James Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I rise to second the nomination of William C. Birthright. He is the new man on the Council, and I am confident that his colleagues and the Federation in general realize that he is the proper man for the position. I move you that the nominations close and that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William C. Birthright for Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Meany: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William C. Birthright as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And the Chair officially declares Brother William C. Birthright duly and legally elected as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

#### SECRETARY-TREASURER

Now the Chair calls for nominations for Secretary-Treasurer.



Delegate Masterton, Plumbers: Mr. Chairman, this afternoon I have had the privilege and pleasure of listening to a great many nominating speeches. I have heard a great many virtues of the various candidates outlined—some I didn't even know they possessed. This afternoon, however, I want to place in nomination a man for the position of Secretary-Treasurer who possesses all of the virtues which have been mentioned this afternoon. He could not be otherwise, he is a member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

During the past three years this man has brought all of those virtues into play in filling the very, very important position of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. To your judgment I leave the question as to how that office has been filled by this man.

It is with a great deal of pride and pleasure I present to this convention the name of George Meany for re-election as Secretary-Treasurer.

Delegate Lyons, New York State Federation: I desire at this time to say to the delegates attending the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that three years ago you honored one of our natives of the Empire State of New York. He then was President of the largest Federation of Labor in these United States. His accomplishments in the State of New York over a period of five years is written upon the statutes of that great state.

It is indeed a pleasure to second the nomination of my predecessor and the 1,400,000 trade unionists back in our great State really appreciate what he did for them as President of the New York State Federation of Labor. He has brought to this great Federation, as the President of the United Plumbers just said, not only virtues, but he has brought human kindness and charity, and he has made for the Federation great prestige. I ask you to honor the great State of New York by re-electing him as the General Secretary-Treasurer of your Federation.

Mr. President, I move the nominations close, and I ask that you instruct the Assistant Secretary to cast the ballot

to re-elect George Meany Secretary-Treasurer of this, the greatest American Federation of Labor in history.

The motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Assistant Secretary Early: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your decision, and the announcement just made, the Chair officially declares Brother George Meany elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Secretary Meany: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I think you have heard enough speeches during the last few days that you have reached the stage where you don't want to hear any more.

However, I do wish to say that I keenly appreciate the expression of confidence reposed in me by the convention this afternoon, and say to you that I intend to carry on, doing the very best that I can to fulfill the duties of the office to which I have been elected.

Thank you.

## CONVENTION CITY 1942

President Green: Now the next thing in order is the selection of a convention city for the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the Chair will call for nominations for a convention city for the American Federation of Labor in 1942.

The Secretary-Treasurer has received a number of invitations, and I think it proper and appropriate for him to bring these invitations to the attention of the delegates before a nomination for a convention city is made.

Secretary Meany: Mr. Chairman, if there is no objection on behalf of the convention, in order to conserve time I will read a list of those who have sent us invitations from the two cities to which we have been invited.

From the city of Toronto, Canada, we have received the following invitations:

## Invitations to Hold 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto, Ontario, Canada

The Prime Minister and President of the Council, M. F. Hepburn; J. Johnson, Manager, Royal York Hotel; J. W. Buckley, Secretary, Toronto District Labor Council; Tom Moore, President, Trades and Labor Council of Canada; F. D. Tolchard, General Manager, Board of Trade, Toronto; Fred J. Conboy, Mayor, Toronto; R. Gleason Smith, Grand Knight, Toronto Council, Knights of Columbus; W. R. La w, Recorder, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, Toronto; T. H. R. McNally, Manager, Toronto; Convention and Tourist Association, Toronto, Canada; C. J. Kelly, President, Toronto Hotel Association, Inc., Toronto, Canada; F. C. Bryant, Recording-Secretary, Local No. 796, International Union of Operating Engineers, Toronto, Canada; Arthur Milligan, President, Toronto Motion Picture Projectionists, Toronto, Canada; Arthur Dowell, Local 149, American Federation of Musicians, Toronto; John Gavin, Local Union, Brewery Workers International, Toronto; Thomas Bell, Business Representative, Painters Local Union, Toronto; Ed Bevis, Secretary, Local 113, International Association of Fire Fighters, Toronto; Local Union 353, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Toronto; Alf. Ward, Secretary, Toronto District Council of Carpenters, Toronto.

Secretary Meany: If there is no objection, we can print the actual communications in the record.

President Green: Are there any objections to that course? Hearing none, it will be followed.

The communications are as follows:

Office of

THE PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL

Toronto, Sept. 13, 1941.

Dear Mr. Green:

Last year I wrote you inviting the American Federation of Labor to make Ontario its Convention Headquarters for 1941 and, although Seattle was chosen, I wish to thank you for placing my invitation before the delegates.

Since then world shaking events have inevitably thrown our two countries into closer and still closer relationship and have demonstrated beyond doubt that in foundry, factory and machine shop lies the key to victory, without which all valour is unavailing.

Under such circumstances, I feel sure that if your great Federation sees fit

to visit Canada for its convention next year, nothing but good will result and that it will help to bind closer not only our two countries but that it will also strengthen the affiliations which have existed for so many years in your organization on both sides of the border.

I shall be pleased therefore, if you will place this invitation before the delegates at Seattle and I can assure you that if you decide to visit us, the Government will do all in its power to make your gathering a success.

With kind regards, I remain,  
Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) M. F. HEPBURN.

BOARD OF TRADE OF THE CITY OF TORONTO, CANADA

Toronto, September 24, 1941.

President, Officers and Members,  
The American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

The Toronto Board of Trade has been gratified to learn, through the Toronto Convention and Tourist Association, that the American Federation of Labor has under consideration the holding of its 1942 Convention in this City. Toronto will be happy to welcome such a distinguished body and, on behalf of this Board, I desire to express the sincere hope that we may have that pleasure.

Toronto is an ideal convention City. Not only are there excellent facilities available for business sessions, but the many points of interest in and about the City, our diversified amusements and our splendid climate, are features which render a visit most enjoyable.

These attractions, added to the hospitality of our people who are always delighted to greet visitors to the City of which they are so proud, will, I trust, warrant you in selecting Toronto as your next place of meeting. A warm welcome will await you in the City of Toronto.

Yours sincerely,

F. D. TOLCHARD,

General Manager.

MAYOR'S OFFICE

Toronto, September 25, 1941.

President, Officers and Members,  
American Federation of Labor.

Gentlemen:

Your Federation is, I am informed, about to choose a meeting place for your 1942 convention, and I am writing to extend, on behalf of the Government of the City of Toronto, and our citizens generally, a cordial official invitation to come to this City next year.

Toronto is only a night's railway journey from all the large centers of population in the Eastern and Central States of the Union, and conventions held here are usually well attended because of its convenient and economical

accessibility. It is situated on one of the principal highways of Ontario and can be reached within a few hours by motor from all cities bordering on the Lower Lakes. In addition, Toronto is well served by all modes of transportation, including train, bus, boat and aeroplane. Both Trans-Canada Air Lines and American Air Lines operate services to Toronto.

A centre of education, art and culture, Toronto is also a vast manufacturing community, and the distributing point for an extensive area, and as a consequence a great banking centre. Here each year about the first of September is held the Canadian National Exhibition, which has assumed an international significance, drawing its exhibits from the four corners of the globe. It is the greatest permanent achievement of its kind in the world.

Toronto is one of the leading convention cities of the Continent. The increasing number of conventions held here each year attests this City's popularity as a meeting place for international and other associations. Toronto is prepared to give you the freedom of the City, and the unfailing courtesy and hospitality of our people will be yours in fullest measure. Facilities for the holding of large and small gatherings and the housing of exhibits are readily accessible.

Unsurpassed opportunities for restful recreation and entertainment are found in and around Toronto. Niagara Falls and other places of interest can be reached within a few hours' by rail, boat, or by our municipally owned Gray Coach Lines. Abundant provision has been made for every form of Winter and Summer sports. Over twenty golf courses are within easy reach of this City, at some of which special arrangements have been made for out-of-town guests.

To those who feel the lure of Ontario's lake lands and hunting grounds, or the rich mining districts of Northern Ontario and Quebec, Toronto will prove a convenient stopping place on their journey. Our hotel accommodation is ample, and ranges from the luxurious seventeen million dollar hotel of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the home-like private hotel of the uptown districts.

Hoping to have the pleasure of greeting you in 1942, I am,

Yours very truly,  
FRED J. CONBOY,  
Mayor.

TORONTO COUNCIL NO. 1388  
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

Toronto, September 26, 1941.

President, Officers and Members,  
The American Federation of Labor,  
Gentlemen:

On behalf of the officers and mem-

bers of Toronto Council, No. 1388, Knights of Columbus, I desire to extend to your Association a most cordial invitation to hold your 1942 convention in our city.

Should your Executive Board give consideration to our invitation I am quite sure you would have no cause to regret your decision as we have one of the finest convention cities on the North American continent and probably the largest in Canada where labor unions are organized.

In extending this invitation I am speaking from experience as some three years ago our own organization, through its executive officers in New Haven, Conn., decided to come to Toronto, this the first time in the history of the Order's fifty-four years of holding annual conventions and they were all well pleased with Canadian hospitality.

Trusting to have the pleasure of having you with us and with west wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,  
R. GLEASON SMITH,  
Grand Knight

RAMESES TEMPLE  
Ancient Arabic Order  
NOBLES OF THE MYSTIC SHRINE  
Toronto, Canada, Sept. 25, 1941.

President, Officers and Members,  
American Federation of Labor.

Dear Members:

The Officers and Members of Rameses Temple join with other interested Toronto organizations in extending a cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to convene in the City of Toronto in 1942.

We feel that we can speak of the facilities and advantages of our city on the basis of our own successful experience. One of the best attended and happiest conventions ever held by the Imperial Council, A.A.O.N.M.S. took place in Toronto a few years ago. I think it is taken for granted that any city which can handle the Shrine convention successfully has proved that it has the facilities and advantages necessary to assure success for conventions of all sizes, even up to the very largest.

This invitation is prompted by the fact that members of the Shrine, through their professional, business and other fraternal relationships, take part in the affairs of so many organizations. We feel sure that any member of the Shrine would be glad to be consulted with regard to his knowledge of the excellence of convention accommodations and services in Toronto.

Commending this project to your most friendly consideration, I have the honor to remain,

Yours very truly,  
W. R. SHAW,  
Recorder.

# THE TORONTO CONVENTION AND TOURIST ASSOCIATION, Inc.

Toronto, September 25, 1941.  
President, Officers and Members,  
American Federation of Labor.  
Dear Members:

On behalf of the City of Toronto we extend a most cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold their 1942 convention in Toronto, Canada.

Toronto is now one of the most popular convention cities of both the United States and Canada. It has the reputation of being a clean, interesting, attractive and friendly city. Toronto's ideal location is a geographical guarantee of attendance. It lies midway, by rail, between New York and Chicago—just 11½ hours from either city; or 14 hours from Cincinnati, Washington and Philadelphia. Time consumed in travel from other great cities of the most densely populated part of the United States is correspondingly short. Toronto is only an overnight "Pullman Trip Abroad."

Toronto has plenty of hotel accommodation, rivaling the best in the world. Details regarding hotels and their facilities for conventions and convention exhibitions are contained in the printed matter enclosed.

Canada as a whole continues to welcome its American friends, as tourists or as convention visitors. There have been no changes in connection with entering the Dominion of Canada, or in travel or hotel service conditions within its borders. Officials of the United States immigration service are not making it difficult for American citizens to return to their own country. Any normal means of definite identification will satisfy their requirements on the return journey.

Everything for the conduct of the convention enters Canada without duty, and there is no duty on commercial exhibits either coming to Toronto or returning to the United States. We guarantee this and will gladly supervise the necessary arrangements.

Toronto is Canada's greatest convention city, serving scores of International and purely American organizations each year. We know you can hold an outstandingly successful convention here, and it will be a real pleasure to work for you and with you to assure a memorable gathering in 1942.

Yours very truly,

T. H. R. McNALLY,  
Manager.

TORONTO HOTEL ASSOCIATION, Inc.

Toronto, Ont., Sept. 25, 1941.  
President, Officers and Members,  
American Federation of Labor.  
Dear Members:

The officers and members of this association have authorized me to extend

a cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold your 1942 convention in Toronto, Canada.

Nothing can make or mar the success of any convention as easily as hotel accommodations. We are happy to offer you facilities that will appeal to every taste and every pocket. Toronto has two of the largest and most completely equipped convention hotels on the continent—each with 1,000 rooms or more, and each provided with air conditioned convention auditoriums. Other hotels can serve effectively meetings up to 400 people in attendance. Seating capacities provide properly for groups from 25 to 2,200. Experience in meeting the requirements of the most famous conventions assures you efficient and understanding service.

In our convention hotels you will find exhibit halls to accommodate the commercial displays incidental to conventions which do not use civic auditoriums.

The smaller hotels of Toronto offer thoroughly modern rooms and services for the accommodation of those organizations whose convention attendance runs up into the thousands. These hotels range downward in size from 750 rooms, and they are accessible, hospitable, and adaptable to your needs.

The members of this association will be glad to give your convention every special attention that may be required, and we assure you of first-class accommodation at our regular rates.

Hoping Toronto may be favoured, and pledging you our fullest cooperation,

Yours sincerely,

C. J. KELLY,  
President.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS, LOCAL UNION NO. 796

167 Church Street, Toronto,  
September 29, 1941.

President William Green,  
% International Union of Operating Engineers,  
1003 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

At the regular meeting of Local 796, Wednesday, September 24, it was unanimously decided to endorse the following request of the Toronto District Labor Council:

That the City of Toronto be placed in nomination at the Seattle Convention of 1941, so that the American Federation of Labor can meet in the said city as of 1942.

Trusting this will receive your immediate attention.

Fraternally yours,

F. C. BRYANTON,  
Recording Secretary.

**TORONTO MOTION PICTURE  
PROJECTIONISTS**

Labor Temple,  
167 Church St., Toronto 2  
September 14, 1941.

Mr. William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Sir and Brother:

I am instructed by this local union to solicit your support relative to holding the next American Federation of Labor Convention here in the City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

It is felt by the Canadian movement in general, and this membership in particular, that a visitation from the American trade unionists would do much to cement the bonds of international trade unionism between our two respective countries.

It can further be pointed out that the American dollar is at a premium, and will therefore compensate the delegates in some measure should the distance present a barrier.

I personally am sure that a convention held here will be a complete success.

With best wishes, I am,  
Fraternally yours,

ARTHUR MILLIGAN, President.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Local 149, A. F. of M., joins with Trades and Labor Council this city in requesting the next convention for Toronto.

ARTHUR DOWELL.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 14, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

The members of the Brewery Workers International Union extend to you a cordial invitation to hold your 1942 convention in the city of Toronto.

JOHN GAVIN,  
Executive Board Member.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 14, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
A. F. of L. Convention,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

We, the Brotherhood of Painters, extend to your organization an invitation to hold your convention in Toronto, 1942.

THOMAS BELL,  
Business Representative,  
Painters Union.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 14, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.  
Toronto Fire Fighters Local 113, International Association of Fire Fighters,

by resolution unanimously support invitation for American Federation of Labor convention to meet in Toronto in 1942. Convention of American Federation of Labor at Toronto greatly needed to strengthen international labor movement in this, the largest industrial area in Canada.

ED BEVIS, Secretary.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Extending invitation the next convention be held in Toronto, Canada.  
Local Union 353, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

The Toronto District Council of Carpenters sends fraternal greetings and desire to extend a hearty invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1942 convention in Toronto.

ALF. WARD, Secretary,  
District Council.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.  
George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Greetings from Toronto Board of Trade. Sincerely hope we may have pleasure welcoming 1942 convention American Federation of Labor to Toronto. Excellent meeting facilities, diversified amusements, many points of interest in vicinity and splendid climate make Toronto ideal convention city. Warm welcome will await you in Toronto.

F. D. TOLCHARD, General Manager,  
Toronto Board of Trade.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 7, 1941.  
William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Best wishes for success of present convention American Federation of Labor. I am hoping you will accept Toronto's invitation for next year. We at the Royal York would be delighted to have the opportunity of taking care of your convention and would help you in every way possible to make it a great success. Canada at this time specially welcomes our good neighbors to the south and they may be sure of a most friendly Canadian welcome.

J. JOHNSON, Manager,  
Royal York Hotel.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 14, 1941.  
William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Seattle Convention, Seattle, Wash.  
Dear Sir and Brother:  
The Toronto District Labor Council, chartered by the American Federation of

Labor, unanimously decided to invite the American Federation of Labor to hold their 1942 convention in the city of Toronto. We trust that our invitation will receive the endorsement of the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention in Seattle and by so doing we can further consolidate our International Trade Union movement in this time of crises and thus prove that the labor movement on the North American continent is as one in the common struggle that we are now facing.

Yours fraternally,  
J. W. BUCKLEY, Secretary,  
Toronto District Labor Council.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel, Seattle, Wash.

Cordial greetings and good wishes to your annual convention from city of Toronto, Canada. Extend hearty invitation to hold 1942 convention in Toronto. Ample accommodations and facilities available. Assure you of cordial welcome.

F. J. CONBOY, Mayor.

Ottawa, Ont., Oct. 15, 1941.

William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
In Convention, Seattle, Wash.

On behalf of Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, wish to strongly support requests of Toronto District Labor Council that American Federation of Labor hold its 1942 convention in the city of Toronto. Believe that to do so would be valuable public demonstration of the ties of friendship and brotherhood that unite the workers of both our countries and that it would raise still further in public esteem the high regard for the International Unions which constitute the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress, Canadians of all classes deeply appreciate the splendid aid being rendered by the United States in the life and death struggle in which we are engaged in the defense of democracy. Be assured that Canada being at war will in no way interfere with all facilities for holding convention in congenial surroundings being provided and should you decide to meet in Toronto in 1942 delegates and visitors to the convention can be assured of a cordial, sincere and warm welcome.

TOM MOORE, President,  
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

### **Invitations to Hold 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Boston, Massachusetts**

Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor, Boston,  
Massachusetts; Harry P. Grages, Sec-

retary-Treasurer, Central Labor Union,  
Boston.

### **CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF BOSTON AND VICINITY**

October 6, 1941.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Olympic Hotel,  
Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The State Federation of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Local Unions of Greater Boston are urging that the 1942 Convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Boston.

As Secretary of the Central Labor Union in 1930, I had charge of the arrangements of the Convention at that time and feel that the delegates and their friends were very well entertained in Boston. Having had the experience of 10 years ago, the Convention Committee of that time is still in office and are ready to duplicate their efforts of 1930.

Won't you give us an opportunity to again serve you as to Convention and entertainment committee for the 1942 Convention.

Thanking you for your cooperation in this matter and with best wishes for a successful convention.

Fraternally yours,

HARRY P. GRAGES, Secretary,  
Convention Committee of the  
Central Labor Union of Boston  
and Vicinity.

### **OFFICE OF THE MAYOR CITY OF BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS**

October 7, 1941.

Mr. George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer,  
American Federation of Labor,  
In Convention Assembled,  
Hotel Olympic,  
Seattle, Washington.

Dear Mr. Meany:

As Mayor of Boston, it is my pleasure to join with interested members of your conference in extending to your organization a most cordial invitation to hold its 1942 meeting in our city.

The delegates and friends of your organization will enjoy visiting Boston's wealth of historic shrines, its educational and cultural institutions and sharing the wonders of the natural vacation attractions of this section of New England.

The sincerity of Boston's hospitality and a welcome that has gathered warmth for over three hundred years await you. It will give me great pleasure to greet your delegates and friends during your deliberations in our city.

Sincerely,

MAURICE J. TOBIN,  
Mayor.

Delegate Bengough, Canadian Trades  
and Labor Council, Vancouver, B. C.,  
Canada: Mr. Chairman and delegates to  
the Sixty-First Convention of the Amer-



ican Federation of Labor, I desire to place in nomination a city which is situated on the Canadian side. Your brothers and sisters in the Canadian movement affiliated to this organization would once again welcome the opportunity to demonstrate to you the kindly feelings and the spirit of brotherhood that exists in our organization on both sides of the International boundary.

I want to assure you our members on the Canadian side are loyal to the international trade union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor, and while being loyal to this organization it does not mean that they are disloyal to the government of Canada and the Canadian institutions, as some advocates of the imitation and phoney unions we have in Canada would endeavor to create. On the other hand, they are more loyal because of the fact we believe and know that the kindly feelings we have built up over many years in the membership on both sides of the line have been of great benefit to the citizens of both our great countries.

I want to say, Mr. Chairman, that the city I am about to place in nomination has all the facilities necessary for the holding of this convention. It is adjacent and within easy distance of many of the larger populations in this country, and it is an overnight run from some 55 million people in the United States. The largest hotel, which undoubtedly would be the convention headquarters, is without exception the best convention hotel that there is on this or any other continent.

There are some matters I would like to deal with briefly. And that is the question of American citizens going in and out of Canada. I want to say here emphatically that there has been no change in regulations regarding American citizens going into Canada and returning home since Canada has been engaged in war. There has been no change. All that you need on returning to your homes is some means of identification, either an automobile license, a tax receipt or any other document that will show your residence, and the best thing of all to have is a paid-up union card in an organization affiliated with the

American Federation of Labor. That is the best thing to travel on.

On the other hand, I want to say as far as delegates and members coming from Canada there have been some restrictions placed upon us. That is, we have to get a passport, we have to get an American visa, but we don't mind that. We think the trouble we have to go through is worth it to give us the opportunity of coming over to this side of the line and meeting our friends and brothers in our movement.

One other restriction they have placed upon us is we have difficulty in bringing our wives across the line. Some of the boys think that is a good regulation. There are others again, who of course, would prefer to bring their wives with them; they believe they can keep their eye on them better that way. But I want to say generally we do not fight with the restrictions that have been placed upon us. There are no restrictions whatsoever on the American citizens going in and coming out of Canada.

Another thing we suffer from is a reduction in our pay of eleven per cent, but when you go over there you get a bonus of ten per cent on your money, and I can hardly visualize an organization such as this, composed of trade unions, voting against an increase of ten per cent in your salaries. So as to help you out in those things I am going to place in nomination the city of Toronto, Canada.

Delegate Boscoe, Printing Pressman: Mr. Chairman and delegates, by action of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, of which I have the honor of being President, I have been directed by the Council to extend a cordial invitation to hold the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in Minneapolis.

I believe the most of you are familiar with the conditions in Minneapolis. Ten years ago, yes, even five years ago, the labor movement was at a very low ebb. Today we enjoy a good friendly labor spirit, a one hundred per cent organized city, friendly to the American Federation of Labor.

We likewise enjoy a splendid and friendly relationship with all of the



people, and of the employers in Minneapolis.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would place the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota, for the convention of the American Federation of Labor next year.

Delegate Arnott, Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, delegates and friends—It gives me the greatest pleasure this afternoon to second the nomination of my home city, the city of Toronto. Toronto is well known throughout the Dominion of Canada as the Queen City, and I want to assure you at this time that in our trade union movement and in our Trades Council the affection we have for you delegates of the American Federation of Labor is sincere.

The city of Toronto is situated on one of our fine lakes, Lake Ontario. We have a population of nearly a million people, and the great majority of those people own their own homes.

We have ample accommodations for a convention of this kind. The Royal York Hotel, where no doubt the convention will be held, is one hundred per cent union, and its accommodations are such that you can have your convention in session there at any time.

We are only a few hours from the home of the Dionne quintuplets, and I am sure that is interesting to the delegation.

There are many American brothers in Toronto who are stationed there, training in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and I am sure many of you would like to meet them.

We are a great industrial city.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in closing, our Trades Council has told me to inform the delegates there is no trouble whatsoever as regards coming into our country. All you require when you go home is your union credential.

Mr. Chairman, Toronto welcomes you. Come. I plead with you. We need you, the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Shane, Ladies' Garment Workers: I wish to second the nomination of the city of Toronto for another reason that was not mentioned by my fellow Canadians. Canada has been at war since the first of December, 1939. Canada has spent millions and millions of dollars

to fight the menace that the labor movement considers its own—Hitlerism, Fascism and Communism. Canada's resources are strained to the very utmost and in addition to everything else, Canada needs the American dollar in order to buy tanks, airplanes and munitions to fight the Nazi menace across the seas.

It is very easy to come across the border. I am traveling almost every month. There are no restrictions whatsoever.

In addition to that we can promise you that if you come to Canada you can go into any store, buy a nickel cigar, hand them a dollar and you will get \$1.05 in change. That is a fact. Any delegate coming into Canada or any American coming in with an American dollar gets \$1.10 for it.

The Canadian trade union movement needs you. The American Federation of Labor in Canada needs you to fight the opposition unions we have on the other side. We have a multiplicity of rival unions there and we need the atmosphere of the American Federation of Labor Convention there, so as to strengthen the International Federation of Trade Unions.

I hope the delegates will vote unanimously for Toronto, Canada.

Delegate Kearney, Boston Central Labor Body: Things have changed since the last convention. Our Canadian brothers told us in the last convention they wanted us to come to get our American dollar, and now they want us to come so that they can give you the Canadian dollar.

This is the third time I have invited you to come to that old historic city of Boston. We are almost within a stone's throw of Canada now, about an hour and a half airplane ride, and surely the influence of this convention must reach into Canada. When you come to Boston you will be within an hour and a half's airplane ride of Canada, and surely the influence there can be spread. If Brother Martel wants you to come to Detroit it is only a five-cent fare to Canada.

I appreciate the desire to extend the hand of fellowship and fraternal greetings to our Canadian brothers, but I believe we ought to stay at home in these United States. I believe there is need for us to stay at home, and I question whether the tremendous influence of our

going to Canada physically will do all the things that we are made to understand will be done.

Will you please pause for a moment and come back with me a few years to the city of Boston, where this great Republic was founded and where the colonies formed into Commonwealths and State and where we finally blended and federated into the United States of America. This American Federation of Labor is built upon similar lines, and when those pioneers in Boston wrote the Constitution of the United States they made it clear that the representatives in the Congress would stand up and be recorded and vote. You adopted that, too, in this Federation of Labor. There can be no racketeering or no dictatorship in the Congress of the United States with that system and neither can there be any dictatorship in this democratic Federation of Labor.

Mr. President, I stand as I said last year in the sacred precincts of the city where this Republic was born. That ought to be inspiration for us in our zeal and patriotism to be re-dedicated there to this great country of ours to stand upon that spot where the first shot was fired, the shot that was heard around the world, the shot that reverberated throughout the Colonies and returned with united acclaim that we would build a new republic in this New World, to stand on the spot where the first colored man died. Edward Attucks lost his life in the battle for this Republic and his dying words were "My only hope for the freedom of my fellow men lies in the establishment of the Republic."

And about that very same time in the British Parliament there was another great leader of men who was fighting for the freedom of the black man, and when the Colonists said to Daniel O'Connell, "You suspend your activities for the freedom of the colored man and we will grant you votes for Irish freedom," the words he uttered in reply were, "May my right hand wither from my body, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, aye, not even for the freedom of Ireland will I sacrifice one black soul."

There in that historic city, I repeat, is the place of inspiration for the dele-

gates of the American Federation of Labor.

The other day we heard a very splendid address from the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, telling us to invest our surplus money in defense bonds. He wasn't referring to the delegates to this convention, for I haven't any surplus left. But there is one thing you might say to the Secretary that where there is inflation there is no surplus.

Keep in mind the city of Boston where there is no sales tax, no hospital tax, no liquor tax, no nuisance taxes. Keep these things in mind, too, for the profitable increase of your dollar will stand up better in comparison to the artificial dollar in Canada.

Mr. President and delegates, our city of Boston is 310 years old. We are a patient people. Keep us in mind, won't you?

In conclusion, in agreement with Minneapolis, if he still is in agreement, we will both second the nomination of Toronto, so that the business of this convention may go on.

President Green: The Chair wonders whether he understood Delegate Kearney when he concluded his address to second the nomination of Toronto. Is that right?

Delegate Kearney: That's right.

President Green: Then you are a changed Irishman. You have arrived at the point where you are no longer a revolutionary Irishman, you are just a peaceful one.

Delegate Kearney: Irishmen sometimes have wisdom and they are a very patient race. I feel secure that when you leave Toronto you will come to Boston.

President Green: Are there further nominations?

If not the Chair will declare the nominations closed. Hearing none, the Chair declares the nominations for the convention city closed.

Delegate Boscoe, Printing Pressmen: Mr. Chairman, I rise in consideration of the priority which I understand is here—and of course we all do recognize priority—and because of that I hope that in the convention following 1942 the delegation will give serious consideration to the invitation to the American Federation of Labor to come to Minneapolis. With that understanding, Mr. Chairman, I with-

draw the nomination for the 1942 convention for Minneapolis.

President Green: The nomination of Minneapolis for the A. F. of L. convention in 1942 has been withdrawn. The vote will therefore recur upon a motion that Toronto be selected as the convention city for 1942.

Delegate Boscoe: I move you that that be the action of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair declares that the City of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, has been selected as the convention city for the A. F. of L. convention in 1942.

Delegate Arnott, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I take this opportunity to thank the delegates and those in attendance at this Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor for giving me the opportunity to send word back to Toronto that we are the convention city for 1942. I assure you delegates that you will have the time of your lives and we will see to that.

Thank you.

President Green: Well, you have set a pretty high standard and we will expect you to live up to it. If you fall down, God help you.

## FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: The next order of business would be the selection of fraternal delegates both to the British Trades Union Congress and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters and Decorators: I move you that the selection of those delegates be left to the Executive Council.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Paulson, Electrical Workers, and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: That completes the special order of business.

May I report to the delegates in attendance at the convention that I extended an invitation to Mr. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, located in Washington, D. C., to come to Seattle and address the delegates in attendance at the convention. He was unavoidably

prevented from coming to Seattle last week or even yesterday or the day before. He is here now. He is going to address the delegates from the State Federations of Labor and others at the Olympic Hotel tonight, for the purpose of discussing social security, unemployment insurance, and those subjects in which you are deeply interested. I think it perfectly appropriate to present Chairman Altmeyer to the convention at this time, and I am happy indeed in that I am privileged to do so.

We are glad he arrived here safely, even though it may be just a little late.

I present to you Mr. A. J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, who will address you now.

## MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER

(Chairman, Social Security Board)

Mr. President and members of the American Federation of Labor. It is certainly gracious of you, in fact very forebearing to listen to me at this very late hour, and I in turn will undertake to be as brief as possible in discussing this tremendous subject of social security. In being brief I will give you what might be called the Mother Hubbard type of speech. The women in this audience, I think, will know what I mean by a "Mother Hubbard." It was that rather peculiarly voluminous type of garment that covered the whole subject without touching any part of it. So perhaps I shall fall into that same error when I undertake to merely discuss with you the high spots of an address that I had prepared for delivery this morning.

As your President says, unfortunately the plane I was in decided to go haywire, and I woke up this morning in Salt Lake City instead of in Seattle, Washington.

First in all our minds just now is the defense program and the employment problems that come with it. You and I, from different ends of the line, are concerned with the job of supplying workers to produce the machines and munitions of defense. We are at the same time equally interested in putting men and women to work because they need jobs. And we are fully aware that both for the sake of defense production and for the sake of the worker, we must see that the right man or woman gets to the job he or she knows how to do.

The defense emergency, notwithstanding its job opportunities, has made this in some ways harder to accomplish than it was before. Therefore, I should like

first to discuss with you the work of the United States Employment Service and solicit your cooperation in making this service increasingly effective.

### Employment Service

The United States Employment Service has been used, especially since the beginning of the defense program, as never before. It has been used because it was vitally needed to carry out that program. But it has been used also because you have seen its value—organized labor has joined with us actively to help us make the United States Employment Service the useful thing it ought to be.

It means much to the service that unions all over the country have established regular, systematic procedures for the registering of their members with the local employment offices. And we, as you know, have given instructions to every local office to keep in touch with local labor headquarters in order to be sure the union concerned shall know whenever a union contractor wants men. We tell the employment office managers not only to respond to union needs and requests, but to take the initiative in enlisting union cooperation in their localities and to notify union men of job openings on union projects. We do not allow the local employment office to refer men to an employer who asks for non-union men, or to any job where a dispute is on.

All this of course is in line with Federal legislation which guarantees the right of collective bargaining.

The Employment Service, through the 1,500 local offices of the State Employment Service which make up the nationwide network, has been placing workers this summer at the rate of more than half a million a month. There are more job opportunities today than ever before and, there are now more than 50 million men and women at work—the most in the nation's history. It is due to the defense program, of course—but even that does not absorb all the unemployed. In fact, when we conducted a special registration last spring, we noticed that the more we placed, the more there were who registered at the public employment offices, looking for jobs. We found that this was due to the fact that in our recruiting for defense we were tapping new sources of labor—people not usually working for wages, but now signing up for defense work. (It is well to remember these newcomers in the field, by the way, when we are counting the unemployed. They are not in the same class as workers who have lost their jobs.)

However, it still is true that we have to count our unemployed by the million. And now we have an entirely new kind of unemployment, caused by a shortage of materials for non-defense plants which use the same materials that are needed

for defense work. But for the most part, this sort of unemployment should be only temporary.

The Government is combatting this development in four ways:

1. The Contracts Division of the Office of Production Management is allocating defense contracts, where possible, to the communities where layoffs have occurred or are imminent, perhaps converting to defense work the same plants which would otherwise have to shut down or reduce their force for lack of materials;

2. The Employment Service arranges for transfer of the workers to defense jobs if they have the necessary skills, or for other employment in their lines;

3. Various Federal agencies are cooperating in providing suitable training for workers laid off who are not already qualified for defense jobs where they are needed;

4. Unemployment compensation benefits are easing the period of dislocation for thousands of workers affected by the layoffs.

To deal with the new employment problems and the vastly bigger responsibilities with which we are confronted, the Government machinery has been tightened up. We have 12 regional headquarters with representatives of the United States Employment Service in each regional office, to work with the State Employment Services in his territory. Each of our 12 regional Employment Service representatives has been made Regional Labor Supply Officer for the Office of Production Management to head up regional Labor Supply Committees composed of members from organized labor, industry, and the public. This puts the United States Employment Service at the center of defense operations and of responsibility for making the defense labor supply program work. And it makes the local employment offices responsible for reporting at once any local situation where layoffs are in prospect, in order that action may be taken by the Office of Production Management's Contract Division as well as by the Employment Service.

The United States Employment Service has been aided greatly in its task of finding jobs for displaced non-defense workers and workers for defense jobs by the occupational analysis studies carried on during the last 8 years. Thousands of jobs have been studied, analyzed, and described in terms of the trade. Each step, process, or part of the job has been described—in consultation, let me add, not only with employers but with the unions concerned. Now we have a dictionary of occupational titles and job definitions covering 17,452 separate and distinct jobs. The important jobs and divisions of jobs have been classified by their likeness or relationship to each other and assembled in "job families," as we call them.

This long and exacting piece of work is now bearing fruit. The classification by

"job families" is proving especially useful in locating jobs for workers who have been laid off and in locating workers for expanding plants—especially plants changing over from non-defense to defense work, or brand new plants.

For example: Refrigerator production, as you know, has been curtailed because of material shortages. A refrigerator factory must be converted into a gun factory. How many of the refrigerator workers can be used to make the guns? Must some be laid off? Will more be needed? The United States Employment Service, on request, sends a job analyst to work with the plant engineers, and they "blue print," so to speak, the skills and number of men required. Men who make castings for refrigerators can make castings for guns—yes. But the manufacturer who has been making refrigerators does not necessarily know in advance exactly what particular skill will be needed for his gun factory. He may not know which of his refrigerator workers will fit best into each specific gun-making operation. But our job analyst, having studied the jobs in arsenals as well as the jobs in refrigerator factories, can tell him.

When it comes to setting up an entirely new munitions plant, the Employment Service expert can help the plant management in the lay-out of jobs because he knows what it takes in other plants and also because he knows that many seemingly unrelated skills can, after all, be employed on this kind of work. So again, we prevent unemployment—either by opening up new jobs for the unemployed in this community or by bringing to the new plant workers about to be laid off somewhere else.

But at the same time that we still have large numbers unemployed in practically every section of the country and some communities are suffering from unemployment due to material shortages, we also have nation-wide shortages in a large number of skilled occupations which are vitally essential to the defense program.

At the present time, difficulties are being encountered in locating workers with skills needed in aircraft manufacturing and servicing, ship and boat building and boiler-making, the metal trades, and in the instrument, optical goods, clock and watch trades. Of the 397 occupations included in these four groups 166 occupations—about 45 per cent—had less than 25 workers registered. In many specific occupations in the professional and technical fields and in electrical equipment manufacturing and service there are already serious shortages of available skilled workers. Aircraft riveters, detail assemblers, and final assemblers are needed in the aircraft industry. Serious labor shortages exist for ship carpenters, ship electricians, marine machinists, plate hangers, and loftsmen. Tool-makers, all-around machinists, engine-lathe operators, and turret-lathe operators are needed. In the occupation of fox-lathe operator there are 35 requests for workers—and

not one single person is registered at any public employment office in the United States in this occupation.

These shortages of skilled workers for critical defense occupations have been obscured by the unemployment that still exists among the unskilled and semi-skilled. Recently these shortages have been further obscured by so-called "priorities" employment. Then, too, the shortages of materials, equipment and plants have claimed much of our attention. But let us make no mistake about it—shortages of skilled workers for essential defense occupations are already hampering defense production and will prove to be an increasingly serious obstacle to maximum production unless we act promptly and intelligently. Organized labor, employers and the government will need to join hands in facilitating the transfer of skilled workers from non-defense to defense jobs when the supply is insufficient to meet the total demand. One of the simplest and most effective ways to help relieve these shortages would be an agreement to give preference to defense employers in furnishing new workers for these critical defense occupations. I am sure we would all agree that it is highly desirable that the maximum utilization of skilled workers be achieved through voluntary and cooperative action rather than through governmental regulation. As President Wilson said during World War days when confronted with the problem of labor shortages, "the highest and best form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people."

I presume it would be generally conceded that a nation-wide employment service performs an essential function in advancing the defense program. However, the need for a sound social security system as a basis for a total defense program is not so generally recognized.

A year ago when we asserted the vital place of social services in maintaining national strength, we had to depend upon facts available at home. We could merely assert our belief that it was just as important to conserve the man power of the nation as it was to conserve its forests, its streams, its soil and its minerals. Today we have new facts based upon the experience of those nations who have faced the guns.

France declared a moratorium in its social legislation. France sought to mobilize its labor in military fashion, and at the same time to suspend the responsibility the nation had assumed for the protection of workers and their families—and France fell.

Britain took a view opposite the French view. Britain took labor into its highest councils. Britain strengthened its social security programs, liberalizing benefits and adding new kinds of protection made necessary by the war situation. Benefits were granted to defense volunteers and to wage earners injured by enemy action and to the survivors of such persons. Allowances were provided for the wives

and children of mobilized men. Unemployment assistance authorities were authorized to care for persons and families in distress because of any of the exigencies of war. To insure housing for the homeless, buildings can be requisitioned. To preserve the physical basis of the home, property damage caused by bombings was insured by the Government. All along the line, benefit scales have been adjusted upward to offset the rising cost of living. That was Britain's way.

Now let's see where each part of our own social security program fits into a program of national defense. Let me first observe that it was largely because of the advent of unemployment compensation that the necessity for a strong employment service came to be recognized.

### Unemployment Compensation

Unemployment compensation was set up six years ago to tide the unemployed worker over periods of unemployment. Its object was to establish reserves which would pay adequate benefits to preserve family income and community purchasing power. Those reserves have mounted—to a considerable extent because the benefits paid are inadequate. Today we do not know when the emergency will end, bringing a recession of employment which will place great demands upon those reserve funds. But it is certain that these unemployment compensation funds which have been built up will afford some insurance against the uncertainties of the future which America could ill afford to do without. However, it is vitally necessary that we make our unemployment insurance system a safer, sounder, simpler, more extensive and more adequate system to meet the problems which lie ahead of us. This can and should be done without delay, not only in order that unemployed workers during the present period of relative prosperity may be more adequately protected, but in order that the nation as a whole may more adequately cope with the unprecedented unemployment which may well result from unprecedented world-wide dislocations.

In many states the waiting period is much too long. The amount of benefits is also inadequate. But the greatest inadequacy of the present laws is the very short duration of benefits. Last year over one-half of all workers in the United States receiving benefits were still unemployed when they exhausted all their benefit rights. As a consequence, workers who should have had compensation were frequently forced to turn to relief agencies for assistance.

In addition to the inadequacy of the benefits, there are millions of employees entirely excluded from coverage of unemployment insurance.

The financial situation with respect to the various state reserve funds is very unsatisfactory. While the states have a

total of over two billion dollars in their reserve funds, the picture is very uneven. Some state funds are bulging with reserves; others are relatively poor. In one state, for example, the state reserve fund at the end of 1940 was equal to less than the benefit disbursements during the highest previous year; in another state the reserve was equal to over eight times the highest year's benefit payments.

This variation will undoubtedly increase. It will be affected by the concentration of defense employment in industrial areas. The result is likely to be that in those states with heavy defense employment the unemployment insurance reserve funds will go completely bankrupt when they are hit by post-defense unemployment, while other state funds will have much more than enough. Consequently, we must give immediate consideration to ways and means of strengthening the present unemployment insurance system to make it safer and sounder.

Under the Federal-State system, the eligibility of workers to receive benefits and the amount and duration of benefits paid depend upon the amount of employment and earnings in the state against which the claim is made. If during a given year a man has worked in more than one state his earnings may be so divided that he is eligible for no benefits at all in any one state or for very little, even though in the aggregate he may have earned enough to qualify for substantial payments. Under existing laws no state permits a worker to pool the benefit rights he has accumulated in two or more states. With this interstate problem growing more and more important, some satisfactory answer must be found.

Then there is that striking paradox in our provisions for unemployment compensation: If a worker gets sick during a spell of unemployment, his benefits stop, just at the time when he needs them most. Sickness is one of the most important causes of dependency. On an average day in the year seven million persons are sick and disabled. The method of social insurance can be applied to the problem of health as it already has been applied in the case of unemployment, old age, and death. Cash benefits to those persons who are unemployed because of sickness should be made a counterpart of the cash benefits paid to those persons who are unemployed because of business conditions.

Unfortunately compensation for wage loss on account of temporary disability would not be all that is needed. The costs of the medical care itself are about four-fifths of the total cost of ill health to workers and their families.

A concerted program of governmental action would repay many times the cost. And its importance cannot be gainsaid at a time when we are learning that 40 per cent of the men examined for military service have been rejected because of physical defects, many of which could be remedied.



## Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

Now let us turn to old-age and survivors insurance. Here we have a method whereby systematic contributions are made to provide for the worker's old age or for the security of his widow and orphans in the event of his death. I have never heard the suggestion from any source that American families ought to discontinue their private life insurance and contribute the premiums to the Defense Program. In the present emergency there will assuredly be no moratorium on death and I seriously doubt whether it would increase national morale to return the widows and orphans of wage earners to a reliance on charity.

Not so many aged workers are drawing benefits as we expected. Many are not retiring. Indeed, each month 2,500 aged workers who did retire and who were receiving benefits ask a suspension of their benefits to return to employment. It seems probable that many persons with skills are similarly postponing the date of their retirement while they serve the cause of national defense. But, by the same token all the more workers will have benefit rights two or three years hence and be entitled to greater benefits than they might have claimed without this industrial boom.

During this emergency the old-age and survivors insurance system can and should be strengthened in two ways:

First, there is certainly great need for extension of coverage so that more persons may enjoy the protection of this system. The present emergency has increased this need, since it is essential that no man, whether his job lies in the military forces, or in the civilian services of the Government, or in agriculture shall have his rights abridged because he is doing a job the nation needs to have done. The limited coverage of the present system means that all workers who transfer from private to public employment sacrifice rights they have established in the system, and that many workers who come into covered industry after a period of other work or of retirement will not have time to build up rights to benefits.

Second, benefits should be paid to the disabled wage earner and his family. At the present time if a man dies his widow and orphans receive monthly benefits; if he is only half dead—permanently disabled and thus a greater financial burden upon his family—the demands upon that family's income are larger, yet the present system provides no monthly benefits.

To both these points—the extension of coverage to workers not now covered, and the provision of benefits for the disabled—the Social Security Board has given long study. It is ready to shoulder the administrative responsibilities involved at any time Congress may decide.

So far I have discussed only contributory social insurance as a means of pro-

moting social security. Of course, as you know, there are also various public assistance sections of the Social Security Act which provide cash assistance to the needy aged, needy blind and dependent children. However time will not permit me to discuss these public assistance aspects of social security.

The machinery of the social insurance programs and the machinery of public assistance have served in Britain and in European countries to take care of the families of persons while they are serving in the armed forces. That means providing these families with a continued income sufficient to take care of their need. In 1917 and 1918 in this country there was not in existence any nation-wide public organization with a nation-wide network of offices and the requisite professional skill and experience to do a really good job. Those things can't be done just by passing a law. Today, thanks to social security, we have in the Federal Government, in the states and in every community of our nation skilled services equipped to meet this need if it develops because of the extensive induction of persons with dependents.

No, America does not need to throw overboard the security of its workers and their families. For the efficiency of its industrial system and the morale of its people, America needs more of these things that come under the heading of social security. It needs a better employment service instead of none at all. It needs more adequate unemployment compensation benefits instead of none at all. It needs old-age and survivors insurance which protects every American worker and his family, not just some of them. It needs protection of the disabled as well as of the aged and the survivors of those who die. It needs better coordinated and more adequate public assistance programs in every state and community.

Yes, America needs social security. But social security has assumed no final and unalterable form. We can never build any simple Maginot Line style of defense against the ever-persistent, ever-changing attack of insecurity. The social security system is a dynamic, not a static, thing and in recognition of that fact Congress has given to the Social Security Board the responsibility of making continuous studies of its actual workings. From time to time in the future the results of these studies will find their way into legislation as they did in 1939. That method—that principle, that social security should grow from experience—should I think be one stable and permanent guiding philosophy behind any social security program. It must be founded upon the bedrock of sound finance and skilled professional administration. It must grow—not haphazardly as new prophets emerge with new panaceas—it must grow out of its own well-studied experience. No system which is not itself stable and proven can ever bring dependable security to the American family.



Long ago, we recognized that national strength lies in preserving our forests, our minerals, our streams and our soil. We built great scientific services, developed vast projects to secure these things in perpetuity for our nation. We have talked learnedly of defense in terms of the strategy of such raw materials. But it is through social security that we make secure the families of the nation so that they enjoy the material and spiritual advantages of this great free nation.

Indeed, the British Minister of Labor, the Honorable Ernest Bevin, has said, and I quote, "at the end of this war, and indeed during the war, we must accept social security as the main motive of all our national life." And the Atlantic Charter signed by the British Prime Minister and the President of the United States states that their countries desire "to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security."

If there is a wave of the future that wave is social security; and it is a wave that will carry us into safe harbors not engulf us in a sea of human misery and abasement. Instead of destroying democracy it will strengthen it and make it a living reality for all our citizens.

May I say just a word of appreciation to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and to the Division of Research and Information, for all of the help they have given to us during the past year and the years preceding.

When I presume to stand before you and mention what I conceive to be the future of social security, I realize full well the fashion and the form of social security will not be what I or any other Government official may conceive it to be; it will be what you, the workers of this country, conceive it to be.

Thank you very much.

President Green: I want to thank Chairman Altmeyer for his visit to our convention this afternoon and for the highly educational and interesting address that he delivered. He touched upon a subject that is of vital importance, social security; and more and more we will discover that this subject probably transcends in importance every other question outside of the economic questions of wages, hours and conditions of employment. We are fortunate indeed in that a man so expert as Mr. Altmeyer is serving as Chairman of the Social Security Board. We have found him to be very responsive to suggestions made by the American Federation of Labor. We

work together harmoniously and very closely, and we hope through that character of cooperation that ultimately we will develop a plan and form of social security in the United States that will meet our social and economic needs.

I thank you, Mr. Altmeyer, for coming to our convention and for the address you have delivered.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS

Delegate Doherty, Letter Carriers: I will ask consent to make a very brief statement concerning the National Association of Letter Carriers.

President Green: Proceed.

Delegate Doherty: During the morning session when the Resolutions Committee was reporting on Resolution No. 112, which carries the names of the delegates of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Delegate Martel of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor made statements concerning the National Association of Letter Carriers' convention, which was held last month in Los Angeles, California. While some of the things that Brother Martel said are true, nevertheless the fact remains that the Postmaster General of the United States, Mr. Frank C. Walker, does maintain an open door policy throughout the entire post office service. He has followed nobly in the footsteps of his predecessor, Mr. James J. Farley, and I want it in the record here in behalf of the National Association of Letter Carriers that the remarks of Delegate Martel this morning were not authorized by the National Association of Letter Carriers.

President Green: All right. Thank you, Brother Doherty.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Madsen, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Legislation.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Acting Chairman Madsen: Unfortunately, Brother Ornburn was compelled to leave the convention, and he has

asked me to act as Chairman of the Committee on Legislation. Brother George will submit the report.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 68, 80, 83, 97 and 109.

### Post Office Employees' Salaries

**Resolution No. 68**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The skyrocketing cost of living makes a basic pay increase necessary to maintain our standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living, which has increased as much as 40% in some commodities, and a general increase of 2½% in the month of February, 1941, with an average increase of 10 to 20% in general food costs, thereby placing the same hardships on all employees whether new or old, and

WHEREAS, Labor has been forced to use its strongest offensive weapon, the right to strike and picket, to raise its wages to compare with advancing costs, and

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living is an experienced reality to all postal workers as well as the rest of labor, and necessitates an immediate drive for a general wage increase; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Seattle, Washington, go on record supporting the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in its efforts to secure wage increases for all post office employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we support the Postal Employees in its efforts to seek enactment of an overtime pay law providing for an overtime pay rate equal to twice the hourly pay rate, based on 1964 hours at a work year.

### Salary Increases for Government Employees

**Resolution No. 80**—By Delegate John Locher, Washington Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, During the last World War the Congress of the United States found it necessary to enact legislation which increased the salaries of Government Employees to help them meet the high cost of living brought about by the war conditions, and

WHEREAS, Government Employees must appeal to the Congress of the United States for relief when living conditions are increased by war conditions such as exist at the present time, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living in the District of Columbia is increasing day by day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, through its Legislative Department, have a Bill introduced in the Congress of the United States which has for its purpose an increase in the salaries of Government Employees by not less than \$240.00 per year, and to make such other salary increases from time to time which will allow the Government Employees a means by which they can at least meet part of the increased cost of living that has been brought about by the war conditions.

### Salary Increases for Post Office Clerks

**Resolution No. 83**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to secure a salary increase for Post Office Clerks, with a minimum of \$2,600 and a maximum of \$3,000 for regular employees, and a starting salary of \$1.00 per hour for substitute employees with graduated yearly increases.

### Salary Increases of Government Employees

**Resolution No. 97**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Postal employees have had no upward revision in salaries since 1925 and other Government employees are being compensated under the Classification Act of 1923, although living

costs have steadily mounted and the American standard of living has progressively improved for all other citizens, and

WHEREAS, Conditions as regards living costs as well as numerous inescapable obligations due to national and international conditions have seriously and adversely affected all Government employees, and

WHEREAS, During the period of depression in the last decade all Government employees suffered reductions in compensation, payless furloughs, and the loss of other privileges, an immediate upward revision of Government pay standards would be not only just treatment for these public servants but also is an economic necessity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled October 6 to 18, 1941, hereby endorse the efforts of the affiliated organizations of Government employees to secure an equitable upward adjustment of wages; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the Executive Council to give its full support and to urge all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the organizations of Government employees in securing this merited upward revision of compensation.

### Salary Reclassification for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 109**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The prices of all commodities have been constantly rising for the past year and are continuing to rise as evidenced by all known commodity indexes, and

WHEREAS, Throughout the length and breadth of these United States Labor of all classes have demanded and have received increased wages due to the higher living costs, and

WHEREAS, Post Office employees have not had any increase in pay since 1925; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees, railway mail clerks and motor vehicle employees for an increase in their wages; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That all secretaries of all locals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be instructed to write to their national officers urging immediate support for this vital legislation.

All of these resolutions request the support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor to the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure equitable increases in compensation.

Resolution No. 97 was introduced by all of the representatives of affiliated Government employees and should bear, in addition to those printed, the names of James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

The resolution points out that postal employees have had no upward revision of salaries since 1925 and that other Government employees are compensated under an act passed in 1923.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 97.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Legislative Program—Government Employees

**Resolution No. 157**—By Delegates James B. Burns, Berniece B. Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Government Employees has adopted the following objectives as its legislative program.

1. Payment of a bonus of at least \$240 a year to all government employees for the duration of the emergency to offset the increased cost of living.
2. Optional retirement at full annuity after 30 years of service; optional retirement at proportionate annuity after 15 years of service; increased annuities to not less than 50% of the average compensation for those receiving salaries in excess of \$2,400 a year; immediate life annuity after 15 years of service at age 55; unqualified disability retirement regardless of age or continuance on the annuity

- rolls until reinstated of persons who have recovered from disabilities; return of deductions upon separation from the service; preservation of the present civil service retirement system; additional deductions from compensation if necessary to secure more liberal retirement benefits.
3. Securing of adequate appropriations to make effective the promotion procedure provided in Public Law No. 200.
  4. Extra pay for extra work.
  5. Minimum compensation of \$1,500 a year for all full time employees.
  6. Five day week distributed over five consecutive days, with no decrease in pay; and elimination of the stagger system.
  7. Establishment of a Board of Appeals to hear and render decisions on appeals of employees with authority to enforce its decisions so as to protect fully the rights of employees.
  8. Immediate extension of the Classification Act to the field services.
  9. Amendment to the Classification Act to prevent change in duties of employees or description thereof when appeals for reallocations are pending; to afford employees unrestricted opportunity so to discuss their positions with a designated representative of the Civil Service Commission as will apprise him fully of their duties and related circumstances; and to guarantee prompt consideration of all appeals.
  10. Continued extension of the provisions of the Civil Service Act and rules to cover the entire civil service.
  11. The establishment of adequate transfer facilities and procedure to afford employees greater opportunity for advancement and promotion and to afford departments and governmental agencies the opportunity to secure qualified and experienced employees by transfer or reinstatement without delay.
  12. Improvement and standardization of efficiency rating system and provision of adequate appropriation to accomplish this purpose.
  13. Dismissal wage equal to half pay for six months for employees with five years of service who have been dismissed without prejudice.
  14. Uniform application of longevity pay principle to all Government positions.
  15. Reclassification upward of guards, policemen and watchmen in the Government Service, so that their grade and pay will be commensurate with the duties performed.
  16. Creation by law of a wage board for per diem employees of the Government of the District of Columbia, with adequate employee representation thereon, such Board to meet at designated times at least twice a year.
  17. Equitable application of the night differential to all positions in all agencies where night shifts are required.
  18. Shorter hours, adequate compensation and improved working conditions for custodial employees, employees in the Veterans' Administration facilities, federal penal institutions and the Public Health Service.
  19. Optional Quarters, Subsistence and Laundry with provision of applying cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services.
  20. Defraying by the Government of the cost of travelling by employees and their dependents and all other costs, including the transportation of household effects incidental to the transfer of employees from one duty station to another for the convenience of the Government.
  21. Providing all employees of the Government with uniforms and necessary equipment in those cases where the wearing of uniforms and use of special equipment is compulsory.
  22. Compensation during training and study courses when conducted on other than Government time.
  23. Straight eight hour shifts for all nurses working in Government hospitals.
  24. Provide for pay and grade commensurate with duties performed for all employees.
  25. Establishment of adequate housing projects at reasonable cost to meet the needs of the National defense employees in national defense areas.
  26. Continued support of the Hatch Act, but urging its amendment to permit the Civil Service Commission to fix penalties for violations of the Act commensurate with the gravity of such violations.
  27. Legislation making it possible for Government employees engaged in hazardous work to obtain insurance at normal rates.
- Therefore, be it
- RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees, that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Resolution No. 157 sets forth the legislative program of the American Federation of Government Employees as adopted at the 1941 convention of that organization and requests the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing its fulfillment.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **United States Prison Service Employees' Salaries**

**Resolution No. 69**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Wages of employees working in United States Prison Service have not increased with the cost of living, due to the defense emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention that all crafts represented be paid American Federation of Labor wages and that all custodial officers be given a base pay of \$2300 per annum, as recommended by the Attorney General, and that time and one-half for all time over the number of hours set by the United States Government in the defense agencies be paid.

Resolution No. 69 requests the endorsement of this convention and the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing increases in compensation for various groups of workers in the U. S. Prison Service.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE LABORERS**

(Executive Council's Report, Page 85)

This section of the Executive Council's Report recites the progress of legislation to provide a more equitable computation of overtime pay for laborers in the Railway Mail Service. A bill (H.R. 2985) has passed the House of Repre-

sentatives and is now in the hands of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The committee recommends continued efforts to secure its enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **POST OFFICE SUBSTITUTE DRIVER-MECHANICS**

(Executive Council's Report, Page 86)

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports that a bill to classify substitute driver-mechanics in the postal service has passed the House of Representatives and is pending in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The committee recommends continued efforts to secure favorable action on this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES— HOLIDAY PAY**

(Executive Council's Report, p. 86)

This section of the Executive Council's Report recites that through a restrictive interpretation of a law passed by the 75th Congress, certain government employees have been deprived of pay for overtime on holidays. A bill to correct this has been introduced in the Senate but no action has yet been taken.

The committee recommends that efforts be continued to secure favorable action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **CUSTODIAL EMPLOYEES IN THE POSTAL SERVICE**

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 86-87)

Under this caption, the Executive Council reports that a bill (H.R. 2075) providing for automatic annual increases in pay for custodial employees

in the Postal Service has passed the house of Representatives and is now pending in the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

The committee recommends that efforts be continued to secure its enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## RETIREMENT

### (Executive Council's Report, p. 87)

The Executive Council reports that twelve bills to amend the U. S. Civil Service Retirement law were before the Committee on Civil Service of the House of Representatives during the present session of the Congress. However, due to the fact that the affiliated organizations of government employees were not agreed upon any one measure before the committee, the American Federation of Labor did not participate in the hearings held.

The members of the Executive Council and the legislative agents of the American Federation of Labor have consistently cooperated with the affiliated organizations of government employees in the establishment and the liberalization of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system. When, however, there is disagreement between the various groups of affiliated employees, the American Federation of Labor cannot consistently take a position for or against specific legislative proposals.

Resolutions introduced and to be considered by this committee represent the unanimous views of the affiliated organizations. From time to time, as other proposals come before the organizations or before the Congress, the position of the affiliated organizations will be determined by consultation.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its support and cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in their efforts to protect and to perfect the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 86, 93 and 103.

## Retirement Legislation of Postal Clerks

**Resolution No. 86**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the enactment into law of retirement legislation for Postal Clerks as outlined in the Randolph Bill H. R. 1846, 77th Congress, providing for optional retirement after 30 years of service and compulsory retirement after the age of 60, regardless of roster title.

## Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

**Resolution No. 93**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stammers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law, and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation, and

WHEREAS, This beneficial law would be more humanitarian and also

more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widows' annuity.

### **Liberalized Retirement Legislation**

**Resolution No. 103**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law does not allow postal employees to retire from the Post Office Department until sixty-three (63) years of age, and

WHEREAS, The retirement law in many respects is unfair, unjust, and discriminatory against those entering into the Post Office service at an early age, requiring them to work as long as forty-five years before becoming eligible for retirement, and

WHEREAS, Thirty years of continuous service in any line of endeavor should by all fair standards, make one eligible for retirement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees for liberalizing the retirement law to the end that postal employees may retire, at their option, at the end of thirty years of service, regardless of age or roster title.

Resolutions Nos. 86, 93 and 103 request the endorsement of this convention of the efforts of affiliated government employees and the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing liberalization of the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system.

Resolution No. 86 requests endorsement of a specific bill. Resolutions Nos. 93 and 103 request the endorsement of optional retirement after thirty years of service. Resolution No. 93 has been endorsed by all affiliated organizations of government employees.

The committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 93, in lieu of other resolutions on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 88 and 104.

### **Annuity for Widows of Postal Employees**

**Resolution No. 88**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of the Randolph Bill, H. B. 1847, providing for an annuity equivalent to one-half that received by a retired Postal employee for his widow, and for a proportionate annuity for the widow of a Postal employee who dies while in service.

### **Annuity for Widows and Dependents of Postal Employees**

**Resolution No. 104**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the establishment of the retirement legislation, Congress acknowledged that postal salaries are not sufficient to maintain the American standards of living and at the same time to purchase annuities against the approach of old age, and

WHEREAS, The security of his widow is a vital concern to the postal employee, and his salary deduction is in reality a joint deduction from both husband and wife, and

WHEREAS, It is just and equitable that the widow or dependent as specified by the employee should receive special consideration for the deduction made; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing H. R. 1847, which bill provides the security we desire.

Both of these resolutions request endorsement of H. R. 1847, by Representative Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, a bill to provide for annuities to



widows and dependents of deceased government employees on an equitable basis.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 104.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Retirement of Prison Service Employees**

**Resolution No. 67**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The number of years required for Optional and Compulsory retirement is based upon the many extra hazards which are placed upon the Prison Service Employee in the carrying out of their duties, and

WHEREAS, The title "Prison Service Employee" bespeaks the nature of the work done by the employee and it is generally understood that the life expectancy is lessened because of the constant strain and the extra hazard under which they must discharge their duties, and

WHEREAS, Great consideration must be given this matter as the element of humanity enters into the arguments chiefly on the side of the employee. The various types of men sent to prison and placed under the care of the Prison Service Employee necessitates constant vigil and regulation. Also the years of association with this element leads to the tendency of strain, both mentally and physically that reduces the longevity of the employee, and

WHEREAS, It is a foregone conclusion that better service would be rendered by replacing the employee after retirement requisite is reached with a younger person, thereby keeping the personnel of the Service at a high standard of efficiency at all times; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor recommends legislation to establish a 20-year Optional and a 25-year Compulsory retirement of all prison service employees due to extra hazard connected with this work; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the above recommendation be drafted in the form of a bill and the same be presented to the 77th Congress of the United States, now in session, for the consideration and action of said Congress; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention assembled go on record urging a speedy passage of the said Bill, by the United

States Congress, thereby making the same a part of the Statute of the Civil Service Laws.

Resolution No. 67 recites the hazards and responsibilities of Prison Service Employees as reasons for early superannuation and asks for legislation to be drafted, and speedy efforts made to secure its enactment, that would provide for optional retirement after 20 years' service and compulsory retirement after 25 years' service for U. S. Prison Service Employees.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to consult with the affiliated organizations of Government employees interested in the U. S. Civil Service Retirement system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA— CRIME WAVE**

**(Executive Council's Report, p. 87)**

The Executive Council reports on the reorganization of the District of Columbia Police Department after investigation by a Committee of Congress and by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia because of an excessive number of unsolved major crimes in the District.

Legislation is now pending to provide for an increase in the police force.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give its full support to efforts to establish adequate police protection to the people of the District of Columbia and the surrounding area.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA— VAGRANCY LAW**

**(Executive Council's Report, p. 87)**

The Executive Council reports passage by the House of Representatives of a bill (H. R. 5448) to control vagrancy

in the District of Columbia after it was amended to protect the right of workers to strike and to picket.

The committee commends the Executive Council for its action in safeguarding the rights of workers and again calls attention to the necessity for the utmost vigilance to prevent the inclusion of adverse and destructive provisions in legislation of otherwise ostensibly commendable purpose.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA— HABITUAL CRIMINALS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 87)**

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill (H. R. 5447) dealing with habitual criminals and fixing severe penalties for second offenses. The bill is now on the calendar of the Senate.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to have a thorough study of legislation dealing with habitual criminals and its application and effects, made by the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor and that his report be transmitted to the legislative agents of the American Federation of Labor for their guidance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA— VOTES FOR CITIZENS**

**(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 87-88)**

The Executive Council reports that bills have been introduced in the House of Representatives and in the Senate to grant the right of franchise and to representation in Congress to the citizens of the District of Columbia, one of which has been reported to the Senate. The Executive Council also recites its reasons for support of this legislation and pledges its continuance.

The committee believes that this is meritorious legislation and that sentiments which prompted the original restrictions on the right of franchise to the people of the District of Columbia do not constitute valid reasons for such restrictions. The committee recommends concurrence in the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT PREVENTION BOARD**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 88)**

The Executive Council reports that a bill (H. R. 5202) to establish an Industrial Accident Prevention Board to protect workers in the District of Columbia was drafted at the request of the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union and supported by the American Federation of Labor. It has passed the House of Representatives and is now in the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

The committee recommends endorsement of this legislation and instructions to the Executive Council to continue its efforts for enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **FUNERAL EXPENSES FOR NEEDY BLIND**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 88)**

The Executive Council reports the enactment of an amendment to the District of Columbia Act for Needy Blind providing for an allowance for funeral expenses in needy cases.

The committee recommends adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **PRISON MADE GOODS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 88)**

The Executive Council reports the enactment of a law to permit the District of Columbia to transmit across state

lines the products of the work of prisoners in its own institutions for its own use.

The committee recommends adoption of this section of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 88)

Under this caption the Executive Council advises of the introduction, by Representative Dan R. McGehee of Mississippi, of a bill (H. R. 5514) proposing a number of undesirable changes in the District Unemployment Compensation law. The proposal would introduce the experience rating system which is opposed by the Central Labor Union of the District of Columbia and also would exclude several groups of workers from protection. No action has as yet been taken by Congress on the bill.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to oppose the enactment of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## SALARY INCREASES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 88)

The Executive Council reports the introduction of a bill (H. R. 4419) to provide for increases in salary for policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia. This bill was sponsored by the newly formed local of the International Association of Firefighters. It has been reported favorably to the House of Representatives and is now pending on the calendar of that body.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give its support to the International Association of Firefighters in their efforts to secure enactment of this measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## BUILDING GUARDS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 89)

The Executive Council reports its support of a bill (H. R. 1409) providing that building guards under the jurisdiction of the Federal Works Agency shall be designated as United States Building Police and clothed with the same powers as the United States Park Police and the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia. The bill also provides for salary classification and a Trial Board. It has passed the House of Representatives and is now pending in the Senate.

The committee recommends concurrence in the action of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## MARITIME LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 91-93)

Under the caption "Maritime Legislation," the Executive Council reports on six laws enacted by Congress dealing with the Maritime industry and amending previously existing laws for the protection of workers in this industry. These amendments were adopted on the ground of necessity to meet the present emergency. They are as follows:

Public No. 155. Authorizes the waiving of the six months previous service required of radio operators on vessels carrying a single operator.

Public No. 90. Permits vessels of Canadian registry to transport iron ore between United States ports on the Great Lakes during 1941.

Public No. 153. Permits tankers and freighters to go to sea with a lesser free board and less buoyance than formerly.

Public No. 101. Authorizes the acquisition of foreign merchant vessels in United States ports and their operation under special privileges.

Public No. 156. Amends the La Follette Seamen's Act in regard to rating for able seamen on vessels of not more than five hundred gross tons when such vessels are not carrying passengers.

Public No. 157. Exempts vessels of less than 500 tons while not carrying

passengers from certain provisions of the La Follette Seaman's Act.

This section of the report also lists nine bills now pending in Congress and dealing with the Maritime Industry.

H.R. 4446 and H.R. 4946. Would modify the La Follette Seaman's Act in respect to the percentage of able seamen vessels would be required to carry.

H.R. 5111. Would authorize the Secretary of Commerce to waive practically all navigation and vessel inspection laws under certain conditions.

H.R. 84, H.R. 5051, H.R. 5130 each seeks to extend the benefits of the Marine Hospital service to commercial fishermen.

H.R. 5074 would authorize the suspension of the license of a radio operator because of subversive activities.

H.R. 2662, aimed at hiring halls operated by maritime unions in accordance with collective bargaining agreements, has several other undesirable features.

H.R. 5446 would provide Unemployment Insurance for workers in the Maritime industry.

Report is also made on a study to be made of the proposal to extend the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to seamen and on the abolition of the Maritime Labor Board.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give the fullest cooperation to the affiliated organizations of maritime workers in defeating legislation designed to impair their conditions of work and in securing favorable consideration of remedial legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act**

**Resolution No. 70**—By Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are a number of employees in the State of Wisconsin who, because of their nature of work, are employed during the course of a day in part on navigable waters and in part on land, interchanging their operations quite frequently during their course of employment, and

WHEREAS, The Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act, which is the Federal Act providing for industrial compensation to any employee who may be injured in the course of his employment while on navigable waters, does not in many respects equal the benefits that an employee is entitled to under the Wisconsin Compensation Act, and

WHEREAS, Such inequalities are not conducive to the best interest of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor have prepared for introduction in Congress a bill to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to the extent that it will conform to the payments received for injuries under the Wisconsin Industrial Compensation Act.

Resolution No. 70 requests that legislation be prepared and introduced to amend the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act to liberalize payments for injuries to conform with the benefits of the Wisconsin Industrial Compensation Act.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **PROHIBITION**

#### **(Executive Council's Report, Page 93)**

This section of the Executive Council's Report lists several legislative proposals dealing with the question of prohibition of traffic in alcoholic beverages.

Senate Joint Resolutions Nos. 20 and 21, introduced by the late Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, propose an amendment to the United States Constitution which would restore nationwide prohibition. No action has been taken by the Senate Committee on these resolutions.

S. 860, also by Senator Sheppard would prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors on or near military or naval reservations. This measure has the opposition of the War Department.

H.R. 125 and H.R. 132 would prohibit the advertising of alcoholic beverages by radio and would also prohibit the transportation in interstate commerce of advertisements of alcoholic beverages.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to oppose these or similar measures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## REVENUE ACT OF 1941

(Executive Council's Report  
Pages 93-95)

This section of the Executive Council's Report gives a brief analysis of the 1941 tax bill as reported to the Senate. Exemptions are reduced to \$750 for single persons and to \$1,500 for married persons with no dependents. Tax rates are increased and the bill is expected to raise four billion dollars.

The American Federation of Labor opposed the lowering of exemptions without success. It was successful, however, in defeating the sales tax, the payroll tax and the punitive tax on the radio industry.

Since the writing of the report the bill has become law.

The committee recommends acceptance of this section of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## APPROPRIATIONS FOR NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

(Executive Council's Report, Page 95)

The Executive Council reports that a Senate amendment to reduce the appropriation for the National Labor Relations Board to \$128,600 below the Budget estimate was defeated after opposition was expressed on the floor by Senators La Follette, Hill, Downey, and Murdock.

The committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## AMENDMENTS TO FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 95)

The Executive Council reports successful opposition to identical bills of the House and Senate to increase the number

of annual hours exempt from overtime payment under collective bargaining agreements according to the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The committee recommends acceptance of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Sixty Cents Per Hour Minimum in Luggage Industry Under Walsh-Healey Act

**Resolution No. 79** — By Delegates Samuel Reinlib, Samuel Laderman, International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The prevailing rate of wages in the luggage industry in accordance with the Walsh-Healey Act is 37½c per hour, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing wage in the organized luggage shops of this country is 75c to 80c per hour, and

WHEREAS, Open shops and unorganized luggage shops have been successful in securing large government orders due to non-union conditions existing and the low wages prevailing in their shops, and

WHEREAS, As a result of the underbidding of the union shops by the open shops, large sections of the organized luggage workers find themselves without work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, lend its every aid towards the end that a minimum of 60c per hour in the luggage industry becomes the prevailing wage in accordance with the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and take such steps as may be necessary to help the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union to bring this about.

Resolution No 79 points out that the prevailing hourly rate for luggage workers specified by the administrators of the Walsh-Healey Act, namely, 37½ cents, is working a grave injustice to organized luggage workers whose prevailing rates of wages range from 75 cents to 80 cents per hour in that unorganized shops are able to underbid organized shops, thereby causing unemployment among organized luggage workers. The resolution requests the aid of the American Federation of Labor for the International Ladies' Hand-

bag, Pocketbook, and Novelty Workers' Union in securing a minimum of 60 cents per hour for luggage workers.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Dairy Products Workers Under Fair Labor Standards Act**

**Resolution No. 82**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since the passage of the Wages and Hours Law, commonly known as the Fair Standards Act, all covered workers have been paid time and one-half after forty (40) hours of work, and

WHEREAS, There is language contained in the Act of an ambiguous nature which attempts to exempt dairies and butter plants engaged in the first processing of butter, milk, cream and whey as to the advantages which are given workers in other industries, and

WHEREAS, The Congressional history of this legislation indicates that the purpose of this exemption was to prevent farm labor from being paid time and one-half after forty (40) hours work, and

WHEREAS, Unions recognize the problems faced by the dairy farmer, and

WHEREAS, The said dairy farmer has benefited tremendously with the co-operation of labor in Federal Milk Market control with a 45% increase to the farmer since September, 1939, in the price of his milk and cream, and

WHEREAS, On the other hand, Labor has made no gains in the Fluid Milk Industry due to this nefarious exemption; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as instructing its Legislative Committee to draw up a suitable amendment to the Wages and Hours Act which definitely restricts exemptions in application of the Act solely to the farm, meaning the "area of production", and that any dairy, condensary, and butter plant engaged in the first processing of milk, cream and dairy products definitely come under the hourly limitations of the Act, and further, that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Chief Administrator of the Wages and Hours Act and members of Congress.

Resolution No. 82 requests that proposed legislation be drafted and its enactment urged to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act by removing employees of dairies, condensaries and butter plants engaged in the first processing of dairy products from the exemption from the 40-hour week and overtime provisions of the Act.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **AID FOR THE BLIND**

#### **(Executive Council's Report, p. 96)**

This section of the Executive Council's report describes two bills to liberalize laws extending aid to the blind.

H. R. 623 would liberalize the provisions under which blind persons are granted the privilege of selling merchandise in Federal buildings. Hearings have been held by the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives but no report has yet been made by that committee.

S. 1570 would establish a postage rate of one cent per pound upon machines used for Braille writing when being sent for repairs or returned after repairs. This bill passed the Senate and is now pending on the Calendar of the House of Representatives.

The committee recommends endorsement of both of these bills.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **FEDERAL REGULATION OF EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES**

#### **(Executive Council's Report, p. 97)**

This section of the Executive Council's report sets forth in detail the provisions of a bill (H. R. 4675, by Representative John H. Tolan of California) to regulate practices of employment agencies in the interest of the workers and of communities, especially as it applies to migratory workers. One provision of the bill would prohibit the send-

ing of persons to places where strikes are in progress without giving them written notice of such labor troubles. Hearings are scheduled to be held before the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives.

The committee recommends that the Executive Committee give every possible aid to the furtherance of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **MIGRATORY LABOR**

**(Executive Council's Report, pp. 97-98)**

This section of the Executive Council's report recites the work of a special committee of the House of Representatives, of which Representative John H. Tolan of California is chairman, in investigating conditions surrounding the interstate movement of indigent citizens and of workers. It tells of the appearance of President Wm. Green before that committee on July 15, 1941, and his presentation of the position of the American Federation of Labor. The activities of affiliated organizations, especially of the Building Trades, in supplying needed workers for defense purposes was disclosed. The recommendation of the American Federation of Labor for the provision of proper facilities for community and family life of such workers were presented to the committee.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council give every possible aid to the committee of Congress in preparing and enacting legislation to correct the conditions now existing and to improve the lot of the migratory worker as well as to protect the workers in the various communities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **PAYMENT OF POLL TAX AS A PREREQUISITE FOR VOTING**

**(Executive Council's Report, p. 98)**

The Executive Council calls attention to several bills before the present Congress designed to eliminate the evils of

the requirement of payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The report cites that only eight states now require the payment of a poll tax and gives statistics illustrating the effect of such a tax, namely, that in the 1940 Presidential election only 21.1 per cent of the potential voters in the eight poll tax states participated, whereas in the other forty states the percentage was 70.59 per cent.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to use its best endeavors to secure legislation to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in public elections.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **CENSUS OF INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 98)**

The Executive Council reports that a bill (S. 1627) to provide for a census of industry and business and for collection of current statistics by the Bureau of Census has passed the Senate and is pending in the Census Committee of the House of Representatives.

The committee believes that the information to be secured through such a census would be of utmost importance in planning for post-war readjustment and urges continued activity to secure enactment of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **MERGING OF TELEGRAPH COMPANIES**

**(Executive Council's Report, Pages 98-99)**

This section of the Executive Council's Report deals with a study being made by a subcommittee of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee of the telegraphy industry and the tendency toward consolidation and monopoly in that industry. Domestic telegraph companies are reported to be doing a business of \$130,000,000 annually and employing approximately 60,000 persons.



It was believed that one of the principle reasons for the study was to prepare the ground work for consent of Congress to unite the Postal Telegraph and Western Union Telegraph Companies. The Commercial Telegraphers Union has actively opposed the merger and representatives of the American Federation of Labor have testified before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee in opposition to it.

The committee recommends approval of the position of the American Federation of Labor and urges continued cooperation with the Commercial Telegraphers Union.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY PROJECT**

**(Executive Council's Report, Pages 99-100)**

The Executive Council reports its opposition to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterways Project and the agitation in Congress for favorable action upon it. Also it reports the allocation by the President of \$1,000,000 for preliminary work on the ground that power to be developed is needed for defense purposes. It is pointed out that the major part of the cost of the St. Lawrence Project is to be borne by the United States while most of the work will be done by Canadians. There is much opposition to the St. Lawrence Project on the grounds that projects within the United States should be given prior consideration. At the request of the President, the St. Lawrence Project is included in the current rivers and harbors bill before Congress. The bill also includes the Florida Ship Canal project. Consideration of this measure was to begin about September 15, 1941.

The committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report, and the Executive Council be instructed to give further study to the St. Lawrence Waterway Projects and to consult with labor organizations who are concerned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **AMENDMENT TO COPYRIGHT ACT**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)**

The Executive Council reports the passage by the House of Representatives of H. R. 4826, a bill to amend the Copyright Act so as to preserve the rights of authors during the present emergency. The bill is now on the calendar of the Senate.

The committee recommends endorsement of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **REGISTRATION OF TRADE MARKS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)**

The report of the Executive Council lists a bill (S. 895) to provide for the registration of trade marks in conformance with international conventions. The bill has been reported favorably to the Senate.

The committee recommends acceptance of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)**

The Executive Council reports that legislation has been drafted by the American Federation of Labor to amend the National Labor Relations Act and that the bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Robert Ramspeck of Georgia. It is H. R. 3489.

The committee recommends endorsement of this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Extension and Improvement of the Civil Service System**

**Resolution No. 92**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, Na-

tional Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system, as distinguished from the spoils or patronage system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its Sixty-First Annual Convention, reaffirm, its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Resolution No. 92 requests that this convention reaffirm its endorsement of the classified civil service as in the best interests of both employees and the public and requests continued activity for extension and improvement of the system.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## U. S. Civil Service Commission

**Resolution No. 94**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National

Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees, and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law, and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones, and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States, including the administration of the United States Civil Service Retirement Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service

Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Resolution No. 94 requests reaffirmation of the position of the American Federation of Labor that the United States Civil Service Commission shall continue to be an independent agency of the Government and shall continue to be a bipartisan Commission and that at least one Commissioner shall be chosen with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

**Resolution No. 95**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other

harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects, and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission, and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employment within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Resolution No. 95 requests that the American Federation of Labor again declare its stand in favor of the maintenance of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent agency of the Government.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Higher Standards in Government Employment

**Resolution No. 96**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F.

Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees' Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work, and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 96 outlines the legislative and other objectives of the Government employees as adopted at their respective conventions, all of which have been endorsed by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and requests that this convention reaffirm

the endorsements.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 89, 101 and 105.

### Seniority System in Postal Service

**Resolution No. 89**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as favoring the enactment into law of a bill establishing a system of seniority in the Postal Service, the minimum requirements of this seniority system to be the posting of all vacancies, the posting of a seniority roster, the assignment of the senior applicant to a position posted, and the establishment of a seniority board in each post office to adjust any seniority problem; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its full support to the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to have such legislation enacted into law.

### Application of Seniority Principles to All Federal Employees

**Resolution No. 101**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; James B. Burns, Berniece Heffner, H. F. Schwandt, American Federation of Government Employees; Nels P. Allfas, International Association of Machinists; Eppa Honey, International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America; John Locher, Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trade and industries, and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among all Federal employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given legislation pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

### Seniority Rights for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 105**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The principle of seniority is one that has long been sought by Postal employees, and

WHEREAS, Representative Flannery has introduced a bill, H. R. 3841, for the purpose of recognizing seniority in promotions and assignments of employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as favoring the enactment into law of this bill.

Resolutions Nos. 89, 101 and 105 are similar and urge the endorsement of efforts of affiliated Government employees to secure the establishment of an equitable seniority system for employees in the Government service.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 101.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 84 and 102.

### Civil Service Court of Appeals

**Resolution No. 84**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as endorsing legislation which would set up a Civil Service Court of Appeals as outlined in the Pearson Bill, H. R. 2680, or the Mead Bill, S. 219.

### Court of Appeals for Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 102**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a post office court of appeals, to hear cases involving removal from the service, reduction in salary, or other severe disciplinary action against postal employees, and

WHEREAS, Injustices may be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measures, and

WHEREAS, The present power of an official to prefer charges, act as the sole judge on these charges, and then impose penalties, constitutes a mockery of democracy and fair play that would not be tolerated by an enlightened public opinion, and

WHEREAS, The absence of such a court constitutes a serious threat to labor union organization in that it places active union men at the mercy of prejudicial and anti-union officials; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees for the passage of the principle of the Pearson Court of Appeals Bill, which will provide an opportunity for appeals from the decisions of the Post Office Department in case of dismissal or demotion; and, furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That all secretaries affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be instructed to write to their national officers urging immediate support for this vital legislation.

Resolutions Nos. 84 and 102 request the support of the American Federation of Labor to the efforts of affiliated Government employees to secure the establishment of an impartial tribunal to which appeals may be made in cases of severe disciplinary action.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 84.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Legislative Program of National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

**Resolution No. 73**—By Delegate Julius V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, an affiliate of

the American Federation of Labor, is endeavoring to better the wages and working conditions of their members; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the delegates in convention assembled, that the American Federation of Labor endorse and assist the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in having the following legislative program enacted by the Congress of the United States:

1. Enactment of the Longevity Bill.
2. Oppose any reorganization plan which would place the Retirement Act under the administration of the Social Security Law.
3. Thirty years optional retirement.
4. Widow's annuity.
5. Substitutes on rural routes shall be placed upon a civil service status; and further that substitutes now in service be given preference when a vacancy shall occur in the rural service at the office they serve.
6. No Rural Carrier shall work in excess of forty hours per week; or shall be paid a sum of less than twenty-one hundred dollars per year, exclusive of his equipment allowance, which allowance shall be at the rate of six cents per mile; and further that no route, no matter how short, shall receive an equipment allowance of less than two dollars per day.
7. Prevent the transfer of any of the duties or prerogatives of any rural route to any star route now established or to be established.
8. Due to the cost of living steadily mounting, all postal employees be given an increase in pay equal to twenty per cent of their present wage.
9. Pay status of rural carriers, previous to the salary reorganization of July 1, 1934, be fully restored.
10. Legislation to provide five day leave with pay, for all government employees, when death occurs in the immediate family.
11. Legislation to curtail the establishment of routes of an unreasonable length, or the extending to such lengths any rural route now established.
12. Annual leave of all postal employees be increased to twenty-six working days per year; sick leave be increased to fifteen days, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, thereby bringing it into conformity with the leave granted other branches of the government service.

Resolution No. 73 sets forth numerous legislative objectives of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers as adopted at the 1941 convention of that organization and not covered by other resolutions introduced here.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Overtime Pay for Post Office Employees

**Resolution No. 110**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become the usual practice in many post offices to work the employees time in excess of eight hours per day instead of requesting additional employees to do the work when the same regular force is unable to handle same, this practice often extending over long periods of time which could hardly be classed an emergency, and

WHEREAS, Industry all over these United States has recognized the principle of time and a half for overtime and this reward for overtime has been added to the regular compensation received by workers in all industry; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees that any overtime work in excess of the standard eight-hour day shall be compensated at the rate of time and one-half.

Resolution No. 110 requests endorsement of the efforts of postal employees in seeking legislation to grant pay at the rate of time and one-half for overtime.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 98 and 103.

## Substitute Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 98**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees must qualify to perform the same duties as regular postal employees, but must be available for duty at any time, day or night, 365 days a year, having no regular schedules and being paid only for the actual hours worked, and



WHEREAS, The period of substitution, in many instances, extends over many years, and

WHEREAS, Substitute postal employees receive no higher rate of hourly pay, regardless of length of service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor record its endorsement of legislation to grant these employees a graduated scale of hourly pay commensurate with the hourly rates of pay of regular employees based upon length of actual service.

### Higher Pay for Substitute Postal Employees

**Resolution No. 108**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The substitute employees of the Post Office Service are required to work irregular hours and without a designated monthly salary and must perform their duties under adverse conditions, and

WHEREAS, The recent change in the Post Office hours of labor has not changed to give the substitutes the benefit of the short work week of 40 hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its 61st Annual Convention, assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the demands of substitute employees in the Post Office Service whereby the pay of Substitute Postal Employees after 1,904 hours of actual service as a substitute shall be increased to the hourly rate received by the regular employees of the first grade; such hourly rate to be computed by dividing the annual salary of such employees by the number 1,904. And thereafter the rate of pay of such substitute employees shall be increased to the hourly rate of the next higher grade of such regular employees, computed in the same manner, upon the completion of each additional period of 1,904 hours of actual service, until they shall have attained the rate of the highest grade of regular pay or shall have been appointed to a regular position.

Resolutions Nos. 98 and 108 are similar and request the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the affiliated organizations of Postal employees in securing a reclassification of the pay of substitute postal employees on a more equitable basis.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 98.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 66, 85, 99 and 107.

### Temporary Appointments in Post Office Service

**Resolution No. 66**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employment of temporary employees tends to lower the morale of regular substitutes through deferred appointment to regular clerkships, and

WHEREAS, The employment of temporaries tends to lower the efficiency of the Post Office Service, and

WHEREAS, The employment of temporaries is a menace to Civil Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record for legislation discontinuing the use of temporaries in the Postal Service except during the month of December.

### Temporary Employees in the Postal Service

**Resolution No. 85**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The use of temporary employees in the Postal Service tends to undermine the Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, This continued employment of such temporary employees is not conducive to the best interests of the Postal Service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record to inaugurate a vigorous campaign to assist the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in their efforts to seek legislation discontinuing the employment of temporary employees except during the month of December.

### Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

**Resolution No. 99**—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Edw. P. Seyb, Ray O. Shuster, E. E. Henriksen, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Wm. C. Doherty, Wm. J. Gorman, George A. Bang, Everett Cox, Raymond Lieberman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Henry Strickland, L. C. Macomber, Railway Mail Association; J. V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.



WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its Sixty-First Annual Convention, assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

### **Elimination of Temporary Employees in the Post Office**

**Resolution No. 107**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The employment of temporary employees in the Post Office Department tends to undermine the Civil Service Act and the principles of Union Labor, and

WHEREAS, Provided that if there were no temporary employees in the Post Office, regular substitutes would receive permanent appointments; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of postal employees that the Post Office Department by departmental order or legislation, discontinue the employment of temporary employees in the postal service at all times except during the month of December of each year.

Resolutions Nos. 66, 85, 99 and 107 are similar and all have as their objective prohibition of the employment of uncertified temporary employees in the postal service except during real emergencies.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 99.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Establishment of Airway Post Offices on Transport Airmail Lines**

**Resolution No. 106**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At present mail is worked on trains, boats and buses, and

WHEREAS, The coming era of air transportation portends the increase in

the use of air mail, and the need for utilization of all available time for the working of mail; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record as endorsing the demands of the Railway Mail Association for the establishment of airway mail post offices on the transport airmail lines.

Resolution No. 106 requests endorsement of the demands of the Railway Mail Association for the establishment of distribution service for U. S. mail on airplanes of transport airmail lines.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to consult with the affiliated organizations of postal employees involved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Wage and Salary Increase Campaign of Affiliated Public Employees**

**Resolution No. 72**—By Delegates Arnold S. Zander, C. B. Noxon, W. W. Chapman, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, There has been a sharp increase during recent months in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, Many workers in private industry have been able to secure wage increases, and

WHEREAS, Turn-over in public employment is increasing rapidly and in many services is already more than 100 per cent per year, and

WHEREAS, Many public agencies are having difficulty in securing qualified workers, and

WHEREAS, Public employees working under fixed appropriations are having great difficulty in securing upward pay adjustments, and

WHEREAS, Many adjustments can be made administratively without waiting through the budget period, though substantial increases should be assured in future budgets, and

WHEREAS, State and local government agencies are being called upon for many new services in connection with national defense program which they will not be equipped to satisfactorily handle without qualified personnel, and

WHEREAS, Appropriations authorities do listen and do give consideration to representations made by the local

organized labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon its affiliated state federations of labor and its central labor bodies to assist organized and affiliated public employees in their campaign for wage and salary advances.

Resolution No. 72 requests the American Federation of Labor to call upon State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies to cooperate with affiliated organizations of public employees, state, county and municipal, in securing deserved advances in salaries and wages.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Hatch Act

**Resolution No. 71**—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The continued existence of the Hatch Act deprives certain public employees of a constitutional right, namely that of free speech and the right to hold public office, and

**WHEREAS**, Such an act imposed by a government on certain of its employees constitutes in reality a "Yellow Dog Contract" and prohibits these employees rightfully to condemn or criticize elected officials who are in effect their superiors; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in order that the principles of democracy may be enjoyed by all citizens, classes and groups of this nation, that the President and the Congress of these United States shall be notified that the American Federation of Labor denounces the provisions of the Hatch Act and calls for its repeal.

Resolution No. 71 calls upon the American Federation of Labor to denounce the Hatch Act and work for its repeal.

The committee finds there is wide divergence of opinion regarding two measures, to both of which have been applied the application "The Hatch Act." In view of this and the fact that the resolution does not make clear which of the two laws it refers to, the committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to consult with organizations interested, and especially with affiliated organiza-

tions of Government employees, with a view of drafting and promoting satisfactory amendments to the laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Universal Six-Hour Day and Five-Day Week

**Resolution No. 81**—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

**WHEREAS**, For almost 10 years the United States and Canada has been confronted with one of the greatest economic depressions in its history, and

**WHEREAS**, This condition has left in its path millions of people totally unemployed and in addition many millions are employed on a part time basis, and

**WHEREAS**, All sorts of experiments have been put into practice to get the people back on the job through the creation of numerous governmental agencies, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration, Public Works Administration, etc., and

**WHEREAS**, Despite the fact that the above experiments have proven futile in solving the problems of the distressing situation of unemployment, little has been done by legislation to compel the shortening of the work day or the work week, and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor through its President has proclaimed that it is necessary to shorten the hours of labor in order to relieve the unemployment situation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the city of Seattle, 1941, go on record favoring the establishing of a universal six-hour day and five-day 30-hour week in industry.

Resolution No. 81 calls upon the American Federation of Labor to go on record as favoring the establishment of the six-hour day and the five-day 30-hour week throughout industry.

The committee believes that the problem of unemployment is the most important one with which organized labor has to deal. Because of its direct effect upon all other conditions of work, its solution is of primary importance. Except in some industries or employments directly connected with the defense program unemployment is now a serious problem and will be greatly accentuated as the

defense program progresses and the diversion to that program of materials increases.

The committee believes also that the progress of invention and improved methods of production make absolutely necessary the reduction of hours of work as the first step in equalizing the opportunity to work.

We must recognize the necessity for preparation for the transition from wartime to peace-time economic conditions and also that the time to begin that preparation is now. In any plan for restoration of normal American life after the present emergency, this question must be the first to consider.

For these reasons, the committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Extension of Wagner-Peyser Act to Puerto Rico

**Resolution No. 155**—By Delegate P. Rivers Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 62, reading as follows:

"WHEREAS, On October 12, 1933, the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico brought to the attention of the Honorable Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, the helpless situation in which the employment service of Puerto Rico had been left after the operation of the Wagner-Peyser Act—Public No. 30—73rd Congress, creating a new United States Employment Service, since no provision had been made to provide financial aid for the employment service of the Island and its branch office located in the city of New York, and

"WHEREAS, The Hon. W. Frank Persons, Director of the U. S. Employment Service, under date of October 18, 1933, expressed in a communication to the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico, that while the points brought to the attention of the U. S. Secretary of Labor, commanded the sympathetic interest of his Department, however, under the Act itself the U. S. Employment Service, was not empowered to assist in maintaining a system of public employment offices in Puerto Rico, due to the fact

that the territory of Puerto Rico was not included in the Act, while there were included those of Hawaii and Alaska, all of which did preclude any possibility to include Puerto Rico, and

"WHEREAS, As stated by the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico to the Hon. Frances Perkins, U. S. Secretary of Labor, there is no place in the world where American citizens live, where the employment service is more badly needed than in Puerto Rico, and

"WHEREAS, There has been functioning in the Island of Puerto Rico a local employment service bureau which is a part of the Insular Department of Labor, but the appropriation is so limited that no effective work can be accomplished, and

"WHEREAS, In our opinion more than 1,600,000 inhabitants of loyal American citizens living in the territory of Puerto Rico are entitled to enjoy the benefits of all social legislation intended to remedy such a social evil as unemployment, and

"WHEREAS, The Committee on Public Employment Exchanges of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation, held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10, 11, recommended, and the conference unanimously approved, that the Wagner-Peyser Act be amended to include Puerto Rico; therefore

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct and direct the Executive Council to request the U. S. Congress that the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act be made applicable to Puerto Rico through an adequate amendment to such Act by the Congress of the U. S."

WHEREAS, In spite of the efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor and several federal and insular governmental agencies during the last five years to have the law amended to extend to Puerto Rico the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act, nothing practical has been obtained, the workers of Puerto Rico being still deprived of the benefits of said Act, and

WHEREAS, The population of Puerto Rico at the time of writing this resolution is nearly 2,000,000 inhabitants, what readily proves that the problem of unemployment is now even more acute than it was when the resolution quoted above was approved in 1936; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed and directed to redouble its efforts to secure an amendment to the Wagner-Peyser Act making it possible for the workers of Puerto Rico to enjoy the benefits of this Act.

Resolution No. 155 calls attention to the fact that the Wagner-Peyser Act, cre-

ating a new United States Employment Service, which was enacted by the 73rd Congress, made no provision for extending its benefits to Puerto Rico. It also recites a resolution upon this subject adopted by the 56th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Tampa, Florida, November 16-27, 1936, and requests this convention to instruct the Executive Council to redouble its efforts to secure an amendment that will extend the benefits of the Wagner-Peyser Act to Puerto Rico.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Sugar Workers Legislation**

**Resolution No. 156**—By Delegates Joseph P. Ryan, John R. Owens, International Longshoremen's Association.

WHEREAS, The Sugar Refinery Workers have been protected by national legislation since 1934, and

WHEREAS, The law granting this protection will expire in 1941 unless there is continuing legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring protection of these workers to no less degree than they now enjoy.

Resolution No. 156 recites that legislation enacted in 1934 for the protection of workers in the sugar industry will expire in 1941 and requests that this convention go on record in favor of legislation to give these workers at least the protection they have been enjoying.

The committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary George: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Committee on Legislation. It is signed by:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chrm'n  
LEO E. GEORGE, Sec'y  
EMANUEL KOVELESKI  
C. L. ROSEMUND,  
RAY DICKEY,  
JAMES T. MORIARTY,  
JOHN DONLIN,  
JAMES B. BURNS,  
THOMAS V. GREEN,  
GEORGE S. COUNTS,  
WM. C. DOHERTY,  
NATHANIEL SPECTOR,  
DON M. BURROWS,  
CHRISTIAN MADSEN,  
DAVID BEHNCKE,  
JOHN F. HOGAN,  
JAMES WAUGH,  
EPPA HONEY,  
SAMUEL LADERMAN,  
JULIUS MADISON,  
LEO A. McCORMICK,  
L. A. MACOMBER,  
W. T. MATHEWS,  
FRANK X. MARTEL,

Committee on Legislation

Secretary George moved adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: I thank the committee for the service it rendered and for its report.

At 6:20 p. m. the convention stood adjourned until 9:30 a. m. Thursday, October 16, 1941.

**EIGHTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION****Seattle, Washington, October 16, 1941**

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

President Green: Rev. C. M. Ridenour, of the West Seattle Christian Church, will pronounce the invocation this morning. We are pleased to have him with us for the purpose of performing this religious service.

**INVOCATION**

**(Rev. C. M. Ridenour, Pastor, West Seattle Christian Church)**

Father in Heaven, we are happy for the privilege that has been ours in this city of entertaining this convention. We believe that no question is ever settled until it is settled in the right and for the right and that in order to be right it must be in harmony and in keeping with Thy will. So in the closing sessions of this convention we pray, Heavenly Father, that we shall have Divine guidance, and that as we face up to the issues we shall remember that there rests in the hands of this convention, largely for the future, the peace, the security, the happiness and the prosperity of this nation of men, women and children.

Therefore, Heavenly Father, in these days of chaos we need Thy Divine guidance. So bless in a special way the deliberations and especially those who lead and those who guide the destinies of this convention, and may the things said and done be in harmony and in keeping with Thy will for us. In Jesus' name we pray—Amen.

**COMMUNICATIONS**

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

National Palace,  
October 6, 1941.

Mr. William Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
Seattle, Washington.

Esteemed Sir and Friend:

On the occasion of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and taking advantage of the trip of Mr. Louis N. Morones, Secretary General of the Mexican Regional Confederation of Workers to assist to it, I send a cordial greeting to the convention at which you

preside, desiring that it obtains the greatest success in its work.

Saluting you cordially, I remain,  
Your attentive friend and servant,  
MANUEL AVILA CAMACHO

New Haven, Conn.  
October 14, 1941.

Wm. Green,  
American Federation of Labor  
Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

The Religion and Labor Foundation sends hearty greetings to your Seattle convention through the Foundation. Hundreds of religious leaders are prepared to join with Organized Labor not only in defending the civil and legal rights of working people in a critical hour but also in seeking those ethical and spiritual foundations which alone insure justice, freedom and an enduring peace.

ALLAN K. CHALMERS  
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG  
WILLARD UPHAUS

Wm. Green, President,  
American Federation of Labor,  
In Convention,  
Seattle, Washington.

We, the undersigned bodies, desire to call to your attention, also to the delegates assembled at the Sixty-First Annual Convention, the four-month-old strike which now exists at the Cosmopolitan Hotel, Denver, Colorado; and ask for the undivided cooperation of all International Unions. Therefore, we ask that this message be read to the convention, and that same be made a part of the records. We respectfully wish to thank all Brotherhoods and Internationals who have supported our cause to date. For the delegates' information, the Albany and Adams Hotels are 100 per cent organized.

Please accept our fraternal greetings for a harmonious and successful convention and that the conclusion will be for the best interests of all.

Fraternally,  
Colorado State Federation,  
Denver Labor Trades Assembly.

Pittsburgh, Pa.  
October 16, 1941.

Edward Flore, General President,  
Hotel and Restaurant Employees,  
Hotel Olympic,  
Seattle, Wash.

Pittsburgh Hotel strike settled. Closed shop contract signed.

MIGUEL GARRIGA,  
Vice-President.

Secretary Meany announced that credentials had been received from the Mexican Confederation of Labor, authorizing Mr. Louis N. Morones, Secretary-General, Mexican Confederation of Labor, and Roberto Haberman, to represent that Confederation as fraternal delegates to the Sixty-First Annual Convention.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions for a continuation of the report of that committee.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

#### LABOR STANDARDS ON PUBLIC CONTRACTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 136)

This portion of the Executive Council's Report summarizes the developments in the administration of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. Prevailing minimum wages in a number of additional industries were determined by the Secretary of Labor during the past year, and the administration of the Act was generally strengthened. With the rapid expansion in the volume of defense contracts, the prevailing wage and overtime standards required by the statute in the fulfillment of such contracts have assumed importance to labor many times greater than in previous years.

The wage and hour standards of the Act have been subject to attack by several groups on the ground that they are rigid and restrictive. The American Federation of Labor, however, has succeeded in demonstrating the flexibility and reasonableness of these standards and the desirability of their application in an economy dominated by war production. At the same time, it has been becoming increasingly apparent that the limited application of the Act to contracts in excess of \$10,000 and to prime contractors, but not to sub-contractors, has

greatly impaired its effectiveness. The Executive Council strongly recommends the support of legislation which would extend the coverage of the Act to the immediate subcontractors. Amendments to the Act designed to extend its application should be formulated for presentation to Congress. The Executive Council also recommends that the American Federation of Labor formulate a program which would (1) expedite the prevailing minimum wage determinations; (2) strengthen the enforcement of the labor standards established by the Act; and (3) strengthen the basis for continued representation and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in the administration of the Act. Adequate appropriation to provide additional enforcement personnel, urgently needed to sustain the application of labor standards to a growing volume of contracts, is also imperative.

Your Committee urges the adoption of these recommendations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Endorsing American Legion-Labor Liaison Program

**Resolution No. 117**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Legion is the largest single group in our American Democracy with a representative membership comprising all races, all religious affiliations, all political factions—capitalists, industrialists, employees, the vast majority of whom are members of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, The fundamental cause of Labor is in reality in complete accord with the principles of the American Legion, and

WHEREAS, There are within the ranks of the American Legion many who wilfully or through ignorance are antagonistic toward Labor's cause, and

WHEREAS, The enlightenment of the members of the American Legion can best be accomplished by the organization of Legion Posts composed exclusively of members of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Since the formation of such Legion-Labor Posts, some ten years ago, much good has resulted in bringing

better understanding of Labor's ideals, aims and problems, and

**WHEREAS**, Within the American Legion there is "no rank, for each member serves as the equal of his comrade, and all strive toward the same goal, which is the realization in the life of the Republic of the ideals of Justice, Freedom, Democracy and Loyalty," giving Legionnaires, also members of Organized Labor, the unique opportunity of being intimately associated with their employers, yea . . . with the very enemies of Organized Labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Nothing can better serve the cause of American Democracy, promote unity among all Americans, safeguard and further in our present national emergency, as well as for all time to come, our National Defense Program, as closest cooperation between Organized Labor and the American Legion; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the Legion-Labor Liaison program, giving it all the necessary aid in creating new Legion-Labor Posts of the American Legion.

In lieu of direct action upon this resolution, your committee submits that the policy recommended in the resolution is now being carried into effect, and as there are, and have been from the beginning, most friendly relations between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor, that no further action on this resolution is necessary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Condemning U. S. Senate Subcommittee Actions**

**Resolution No. 120**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, A Senate sub-committee has been instigated by Senators Burton K. Wheeler, D. Worth Clark and Gerald F. Nye to effect an inquiry into the operation of the motion picture industry, and

**WHEREAS**, It is clear that the purpose of the inquiry is to block the production of motion pictures which are "termed anti-Nazi" because they deal honestly and realistically with war subject and to effect a censorship on the free expression of American culture to which the Screen Actors Guild is unalterably opposed, and

**WHEREAS**, The inquiry has quickly indicated that it is designed to breed religious and racial discord in our nation, thereby to destroy the unity of the vast majority of American people who support the foreign policy of the nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record condemning the actions of the sub-committee as an immediate threat to free thought, free speech and to the very fundamentals of liberty upon which our great nation was founded, and demand that this inquiry be stopped.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Gold Miners Protection Under Wagner Act**

**Resolution No. 121**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, In the State of California there are upwards of thirty thousand (30,000) miners employed in the gold mining industry, and

**WHEREAS**, The working conditions of these miners are most deplorable and they are subject only to the will of the mine owners and the Mine Workers' Protective League, a company union owned and controlled by the mine owners, and

**WHEREAS**, The National Labor Relations Board, San Francisco office, has failed to protect these workers under the Wagner Labor Act; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record as requesting its legal department to secure protection under the Wagner Labor Law that rightfully belongs to these workers.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for investigation, and such assistance as may be given.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Vinson Bill**

**Resolution No. 123**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, In the recent past, concerted efforts have been made to shackle



Labor with a series of anti-labor legislation, and

WHEREAS, The most vicious of these bills which now constitute a threat to all organized Labor is the Vinson "cooling off" bill, and

WHEREAS, Already many International Unions have placed themselves on record to work for the defeat of this bill; and so therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, be authorized to take whatever step necessary to contribute to the defeat of the Vinson "cooling off" bill now in Washington for consideration.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Social Security, etc., for Public Employees**

**Resolution No. 126**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Public employees have been excluded from all phases of social security, unemployment compensation and old age annuity, and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that public employees have the same job security and assurance of a pension at time of retirement as private employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and support state legislation to include public employees in the unemployment compensation plan such as obtains in the State of Wisconsin and endorse and support national legislation to place public employees within the scope of the old age annuity sections of the Social Security Act.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Slogan for American Federation of Labor**

**Resolution No. 127**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was founded upon American principles to further the cause of American Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been loyal to American Labor, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has always been loyal to American Government, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is ever on guard to preserve loyalty to the American Government and to Labor's American Federation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has and will continue to disassociate itself from disloyalty to its American principles and ideals by recognition and remedy of dangers that can destroy American form of labor and American form of Government, and

WHEREAS, There is proven value in the use of a good slogan for advertising and proclamation, and

WHEREAS, Through its services the American Federation of Labor has proved its right and precious privilege to proclaim to the world its honest love of American ideals, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor not only judges, but also sincerely appreciates the problems of American Labor, Capital, and Government, and by its deliberations maintains that a real American institution such as our American Federation of Labor is incapable of violating any American liberties because of the American principles upon which it is founded and is administered constituting absolute allegiance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That with honor and pride and true American Spirit, the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt and use the following slogan: "The American Federation of Labor Means What It Says—A Federation of 100 Per Cent Americans."

Your committee is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should not tie itself to any slogan, and for this reason recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Additional Funds for Wage-Hour Law Enforcement**

**Resolution No. 141**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1936 marked the successful culmination of the sustained campaign of organized labor in the United States for the enactment of legislation to provide a floor for wages and a ceiling for work hours, and

WHEREAS, The Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor has made substantial progress in bringing industry into compliance with the law but has been handicapped in its work by the lack of sufficient funds necessary for effective enforcement, and

WHEREAS, The Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division has requested from Congress but has thus far been denied an appropriation sufficient for the purpose of routine investigations of the estimated 300,000 units presumably covered by the Act; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, endorse the request of the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division for an additional appropriation sufficient for the effective enforcement of the Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, be instructed to exert its full influence for securing from Congress appropriate funds required by the Wage and Hour Division to carry out effectively the purposes of the Act under which it was created.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Student Contests on Labor Law

**Resolution No. 142**—By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, The inculcating in the minds of future lawyers of an intelligent and unbiased viewpoint on matters relative to Labor is desirable and necessary to the end that they will be better able to represent either employer or employee group with a sound, unprejudiced approach, and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has for the past several years conducted a contest among the Law Schools of the Chicago area, and awarded prizes for the best essays, pertaining to Labor Law, written by students in the various Law Schools, in order to stimulate interest in Labor Law among them and thereby inculcate in their minds an appreciation of the problems confronting Labor in the courts and legislatures of the State and Nation, and

WHEREAS, The contest sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Labor for the past several years has demonstrated to that body that it is effective in arousing interest in the problems of Labor among the Law students of Chicago; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor conduct a contest among the Law Schools of the United States, and award suitable prizes to the law students submitting essays on the subject of Labor Law, and that a committee be appointed for the purpose of conducting said contest annually for and in behalf of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee is not prepared to recommend that the American Federation of Labor assume responsibility for the undertaking referred to, and therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### New Buildings for Boys Town

**Resolution No. 153**—By Delegate Paula Day, Central Trades and Labor Council, Reno, Nevada.

WHEREAS, Father Flanagan's boys home, Boys Town, Nebraska, a non-sectarian institution for homeless, abandoned boys, has established its value to the nation as a whole because of the inestimable good it has done and is doing in building character in youths who, were it not for the kindness and training received at Boys Town, might not develop into good citizens, and

WHEREAS, There is a need now, as never before, for the development of character and leadership in our youth through institutions such as Boys Town, and

WHEREAS, The present buildings at Boys Town were constructed and are maintained almost entirely by contributions and endowments, and

WHEREAS, There is now a pressing need for additional buildings and funds for their maintenance, and

WHEREAS, The treasury of the American Federation of Labor is such that a substantial sum could be utilized for the construction of an additional building, or buildings, at Boys Town, or to aid in the maintenance of the present institution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention at Seattle, Washington, take favorable action toward the introduction, seconding and passage of a motion appropriating or earmarking a sum of money from the treasury of the Federation, sufficient to carry out the objectives of this resolution; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Father Flanagan and that copies be supplied to the press.

Your committee desires to give its sincere approval to the splendid work being done by Father Flanagan's Boys' Home, Boys Town, Nebraska, but does not believe that this convention should undertake to go farther than recognizing the outstanding work for boys accomplished by Father Flanagan. With this statement your committee also recommends non-concurrence with the resolution as it calls for the ear-marking of Federal appropriations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Pardon for Fred E. Beal**

**Resolution No. 144**—By Delegates Max Zaritsky, Martin Lawlor, Marx Lewis, Herman Finkelstein, Nathaniel Spector, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Fred E. Beal, who took part in the famous textile strike in Gastonia, N. C., in 1929, is now serving a prison term in that State as a direct result of his strike activities, and

WHEREAS, It was never even contended by the State that Beal actually fired a gun or otherwise directly occasioned the death of the Police Chief who died in an episode of violence in that strike, and

WHEREAS, Beal, having fled to Russia at the urging of the Communists, abandoned that country and returned to his native America, where he wrote a book denouncing the communist way of life and championing democracy, and

WHEREAS, Many outstanding individuals, including prominent officials of the labor movement and of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have expressed their faith in Beal's innocence and their eagerness that he be freed so that a grave miscarriage of justice may be corrected to the extent that it is possible to do so; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled do hereby petition the Governor of the State of North Carolina, His Excellency Joseph M. Broughton, to grant a full pardon to Fred E. Beal; and also that the Convention urge the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to address a similar plea to the Governor of the State of North Carolina.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Extension of Social Security Act to Workers of Puerto Rico**

**Resolution No. 146**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Committee on Unemployment Compensation of the Third National Conference on Labor Legislation held in Washington, D. C., November 9, 10 and 11, 1936, made the following recommendation, which was unanimously approved by the Conference:

"We urge that the proper authorities undertake to secure an amendment to the Social Security Act by the Congress to provide the benefits of the Social Security Act to the workers of Puerto Rico and all other territory comprising the United States of America;" and

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 70, instructing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor "to take the necessary steps before Congress so as to secure that the Social Security Act be amended so that Puerto Rican Workers may enjoy the benefits of this Act;" and

WHEREAS, A few years after the above quoted resolutions were adopted, and due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and other governmental agencies of the Government of Puerto Rico, two titles of the Social Security Act were amended by Congress, their benefits having been extended to help the mothers and children, but those Titles benefiting the workers on Unemployment Compensation and other features have remained unchanged, the workers in general having been deprived of such benefits; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and directed to renew the efforts of our organization before Congress until the time has come when the Puerto Rican workers have been brought to the full enjoyment of all the benefits of the Social Security Act through the necessary amendments to the Act.

This resolution refers to unemployment compensation for the workers of Puerto Rico. With this your committee is in full accord, but your committee would amend the purpose of the resolution by having it apply to all terri-

teries and possessions in the United States, and furthermore that with this understanding the resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Political Status of Puerto Rico

**Resolution No. 147**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously approved Resolution No. 69, submitted by the State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico, reading as follows:

"WHEREAS The Island of Puerto Rico was formally surrendered by Spain to the United States on October, 1898, and by the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10 of the same year, at the close of the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, together with Vieques, Culebra and other small adjacent islands, and

"WHEREAS, By the Treaty of Paris, the future of the people of Puerto Rico was entrusted to the hands of our Nation and placed the supreme authority over Puerto Rico in the United States Congress, such high body to decide on the final political status of the island, and

"WHEREAS, The Island of Puerto Rico has been under the American Flag for nearly forty years, and nobody could successfully question that great progress has been made although progress made by the working class has not kept pace with that made by the privileged groups, and

"WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico have been loyal to the United States of America in peace and in war, although it has been repeatedly decided by the courts that the Constitution of the U. S. does not always follow the flag, and

"WHEREAS, The political status of Puerto Rico is most peculiar because it is not a state, neither a territory, but some sort of unincorporated territory developing its activities under a special act of Congress, this peculiar situation having given rise to the discussion of different political formulas during the last thirty years, and

"WHEREAS, Although the people of Puerto Rico have collectively and repeatedly expressed their opinion through the duly constituted political bodies and labor organizations; labor

having expressed most unequivocally that the 'influence of the people of the United States in the destinies of the people of Puerto Rico has been, is and will continue to be civilizing, and with such convictions organized labor rejects every and all colonial political systems and insists upon keeping its permanent association with United States,' and also the political parties of the Island at different occasions have expressed the same views, and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding this fact, there has been maintained in the Island, for the past few years, some agitation intended to sever the relations of the Island with the United States, such agitation having apparently induced a small number of U. S. Congressmen to offer different formulas as to the final political status of Puerto Rico; among them being the granting of independence to the Island in a bill introduced in the Senate during the 74th Congress, and

"WHEREAS, The people of Puerto Rico believe that they are justified in claiming that the time has come when they, as American citizens, should request from Congress and from all other proper authorities, to make a plain and formal official declaration as to the intention of the U. S. towards the final political status of our Island, so as to do away with agitation and so as to enable us to determine the orientation to be followed by the people, and

"WHEREAS, The feelings and aspirations of the people of Puerto Rico as to the final political status which they hope to enjoy could be made known only through a proper and legal instrumentality by which the people might be accorded the opportunity to freely and democratically express their opinion, and

"WHEREAS, We sincerely believe that the people and the Congress of the U. S. are prompted by the best intentions and motives to be of service to our people and to guarantee its civil rights and liberties, which have been enjoyed to the fullest extent under the American flag during the American regime in the Island; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the 56th annual convention of the A. F. of L., to request from the U. S. Congress and the Federal authorities in behalf of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico and of the U. S., that proper and immediate action be taken as follows:

"1. That a frank, formal and official declaration be made public in reference to the intention of the Government of the U. S. as to the final political status to be enjoyed by the Island of Puerto Rico, this to be done

in conformity with the authority granted to the U. S. Congress by the Treaty of Paris signed at the close of the Spanish-American War.

"2. To request the U. S. Congress to pass a resolution authorizing and directing a referendum (plebiscite) be carried on in Puerto Rico without restrictions or limitations whatsoever, and so that in giving the people the opportunity to decide upon the final political status of the Island not only one political formula be brought to their consideration but all of those different plans, systems or political solutions that have been publicly discussed by the different political parties of the Island, and by the labor organizations such as a territory, statehood, independence, self-government, or autonomy of the Canadian or Australian type, associated free state, or any other plan offered so that the people be enabled to make the proper selection according to their wishes, ideals or political beliefs.

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in view of the fact that uncertainty, doubts and confusion have been created during the past year in the Island of Puerto Rico because of the agitation for Independence; taking into consideration that the effects of this agitation have been felt in business, and other activities in the Island and in the continental United States, all of which has been most detrimental to the interests of both the U. S. and Puerto Rico; and having in mind that the people of Puerto Rico are anxious that this situation be brought to an end, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. is further instructed to take action on this proposal as soon as possible."

WHEREAS, After the above quoted resolution was approved in 1936 no change has been effected in the political status of the Island and none of the provisions contained in it has been complied with, being the result that those inimical to the form of Government of the United States as established in Puerto Rico, have taken our peculiar political status as a pretext to criticize and discredit the form of Government of our Nation as a whole, to make propaganda among the Latin American Republics against the United States and its good neighbor policy, creating certain feelings which do not help in the efforts of our National Government to bring about unity and the best relations among all the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, and

WHEREAS, Poisonous propaganda of prejudices and slanderous attacks against the Government of the United States, due to our peculiar political status, have been spread to such an extent that even the totalitarian Governments who would destroy our form of Government and all our labor unions

and our sacred democratic institutions if they could, have joined in such unworthy task, depicting the Government of the United States as composed of oppressors keeping our people under economic, social and political slavery, and

WHEREAS, Although we have been fighting for many years against such unjustified and biased propaganda, we have not been entirely successful in stopping it, because of the ample means at the disposal of the enemies of our Nation, we firmly believe that if the measures as called for by Resolution No. 69 of our 1936 Convention had been put into effect, such unworthy and detrimental propaganda would have already disappeared and our Nation would be in a better position to bring about a better understanding between the Latin American Nations and the United States of America, and there would be no longer any field for suspicion and prejudices against the United States of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby ratify all the provisions as contained in the above quoted resolution and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed and directed to take before Congress and the President of the United States all steps that the Council may deem necessary to carry out the aims and purposes of this Resolution.

Your committee is in sympathy with the objectives of this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Extension of Social Security Act to Public Employees

**Resolution No. 149**—By Delegate James N. Soutter, Trades and Labor Assembly, Des Moines, Iowa.

WHEREAS, Federal legislation has been adopted in recent years, together with corresponding legislation by the various states, which brings to the workers engaged in private industry the protection against unemployment, within certain limitations, and also protection against dependency in old age, and

WHEREAS, The benefits of the Social Security Laws, at the present time, extend only to those engaged in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Experience has already proven that this law is sound economically and socially, and

WHEREAS, There are thousands upon thousands of men and women working in various classifications of Government work, particularly in our states, counties and municipalities, as well as school districts, who, by terms of the Federal Social Security Law are without its terms and, therefore, cannot benefit thereby, and

WHEREAS, These thousands upon thousands of workers have the same problems to confront them, both as to employment and as to old age security, as do those workers in private employment, and

WHEREAS, There are no legal limitations, economic reasons or logical objections as to why the benefits of Social Security legislation, both national and state, should not extend to cover the public employees, federal, state, county, municipal and school; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that amendment be made to the Federal Social Security Law, removing the exclusion or ban upon the public employees, and by said amendment, make proper provision to bring within the scope of these splendid, sound and humane statutes the public employees of our Federal Government, states, counties, municipalities and our schools.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Pontiac Motor Division, General Motors, Employment Application**

**Resolution No. 150**—By Central Labor Union, Pontiac, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The Pontiac Motor Division of General Motors has adopted an application for employment form containing the following affidavit form:

To be signed at time of employment.

Date.....

I hereby swear that all information contained on this application blank is true to the best of my knowledge and belief and that nothing has been concealed or omitted and that I will abide by the present company rules and regulations or any that may be put into effect.

Signed.....

Subscribed and sworn before me this .....day of..... 19.....

Notary Public in and for  
County of Oakland, Michigan  
which all employees must sign regardless of length of service as well as persons seeking employment, and

WHEREAS, To accept this in principle is to turn the calendar of time back some one thousand to fifteen hundred years to the time when slaves and serfs were required to bow down in homage and swear allegiance to their lords and masters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor protest this un-American practice on the part of Pontiac Motor Division of General Motors; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Roosevelt be asked to use his high office to correct this situation.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for investigation, and such action as seems advisable.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Application of Laborers to Change Title to International Union of Construction and General Laborers of America**

**Resolution No. 153**—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America is an International Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor under the title "International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America," and

WHEREAS, Since the granting of charter to the said International Union by the American Federation of Labor, the said International Union has acquired further and added jurisdiction by reason of amalgamations with other existing International Unions of the American Federation of Labor, all with the knowledge and consent of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and with the consent and approval of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The present title of the said International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America does not fully nor properly represent the jurisdiction lawfully covered by the said International Union, and



WHEREAS, The said International Union desires to abbreviate its title and in abbreviating attempt to cover its jurisdiction in a more general manner, and

WHEREAS, At the recent Convention of the said International Union, held September 15-19, 1941, in St. Louis, Missouri, the said Convention instructed the officers and delegates of the said International Union in attendance at the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor to present a resolution requesting from said American Federation of Labor Convention a change in its title; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the present title of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America be changed to "International Union of Construction and General Laborers of America," and that in effecting said change, the said International Union maintain and continue to hold the same jurisdiction held by it in its previous title.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Condemning U. S. Senate Subcommittee Actions**

**Resolution No. 171**—By Delegate Frank Gillmore, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

WHEREAS, A Senate sub-committee has been instigated by Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Clark and Nye to effect an inquiry into the operation of motion picture industry, and

WHEREAS, It is clear that the purpose of the inquiry is to block the production of anti-Nazi motion pictures and is in effect a censorship on the free expression of American culture, and

WHEREAS, The inquiry has quickly indicated that it is designed to breed religious and racial discord, thereby to destroy the unity of the vast majority of the American people who support the foreign policy of the nation, as expressed by our President Franklin D. Roosevelt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we do hereby condemn the actions of the sub-committee as an immediate threat to free thought, free speech and to the very fundamentals of liberty upon which our great nation was founded, and strongly recommend that this inquiry be stopped.

Your committee recommends that this

resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Protest Against Nazi Atrocities in Norway**

**Resolution No. 173**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Jos. F. Clark, Christian M. Madsen, John Oliver, A. W. Wallace, James P. Meehan, International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, On September 10, 1941, two unoffending labor leaders, Vigo Hansteen, Chief Legal Advisor to Norwegian Trade Unions, and Rolph Wickströen, trade unionist in Oslo, Norway, were executed by order of the Quisling regime that sold the nation to Hitler and now does his bidding the world over, and

WHEREAS, These two people were executed because they dared to speak for an independent free Norway. They were not radicals, but the average type of trade unionists, such as we find within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled join with the Swedish trade unionists in sending to our brothers in Norway the same message of solidarity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the President of the United States and the Secretary of State to make known to the German Government that the Nazi outrages and those of their Quisling appeaser stooges have aroused the greatest indignation of our American trade unionists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we also take this occasion to call to the attention of President Roosevelt that outrages such as those now being reported from Norway fully justify the present American foreign policy of all-out aid to defeat Hitler and increases the determination of trade unionists to cooperate in every way to make this policy more effective.

Your committee recommends that the last RESOLVE be amended by adding after the word "Norway" in the fourth line the following words "and all other countries which have been overrun by Hitler's murderous armies." With this amendment your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.



## Federal Grants for Industrial Hygiene Programs

**Resolution No. 174**—By Delegate Thomas J. Lyons, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Industrial accidents and occupational diseases cause a tremendous annual loss to American workers in respect to health, physical fitness and even life itself, and

WHEREAS, Such disabilities and fatalities seriously impede the full flow of production so essential to the national defense program, and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of the several states have uniformly given responsibility for supervision of work places to State Labor Departments, or equivalent agencies dedicated to the interests of wage earners, and

WHEREAS, The federal government, through the Social Security Act, has made available to the states certain grants in aid for the purpose of carrying on activities in the field of industrial hygiene, and

WHEREAS, Such allotments to the states have, by administrative regulation, been heretofore denied to State Labor Departments charged with regulatory supervision of work places and conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommends any necessary change in either administrative policy, or in the terms of the Social Security Act to the end that federal grants for industrial hygiene programs be made available to State Labor Departments which now carry on such activities or deserve to do so.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions No. 151 and 154.

## A. F. of L. Policy Relative to Peace Treaty

**Resolution No. 154**—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, John M. Gillespie, Frank W. Brewster, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, Robert Lester, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, Nearly all the peoples of the civilized world are now engaged in deadly conflict which, in the judgment of intelligent human beings should and

could have been avoided, but has been forced on the democratic, liberty-loving peoples of the world by a leadership that believes in the conquering and destruction of human rights in order to satisfy its ambitious, insane desires for power, and

WHEREAS, The working people of the world are undoubtedly those who will suffer most at the ending of this conflict, and

WHEREAS, It is demanded of Labor that they select from amongst their leadership one who has been tried and proven in the ranks of Labor; one who has demonstrated ability and courage, fearlessness and diplomacy in representing his people; one who has studied, understands and has had contact with the conflicting elements which compose the European population, including government, capital and labor, and

WHEREAS, Labor is now giving all that it has in our country to the end that freedom, civilization and democracy can be preserved, not only for this but for future generations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention inform the President of the United States that at the conference table at the ending of this world conflict, Labor must have its representation because Labor is enormously concerned and, as Labor has played the most important part in this world struggle and has more at stake than any other branch of society, Labor therefore must be and insists that it be considered in any negotiations on peace which may obtain at the ending of this conflict. In other words, Labor of the United States must have its representative at the peace table; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to name a representative from amongst the men of Labor and present the name of such chosen representative to the President of the United States.

## A. F. of L. Policy Relative to Peace Treaty

**Resolution No. 151**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor, while addressing this year the Seventy-Eighth Annual Convention of the New York State Federation of Labor declared: "That at the peace conference which will follow the end of the war the workers of the various nations of the world must be given direct representation," and

WHEREAS, Voicing the sentiments and aspirations of our membership and as a true and faithful interpreter of our

doctrines and democratic ideals, he vigorously and energetically stated: "I demand that the representatives of labor from every nation, speaking different languages, worshipping in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, be there to help shape a new world, new freedoms, new righteousness and a new future for the people throughout the world," and

WHEREAS, He further stated that: "We want written into the agreement, in simple language, this: That workers in every nation throughout the world shall be accorded the full and unrestricted right to establish and maintain free democratic unions," and that "that right must never be given up," and

WHEREAS, Our president advanced his proposal as an amendment to the eight-point war aim program proclaimed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister of England Winston Churchill at their historic meeting on the Atlantic Ocean, and

WHEREAS, Our president has unflinchingly and unequivocally expressed and set the only policy which a conscious labor movement like ours can follow and advocate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor heartily approve and support our president in his declaration, and decide that these declarations as formulated constitute the policy of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, Proper representations be made by the Executive Council before the competent governmental agencies, when the time might come, after totalitarianism has been banished from the face of the earth, to secure adequate labor representation, and the adoption in the peace agreement of the clause intended to protect the rights and freedom of labor in all the Nations of the world.

Resolutions Nos. 151 and 154 have similar objectives. Your committee being in accord with the purpose and substance of these resolutions, and as both call for representative action by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, recommend their adoption. In so doing we particularly emphasize approval of the last paragraph of Resolution No. 154.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## INTRODUCTION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 35)

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption "Introduction," your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## WAGE-HOUR LAW

(Executive Council's Report, Page 102)

The report of the Executive Council on Wage-Hour Law Administration indicates how effectively this Act fixed minimum labor standards for the protection of wage earners and how these standards have been accepted by the National Defense as a foundation upon which to build national morale and conservation of manpower.

The 40-hour week has become standard within the application of the law and the 40-cent minimum has been established in a number of industries in advance of its universal effective date in October, 1945. The administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act is making progress in prohibiting or regulating child labor and industrial home work.

Enforcement of these established standards is the immediate responsibility of our affiliated unions on which attention should be concentrated during the coming year. Close cooperation of unions with the Inspection Staff of the Division together with prompt reporting on all violations by union members are essential to complete effectiveness of this protective labor legislation.

We also urge a determined policy by the Division for rapid and effective action on complaints and acceptance of union cooperation which is especially essential in dealing with industries made up of small enterprises and accustomed to low labor standards.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## WAGES

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 71-74)

Wage rates fix the income of wage earners, determine the standards of living for their families, and condition their ability to share in social and economic progress. Our unions, through collective bargaining, fix standards above those minima established by administrative procedure and endeavor to secure for workers compensation based upon their contributions to production.

Industrial records, cited by the Executive Council's Report, shows that Labor is entitled to larger compensation: production per man hour increased 43 per cent between 1929 and 1941 while labor costs per unit of product declined 6.5 per cent. Wages constituted a relatively small part of production costs in many industries and therefore do not automatically force price rises as some maintain. It is especially important under present conditions for all unions to have adequate industrial and financial information to sustain their wage contentions. While we realize present danger of inflation makes it necessary for the unions together with all other groups to cooperate to curb inflationary tendencies we cannot be deluded into believing that wages should be frozen. Stabilization and maintenance of the status quo are not necessarily the same thing.

As the Executive Council Report points out, wage policies should not be confused with any proposal for price control or price freezing. Wages are incomes paid to persons as compensation for work. Prices are the market valuation of commodities. As the American Federation of Labor had written into the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and later in the basic principles of the I. L. O. "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce."

Payment for work must be determined between the individual rendering the work and the employer, or between their representatives. This procedure is inseparable from human freedom and dignity which lies at the base of democratic institutions and controls their nature and operations. If we are to defend free institutions we must continue to function as free people, with representation in the making of policies and decisions which concern our well-being. Any form of price control will indirectly affect wages when union representatives negotiate for Labor's share of the returns of the employing companies. Direct fixing of wages would constitute income control which, when applied to employers, will involve fixing of profits. On the other hand, price control will indirectly affect profits as well as wages.

What Labor wants from price control

is an economic stability that will enable industries to operate and all individuals and public agencies to be able to plan to expend their incomes to the best advantage of all concerned. Without stability there can be no security of income, investments, or other property.

The Price Control Bill of the Administration wisely does not propose to fix wages but authorizes the President to fix prices with adequate provisions for hearings within time limits, and with limits on the duration of this authority.

Your committee approves the Executive Council's report upon this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 116 to 124)

The sharp changes and upheavals that characterize the present decade indicate how little permanence may be expected in material things or in personal relationships. We cannot count with confidence upon the following of any normal course of development or achieving the material or business ends we desire from a life-time of work. Because we cannot count upon steady income from work or investments we look to some other sources for a measure of security against the emergencies that life now holds in increasing frequency. Our social security program has come to occupy a key position in the plans for millions of citizens of the United States. It is the provision for the emergencies of the present and future to which we can anchor with a feeling of definite security. Personal plans and efforts may fail us but as long as our government maintains, we shall not have to face emergencies barehanded.

Our system is yet very new and has not entirely rid itself of certain limiting provisions that represent the legislative compromises necessary for the inauguration of a new policy. Now that social security provisions and their administrative machinery have been integrated with the National Defense

Administration, a still greater degree of national welfare depends upon extending the scope and raising the standards and range of benefits paid during emergencies which interfere with normal income earning.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the following amendments to the Social Security Act in this portion of the Executive Council's Report:

A single pooled fund out of which shall be paid all social security benefits.

Present old age and survivors insurance shall be extended to agricultural workers, domestic workers, lay employees of religious, educational and charitable institutions, with permissive provisions for coverage of state and municipal employees not protected by existing public retirement programs.

A sound national employment service decentralized for administrative functions.

A national system of unemployment compensation.

Benefits for both permanent and temporary disability with additional cash benefits for medical care and hospitalization for workers and their dependents.

Federal contributions to state provisions for the needy aged should be on a variable basis that would protect aged persons of poorer states against inadequate payment due to smaller wealth within their states.

Drastic and wide-spread changes in industry and policies and orders of the Federal Government have resulted in nation-wide migrations of wage earners looking for work in a national labor market, unemployment in the post-war days will be as now a national problem for which national relief measures must be developed. Both the agency which seeks to find jobs for the unemployed and the money benefits for those for whom jobs cannot be found must be nation-wide and uniform so that equitable treatment can be assured to all. Against future emergencies employers and workers should jointly contribute to this general fund which is to provide income for the workers' families when events beyond their control deny workers an opportunity to work—old age, premature death,

temporary and permanent disability with additional payments to cover medical and hospital costs when needed.

We believe that the development of a comprehensive social security system and expansion of its coverage will provide a foundation for sustained national morale and at the same time create an investment in human conservation that will materially counterbalance inflationary tendencies. We are strengthened in our conviction that social security is a basic conservation measure by the action of Great Britain in enlarging and improving her social insurance program after months of warfare.

### **Maintain Social Security Rights Under Defense Requirements**

Defense service in both the military and civilian fields has interfered with the maintenance and accumulation of rights under social security. As our Executive Council's Report indicates, many states have attempted to meet this problem but the result has been inadequate and unequal protection. Also, the rights of persons transferring from private employment to defense jobs paid directly by the Federal Government should be protected to assure retirement, unemployment and disability benefits whether employed in private industry or under the Government. Sacrifices to serve the government in this emergency should not entail loss of social security rights.

Congress should consider this problem in connection with or following legislation providing the comprehensive program outlined above.

### **Committee on Social Security**

We commend the Social Security Committee for their efforts to plan and promote improvements in our Federal and State social security legislation. We urge this committee to give every possible assistance in connection with the program which the President has announced will be sent to Congress shortly to the end that our recommendations shall be incorporated in the legislation as passed by Congress.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was adopted.

Delegate McCann, State, County and Municipal Employees: The report recommends the permissive inclusion of State and municipal employees under these beneficial enactments. I suggest that the word "County" be inserted there, as we have many thousands of workers in various counties throughout the United States, and that it read, "State, County and Municipal Employees," rather than "State and Municipal."

Secretary Frey: There is no objection to the amendment, but the committee thought its language covered all employees within a state, whether municipal or county.

Delegate McCann: Inasmuch as the counties are set up in different governmental functions and are different divisions of the state, it is my opinion they should be specified.

President Green: There will be no objection to the inclusion of the word "county" as you have recommended in the report.

The report of the committee, thus amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

## PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH CIO

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 59-61)

and

## RESOLUTIONS Nos. 32 AND 34

That portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "Peace Negotiations with C. I. O." is a report on what has transpired since the adjournment of the New Orleans Convention, 1940. In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee includes Resolutions Nos. 32 and 34.

## Labor Unity

**Resolution No. 32**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the last eight years organized labor having made great gains in working conditions and membership, and having in mind the reaction to labor after the last World War, and

WHEREAS, It being to the best interests of organized labor that a consolidation of the two national bodies take place, i. e., the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates of the American Federation of Labor go on record as commending the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to bring about industrial peace; and we further recommend that the American Federation of Labor make provisions to continue their efforts to bring about a settlement of this grave economic condition in order that the social and economic gains won shall be consolidated and perpetuated.

## Campaign of Resistance to Union Raiding Tactics of CIO

**Resolution No. 34**—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver James P. Meehan, Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. in its capacity of dual union has been extremely active during the past year raiding the established organizations of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This condition has created an intolerable situation which is tearing down the conditions we have built up in the past, developing strife and resulted in giving the general public an unfavorable opinion of all Labor Unions, and

WHEREAS, This is not confined to one organization but is general in scope, becoming thereby the concern of the entire American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor Convention institute a campaign of resistance to the union-raiding tactics of the C. I. O. by giving immediate assistance to any locality or organization that is the subject of such an attack; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all state and city central bodies of the American Federation of Labor should have standing committees for this purpose, and put forth a concerted drive to combat this situation wherever and whenever it appears.

Your committee believes it is unnecessary to do more than express profound regret that there should exist a dual organization to the American Federation of Labor in this period of national emergency. There never has been a period when it was more essential that organized labor should be a united body, and the unjustified division which exists has unquestionably lowered the contribution

which organized labor would otherwise have been giving to the nation.

It is inescapable that when the present crisis has been past, that this division in the ranks of labor will even more acutely disturb and dislocate the relationships between management and labor. Because we must take the post-war period into consideration, it is encouraging to find that the officers of the American Federation of Labor are continuing their policy of an open door, and their effort to re-establish a unification of the American trade union movement.

It is only necessary to remind the convention of the public statements made by the master spirit of the C. I. O., to indicate the outstanding reason why unity has not been previously established.

Because of the constant efforts made by the C. I. O. to raid our unions and their membership, and to set up dual International Unions to those within the fold of the American Federation of Labor, it is essential that our trade union movement protect itself against the efforts to destroy it; efforts which, unfortunately, in many instances have received the encouragement and assistance of individuals holding public office. As to the question of maintaining what we have and of increasing our membership, the helpful influence of our International Unions affects the membership locally as well as nationally.

The policy which has been carried out by the C. I. O. from the beginning, in many instances, is similar to that which has been applied by Adolph Hitler, promises and pledges to be broken when it seems advantageous. First, we were assured that the sole purpose of the C. I. O. was to carry on an educational campaign. We were then assured in an official statement issued by the head of the C. I. O. that in such organizing work as it would carry on, it would be confined solely to the field of the unorganized.

Hardly had this statement been made than the first organizing efforts made by the C. I. O. were raids upon the membership of existing International Unions, in many instances an effort to secure control of trade unions at that time under trade union agreements with their employers. The similarity to Hitler's tactics

does not end here, but the carefully planned program of the leaders of the C. I. O. led to campaigns first against one International Union, and then against another.

Had the original raiding policy been carried out generally against all of our affiliated International Unions, they would have united in developing a program of self-defense. But by making an effort first in one industry and then in another, they had hoped to create a feeling of security in the minds of other International Unions. First they directed their campaign against the metal trades. Then in turn they entered the field of the building trades, and recently directed their efforts against the transportation trades.

There is but one way to meet these tactics, and that is for the American Federation of Labor itself and its affiliated International Unions to give their collective support to every local union in the small communities as well as those in the industrial centers, so that this present effort to supplant the American trade union movement and establish this alleged "new order" can be overcome.

While your committee calls upon the affiliated International Unions to merge their forces for self-defense because of the attacks made upon us, your committee nevertheless urges the officers of the American Federation of Labor to continue their efforts to re-establish unity in the family of labor.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, and likewise recommends approval of the purpose and substance of Resolutions Nos. 32 and 34.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The convention will please be in order. I will now interrupt the report of the Committee on Resolutions for the purpose of presenting to you the fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor. Brother Morones, who comes here as a duly accredited fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, was unavoidably delayed in his plans to reach Seattle sooner. He arrived in the city yesterday.

I know I can speak for you when I say



that we are pleased to have Brother Morones here as the fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor. We welcome him in the name and in behalf of the American Federation of Labor to this great convention.

We are deeply interested in the success of the Mexican Federation of Labor and in the economic, social and industrial success of the Mexican working men and women. We have maintained a very friendly relationship with the Mexican Federation of Labor over a long period of time. We have worked with them in an effort to establish and rehabilitate the Pan-American Federation of Labor and we expect to do so, because we are conscious of the fact that the great need of the hour is to unite the workers of Mexico and the Latin-American nations with the working people of our great country in a sincere and cooperative effort to establish international unity and cooperation.

I present to you now Brother Luis N. Morones, fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, for a short address.

### **DELEGATE LUIS N. MORONES** (Fraternal Delegate, Mexican Federation of Labor)

Secretary Morones delivered his address in the Mexican language, and the English interpretation was given by Fraternal Delegate Roberto Haberman.

Brother President Green, and brother delegates, again I have the happiness to be with you in response to the invitation which Brother Green has sent us. Again I have the happiness to come here and to bring you a message of solidarity on the part of the workers that make up the Mexican Federation of Labor to the workers of the United States who are members of the American Federation of Labor.

During the last convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans I stated and explained to the delegates the conditions under which the workers, members of the Mexican Federation of Labor, were laboring in Mexico. The conditions which our organization were going through were exceedingly difficult. During the last 13 years we have had a hard struggle, a painful struggle, because political influences tried to conquer the Mexican Federation of Labor and tried to have the Mexican Federation of Labor submit itself to political interests, and thus do away with the program which was adopted in 1918 when the Mexican Federation of Labor was founded, founded

for the moral and economic and material well-being of the peasants and workers of Mexico.

We have a new government in Mexico since about a year ago, and I am happy to come here today and tell you that our fate has changed. We are cooperating with this new government without having lost our independence, without having lost that independence which every labor movement must possess. We are in a better position now, since we are cooperating with the government and since the government is cooperating with us, to serve better the workers in Mexico. We are in a better position now to keep on cooperating with the American Federation of Labor in all the points that we have in common, points which are so important today, considering the international situation.

If we were able during 13 years of hardship to devote ourselves to the cause of justice and democracy, you may rest assured now we are in a better position that we are going to keep up the work of dedicating ourselves and cooperating and sacrificing ourselves for the cause of liberty and democracy.

We cannot and we must not keep away or fail to cooperate with all those peoples who have been cursed and have been so punished by the totalitarian governments. We cannot, just because we are so far away, close our eyes to the injustices and crimes and tragedies which these totalitarian governments have spread over the world. We do not have to wait until this tragedy reaches Mexico. Our job is to get busy now and to help and do all we can, and to sacrifice ourselves for human liberty.

This is why my organization, through me, offers itself today to meet realities. It offers that we get busy and begin to work with the rest of the labor organizations of this hemisphere, and that we meet the situation, such as it is, for the purpose of establishing permanently the things that we believe in. This is not the time for talk; the time has come to do something.

It is very easy to come here and offer ideas of cooperation; it is very simple to talk about plans and good desires. Since the war started there have been millions and millions of speeches and millions and millions of words said about how to do away with the totalitarian governments. But the truth is that on this continent we have done nothing but talk, and unless we start and get busy immediately and begin to do something we will not be able to protect ourselves or to help those who are the victims of this terrible war.

As I see it, the best manner to present the program is to tell you just what I believe to be the real situation on this continent. In my country my government and the labor organization which I represent are working hand in hand and lending all possible help to the program of continental defense. But the truth is that in the rest of the countries of this con-



continent, with very few exceptions, there is a great disorientation amongst the masses of workers, irrespective of what their governments may do, and I believe that the time has come to do something to orientate, to organize these workers, and thus prevent the tragedy that may come due to disorganization and disorientation.

It is true the governments of Latin-American countries have formulated a defense plan, but it is also true that nothing has been done to coordinate the working classes to the plan of continental defense.

It is true that in the Pan-American Federation of Labor of which Brother Green is President, we have made many plans, how to coordinate and how to orientate the working groups of the Latin-American continent, but up to the present time there has been nothing but plans. And here I am trying hard and working, and I am going to keep on trying and working so that those plans about which we talk so often may become realities.

Our enemies, through very able propaganda, are coordinating all their work to bring about more confusion and more disorientation among the peoples of this continent, and while they have been working and organizing we have been formulating plans without doing anything, and they have been successful in meeting the problem in their way while we have been sitting and waiting.

It is true that you in the United States are doing a tremendous job in cooperating with the defense plans. It is true that you here in this convention assembled have dedicated yourselves to work with the Government of your country toward this defense program.

It is also true that the great spirit of sacrifice, of loyalty, of full comprehension of duty is what is moving the great mass of workers of the United States who make up the American Federation of Labor. It is also true that this great work of yours, that all these plans and all these sacrifices must be brought home to the labor organizations and to the people of the rest of this continent.

The diplomatic representatives of all these countries have gathered many times, but the time has come now that the organized workers must begin to send their diplomatic representatives. This is the only way we will be able to do away with the results of the intense propaganda which the totalitarian countries are carrying on throughout this continent.

It is true that in all these countries of this continent there are groups who have good intentions, who mean well. But for years, yes, for centuries, there have been deep prejudices among the peoples of these countries of Latin-America—prejudices which we can only overcome by doing something, prejudices which we can only remove by getting together with them, talking and coordinating and organizing all our work.

In Mexico we have been fortunate enough to remove many of these prejudices, thanks to the relations which exist between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor; thanks to the many exchanges of delegates from the United States to Mexico and from Mexico to the United States.

But this is not the situation in other countries. This is not the point of view of the workers of other countries with respect to the United States. That is why it is so necessary, that is why it is so important that the plans formulated by the American Federation of Labor to send a representative to visit all these Latin-American countries be put into action.

We have not remained inactive. We are so conscious of the seriousness of the situation that my organization, the Mexican Federation of Labor, has decided to appoint a delegate who will go with the delegate of the American Federation of Labor to visit all these Latin-American countries.

We in Mexico are willing to share all the responsibilities with the American Federation of Labor in this work, because we are so conscious of the necessity of getting the workers of other Latin-American countries to understand the necessity of one plan, a coordinated plan to gain their hearts and to gain their goodwill. That is the only way that we can do away with this great danger which is beclouding the world.

It is our duty, in response to the loyalty with which the American Federation of Labor has treated us in Mexico during our difficult times, it is our duty to you, brother delegates, to all the American workers that we assume this responsibility of working with you toward coordinating one definite plan, because it is our duty to do that, it is the only way we can help out the workers of England and the workers of all the countries which have been invaded and which are today at war. The Mexican Federation of Labor is ready to accept any sacrifice which this duty imposes upon it. And here I am, pledging myself again and promising you that all that you people decide we must do, we will do.

Finally, brothers, I want to express to you my gratitude for the way that Brother Green and you have treated the delegates of my organization. We had the great pleasure during our convention last July to have had with us Brother Woll as a representative of the American Federation of Labor. We were happy at that time in Mexico to symbolize the union that exists between the government of the United States and the government of Mexico and to symbolize the union that exists between the American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Federation of Labor, and having the great and beautiful flag of the United States on the platform throughout the convention, and when the convention terminated we had a big parade through the streets of Mexico, a

parade which was opened up by the flag of the United States and the flag of Mexico being held up by Mexican girls and Mexican workers to symbolize and to let the enemies of liberty and democracy know that the American and Mexican people, the American and Mexican working people at least, are working and walking hand in hand towards the destruction of these enemies.

Today I am deeply moved to see the flag of my country together with the flag of the countries that are fighting and sacrificing so much for human liberty and human justice. I hope, brothers, that before long you will see the flags of all the countries of this Latin American continent together, realizing the same work which we are trying to bring about today.

Next year we are going to celebrate the anniversary of the discovery of America. We are working hard and trying very hard to get the representatives of all the Latin-American countries and of the United States and Canada to take part in the commemoration of this anniversary of the discovery of America.

Comrades who are here representing the British labor movement, it is not many years since we had the pleasure of entertaining in Mexico delegates from the organization which you represent today. Many times I have been in England, but I want you to take back with you to England the salute and the greetings that come from the heart of every man and woman that belongs to the Mexican Federation of Labor; I want you to tell your comrades that we all sympathize with you in this great hour of tragedy and suffering. Not only do I want you to take back our greetings but I want you to tell our comrades in England that besides our greetings we are here to be with them, to work with them and to fight with them, if it is necessary. While it is true, due to material and political reasons, the diplomatic relations between my country and your country are broken, I want you to know the duties and the affections of one people towards another will never be broken, and all that we can do to bring about a resumption of relations between these two governments, we are going to do. We must set aside all the differences, unimportant political or material differences, because it is our duty to fight alongside of you who are fighting for the same things we believe in, justice, liberty and democracy.

I have brought with me letters from the President of Mexico and from the Minister of Communications and Public Works. Besides these letters the President and Secretary have asked me to bring to you verbally their greetings and their hope for the success of this convention.

President Green: I want to thank Brother Morones for his visit to this convention and for his address. I hope

he may enjoy his visit with us and a safe return to his home in Mexico.

I overlooked announcing that Brother Haberman, who interpreted the address of Brother Morones, is also accredited as a fraternal delegate to the convention.

## TEAMSTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I suppose the delegates have seen in the papers the last week the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case involving the American Federation of Labor, the Teamsters, and the Brewery Workers. After two years of litigation in the courts, questioning the right of this convention to act, the case having been brought from court to court by the Brewery Workers, final decision was made in the case last Monday by the full bench of the United States Supreme Court.

Although it is my opinion that the 1939 convention action is in full force and effect, yet to prevent the possibility of further costly litigation on the claim that the present constitution was not complied with, I move that the recommendation of the Executive Council to the 1939 convention, appearing in the last paragraph of Page 56 of the 1939 report, be adopted as the action of this convention.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman, I am surprised that this question should come on the floor of the convention at this late hour. It is true that the United States Supreme Court refused to review, but it did not render a decision. My surprise comes that this matter was not brought to the attention of the convention earlier, when the delegates who were regularly elected to this convention were in attendance. Many of them have left.

I hold that the matter is not a subject for discussion of the convention at this time, since it is a new matter and had not been brought to the attention of the convention either by resolution or otherwise, or upon the report of the Executive Council.

May I say at this time, Mr. Chairman, that the 1939 convention directed the appointment of a special committee for the purpose of trying to mediate the differences between the Teamsters and the Brewery Workers. We held numerous meetings with that committee. The Brewery Workers had offered three different proposals as a basis of compromise. The Teamsters had offered absolutely no compromise and demanded the complete surrender of the beer drivers belonging to the Brewery Workers' organization.

We naturally expected that, having been directed by a convention to appoint a special committee, the Executive Council would make known to the 1940 convention what that committee had reported, what efforts they had made to bring about an adjustment and what propositions had been made by the two contending organizations to effect a compromise settlement. But no report was made by the Executive Council, although that committee was specifically appointed by a previous convention, and I believe the delegates to the 1940 convention were entitled to become acquainted with what had been done, what efforts had been made toward reaching an adjustment by either or both organizations.

We come to this convention, and again there is complete silence on the part of the Executive Council. It seems to me to be wholly unfair that the Council makes no recommendation, no report on the subject matter for two long years.

In addition to that President Green had urged us to effect a settlement, in a letter some time early in April after the Court of Appeals had rendered its decision. We had some correspondence and conferences with President Green and had asked the president that we be permitted to come before the Executive Council session in May, 1941, so as to lay before the Council the proposals that we had made as a basis of settlement. President Green assured us at that time that we would be given an opportunity to appear before the Council. There was nothing on the agenda of the Executive Council session in April pertaining to the Brewery Workers vs. the Teamsters'

Union, and yet that Council session issued a pronouncement in which it severely criticized the Brewery Workers, and stated, among other things, that when and if legal technicalities were removed they would proceed to take action against the Brewery Workers. We hold that that was wholly unfair. At least we should have been accorded the opportunity to sit in the Council chambers and there acquaint the Council members with the propositions we had offered.

The same is true of the Miami session of the Executive Council, when the special committee made its report. We were assured, and I have letters from President Green, that when that committee made its report we would be permitted to sit in the Council chambers. We pointed out to President Green that since the Teamsters, through President Tobin, sit on the Council, it would be no more than fair to permit us to hear what that special committee had to say. Much to our surprise, President Green notified us when the committee was called before them at Miami at the Everglades Hotel, that the Executive Council felt that we should not be admitted, although we called President Green's attention again to the fact that the Teamsters were represented and we felt we should be permitted to sit in when the special committee made its report.

I hold that this action at this time, this late in the sessions of this convention is wholly unfair and is not in accord with the parliamentary usage or the constitutional provisions. The constitution in 1940 was amended so that the proclamation issued by the Executive Council in May, 1941, was not in accord with the provisions of the constitution that denies the Executive Council the right to suspend or expel organizations between conventions. Yet the pronouncement of May 20th practically declared that they would suspend the Brewery Workers when and if these legal technicalities were removed.

Mr. Chairman, you may oust the Brewery Workers, but there are many other organizations that are not satisfied with the procedure in the Brewery

Workers Case. All of the delegates here know that the Brewery Workers have always been loyal and faithful to every organization within the American Federation of Labor.

May I say in closing that whatever may be our course or the course that this convention may take, the Brewery Workers, as always, will be loyal to the legitimate purposes of the trade union movement, and you will find them always standing shoulder to shoulder with the honest trade union movement.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman and delegates, this matter is not only a condition of the year of 1939. This is a story within a story. It dates back practically over forty years. In all this period of forty years of uneasiness, saturated with the actual trade union spirit we always felt that there was a possible chance to discuss it within the family of labor. I personally have large experience in that direction and I feel it so keenly in this present back door fashion of coming and just putting us ordinarily out of the labor movement.

I have said often that I am absolutely Federation minded. It is actually a religion to me from my early manhood, and I always felt that there was room for us all if we exhibited that spirit of real trade unionism, the actual proposal of give and take.

And it did materialize. I have been coming here for 35 successive years, I have never embarrassed anyone, and I have tried to represent this organization of brewery workmen to the best of my ability.

At the original convention in Washington, D. C.—and the brewery workmen have a right to make that claim—the entire action on the part of the Executive Council was contrary to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and I cited that provision, Article III, Section 11 of the old constitution. If that had been complied with this matter never should have reached the floor of this convention. But be that as it may, ever since this year of 1933 we have been trying so hard to effect that sort of a compromise. We can't help it that when our organization

was formed you patted us on the back and you said to us, go out and organize the industry. We were able to organize the industry one hundred per cent. We have not been just ordinary victims of circumstances, and if this motion which is now before this convention passes, it just strikes me that for the second time in my lifetime you are saying that there is no room for the Brewery Workers within the American Federation of Labor.

I say to you in all sincerity that when it comes to the question of the story within the story, this matter really needs understanding and analysis of the accomplishments through the system of organization in the limited field in which we are operating. We organized the industry for the second time in my lifetime, and then when I see the reward that comes to me and you say there is no more room in the legitimate labor movement of America for me, you just ordinarily destroy a life's work, which leaves that after taste that it means crucifixion. If that is what this convention intends to do then we have to accept it, and we are big enough to take it on the chin.

But let us analyze first that 1939 action. I am not one who is going to bring out a documentary record, this, that and the other, quoting here and there. I exercise my mentality in that respect. In all our attempts in conference no one needs to believe that we went to any source of legal technicality in connection therewith. I know the seriousness of these legal channel creations, and in years gone by our organization never spent a dime in seeking legal redress.

Now that we are decorated with all these sources of legal fraternity I felt there was really no need for it at all if we would only sit around the conference table and study each other's weaknesses upon their face, talk about each other's weaknesses as they exist, and let the big-brother policy prevail.

Upon that sort of recommendation a committee, not from novelty seekers, but a real, decent, honest, upright committee to go into the historical events of this matter of industrial and semi-industrial and craft unionism, and his-

ten to the story of the brewery workmen. I say officially that committee has given us all a chance. It has worked very patiently in the direction of effecting an understanding.

But may I be permitted to ask why all this secrecy? We never heard anything of that committee, never any record of that committee's action, never any report to this convention, because you must admit we are not seeking anything. What we are continually practicing is the square deal. We ask nothing from anybody. We are not disgracing anybody. We are doing our work in accordance with the principles of the American Federation of Labor, to make the lot of our own people more easy and to give service to the entire labor movement.

Now comes the revelation. If you vote today without giving more chance of getting together and studying this most serious problem—we are seasoned in the labor movement and I might as well tell you so you will understand, that we are going to comply with the law of the land. But we are here as delegates under definite instructions. We are not so decorated as an organization. We are unique in that we do not have the personnel—it may not be wise to say this, but each organization to its own taste—we have no President in our organization. We are ruled by a General Executive Board, selected by the rank and file in the different districts of America and Canada, and that sort of policy has been definitely formed, conventions have definitely decided, referendum votes have been definitely held.

And here we are, by your action, just ordinarily going to confuse the confusion. Now, if that is the makeup of any sort of organization we are traveling in the direction of destruction, and I have enough faith in the labor movement to believe that that is not going to be the established policy.

We want to do something constructive, so I say to you in closing, what's the rush? We hope to be together another year. Why not live up to what you have already enacted? You talk about 1933. Well, I am not going back to 1913 when I stood in this city at that time

representing my organization. Let me say I am a typical brewery workman, not by any design or accident, it is a family inheritance and dates back hundreds of years. We had that problem in 1913. I am not going to talk about 1915, but I am going to talk about the year 1935. The year 1933 is history, 1934 is also history, and in 1935 at the Atlantic City convention you adopted a resolution and you never lived up to that resolution.

The matter was back again in the Council. Look up the record. Ever since we haven't had a chance to discuss it with the Council. It is considered a closed incident. It bordered upon desperation.

I think my friends, the Teamsters, would like this question settled the same as the Brewery Workers. Why not take that created enactment, both sides agreeing not to discuss it before on the floor of the convention in 1935, and let the entire subject matter now be taken up by the Executive Council and once more open your doors to us and give us a chance to relate the story in the form and in the spirit of trade unionism. That would be something along the lines of unity, and you talk continuously of unity. If we are given a chance between now and next year, we will have our convention in the month of September in the city of St. Paul. In the meantime we are meeting and getting together. There is uneasiness in our own industry and then there is the national problem that is with us all. If we cement our forces between now and next year I don't think anybody has anything to lose by it and everything to gain.

That is my contribution in regard to this situation. I feel it so keenly that if this motion would prevail as it has been presented, it simply means that just automatically the Brewery Workers are put out of the American Federation of Labor, and if you think that is the real thing to do in the matter of cementing forces, gentlemen. I think it would be the most serious mistake ever made, and at the same time it would mean the destruction of an organization that is one of the pioneers of this Federation.

I leave that thought with you and I sincerely hope that my friend, Dan Tobin, will not at this time press this sort of

proposal, that he will give us the chance to get together during the coming year, and then if we fail we have at least had a chance to meet our own men in convention and discuss the matter.

If you pass this motion at the eleventh hour I know the charge will be laid against the American Federation of Labor—and I am also very much interested that nothing be said against the Federation because of the many good things that it has done. So why open up this question in this form, so that another charge can be laid at your door and my door, because I still believe I am part of the American Federation of Labor and I intend and propose to continue in that form.

So I appeal to you that this entire matter, if you can see it in that light, be held in abeyance. Let us go into conference and see what we can bring about, and next year in an open convention, where all the delegates are present, there will need be no apologies made for whatever action is taken.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, I appreciate that you have given me this chance at this late hour when time is so pressing to bring this sort of statement before the convention.

Thank you.

Delegate Hauser, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman, we were in hopes that that question raised now by Dan Tobin would not be raised in this convention. We had hoped that probably the Supreme Court would hear the case and render a decision. That has been denied.

Now, the main point at issue is by passing the motion as proposed by President Tobin you will politely tell the Brewery Worker he is not wanted any more within this Federation and that he is to get out. I would like to know whether that will solve our problems. I doubt very much whether it will.

I know this, that we tried, and tried hard, when that committee held hearings, to reach some middle way whereby both of us could agree and we could satisfy this Federation. We offered three different proposals. Not one of them was accepted. The Teamsters never offered any proposal. Now, what are you going to do? I don't know as to what

material benefit the Teamsters will gain by taking away from the Brewery Workers the beer driver, but I do know that you will practically hurt the Brewery Worker to the extent that his economic strength, insofar as sitting down and negotiating contracts is concerned, will be materially affected.

Now, if you cannot gain anything by this transfer, and you are hurting an organization, what benefit is that to this labor movement? Surely the Brewery Workers — and their records will show it — have been loyal and staunch trades unionists, and the only crime the Brewery Worker has committed is that he has asked to remain within his organization the very men he brought into this organization. The beer driver has been with us from the day we organized, since 1886. We don't ask the Teamster to give us any of his men; we don't go out and raid any other organization. We were satisfied to go out and organize our own people, and when we organized them, may I say this, they have conditions second to none. You can check up on government reports on that. They enjoy a forty-hour week throughout the country, wages better than any — government standards will give it to you — and yet just because we did that we have committed a crime against the American labor movement and we are to be told to get out.

The three delegates that represent the Brewery Workers here have a combined membership in years in this organization of some 130 years. Surely, if that is going to be the gratitude of the American Federation of Labor to men who devoted their time and energy in helping to build the organization up, to tell them, "You are not wanted within this Federation," if that is going to be the policy of the Federation, then I feel sorry for those who have devoted so much time to help build it.

Another question is involved there. This is not a question of saying who the jurisdiction belongs to; it is a question of men. Surely, men are not cattle that can be taken from one stall and put in another. There are human rights there, and they should be recognized. Surely a beer driver who has been a



member of the Brewery Workers for the last 40 years should have a right to say as to what organization he rightfully belongs to. I will say this, and I will make this statement and back it up—if they can go into these beer drivers' unions anywhere in this country and get a majority vote of those beer drivers, and they tell you they are willing to transfer over to the Teamsters, I, as one Brewery Worker would say, "that right and privilege is yours, you have decided to go there and you can go there, and we will not object to it." But to tell the men that that God-given right, given to all of us, is denied and "We are going to transfer you just as we see fit," I say that is not the American way of doing business and it is not the American Federation of Labor way of doing business.

Surely men have some rights. I do hope, and I ask the Teamsters, and I ask Dan Tobin—I have the greatest respect for them, they have built a wonderful, powerful, strong organization; they are a credit to the American labor movement—I do ask that you try and find some middle way out of this difficulty. You are not going to find it by forcing us out. What you are going to do is to arouse the membership, and they will say, "If the Federation don't want us, the CIO does." And God knows I don't want that to happen. And yet, after all the membership controls the International Union, and you are just planting that seed to bring about that very thing.

You say, "The house of labor is always open, you are welcome to the house of labor." To us you say: "The doors are open; get out, you have no right in the house of labor. You have certain privileges, but when we tell you you must do a certain thing, you do it or we don't want you."

The question of conciliation and getting together is not in the motion that has been offered. It deliberately demands of us to surrender.

I want to make this statement, too. I was very much surprised when the Executive Council sent out the notice informing every central body and State Federation that as soon as legal techni-

cilities were removed they should pitch us out of the doors. I didn't know the Federation knew ahead of time as to what action the Brewery Workers may take when those legal technicalities are removed. Probably the Brewery Workers will do something which may appease the Teamsters and the Federation. But I do know this—a complete surrender of the Brewery Workers to the orders that are given will never take place.

We have lived through years of prohibition and held that organization together, and it was a mighty hard struggle, but we held, and I will make this prediction, in or out of this Federation we will be trades unionists and the rank and file will so recognize us. You can bet on that.

Delegate Freitas, Honolulu, Hawaii, Brewery Workers: I am very interested in this situation, but I don't understand the tactics they are using. At this time we came to this convention to see how labor functions. I am not a very good speaker, so if I make any mistakes I can be corrected.

The A. F. of L. Brewery Workers in Hawaii are an organization that is well known and well considered as being made up of good union men.

If the motion Brother Tobin has put on the floor to oust the Brewery Workers from the A. F. of L.—we are under direct charter to the A. F. of L., we are seeking an international charter—if this action is taken we will not have an international charter; the only thing we will know is that our brothers will be out of the Federation.

The Federation of Labor, as I understand, expects its members to stand by each other and to work together. I know that I have learned a great deal concerning the labor movement in this convention which we do not have in Hawaii; I have learned lots. To me it seems the labor movement here is going out for membership; the bigger the membership we get the bigger our organization is. I do not understand why they are fighting among themselves. I have the best interests of the labor movement at heart, trying to better the



conditions of the working man. We have that in Hawaii, that we must try and fight the properties and try to get benefits for our organization.

In Hawaii the Brewery Workers are the go-getters; we go out and organize. We have the same trouble; some of the organizations come in and say, "You belong to such an organization," and they have to go to a different organization. We tried to stop it, but the only thing we have is a federal charter. That don't mean much in Hawaii; the international charters take control of everything. So I can understand why we are going to have to fight for an international charter.

The Brewing Workers are brewery workers that rightfully belong to the Brewery Workers. We have the same thing. We have the drivers right down to the janitors, and they all come under the Brewery Workers and they belong to the Brewery Workers.

As Brother Hauser told you, if there is anything important to any organization it is your constitutional rights to vote for any organization you wish to belong to. That is the right you have.

I would like to see this motion tabled until there is a situation that can be handled. I don't believe that one organization that has the biggest membership should control the labor movement. I am not a union man that has been in here for years. Four years is all I have been in the labor movement, four years that I have learned labor, and in the four years, now that I have come to this convention, I can say I have learned better than that in the four years I spent in Hawaii.

It is a shame, it is a pity to see labor have discussions on this floor fighting among themselves. Labor should not have such discussions and fight among themselves all the time. We are here to pull together.

So if we could have this motion tabled I would really appreciate it, and I could go back to Hawaii and tell my membership that we are going to be in the A. F. of L. International Union. So I am asking every delegate in this convention to please consider the motion that was

made to oust the Brewery Workers, and as the President of the Brewery Workers tried to tell you, if the Brewery Workers are out of the A. F. of L., we are going to stand and ask that we be suspended, too, from the federal charter of the A. F. of L., and then let us see if the membership will not go C.I.O.

We have the same trouble in Hawaii with the C.I.O. The C.I.O. is not the one to be blamed that the unions are fighting among themselves. We originally were organized under the C.I.O. It cost me money to get into the A. F. of L., it caused me to be thrown into jail, I went to jail for the A. F. of L. My record in Hawaii is marked for the labor movement. I am one they all know. Coming to this convention they put an ad in the papers and publicity about my coming to this convention. I am a marked man in Hawaii that I am for labor, for labor from the bottom of my heart, and I want to see labor get ahead. I don't go out for labor for the money or the position that you want to hold in labor.

I am only asking to have this matter of the Brewery Workers being suspended reconsidered, and that it be adjusted by the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you.

Delegate Ortiz, Honolulu, Hawaii Central Labor Council: I move you at this time that the motion made by Mr. Tobin be tabled.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: The delegate moves that the motion pending be tabled. There is no discussion of that. All in favor say "aye"; those opposed say "no."

The motion seems to be lost. The motion is lost, and it is so ordered.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman.

President Green: Vice-President Tobin.

Delegate James Duffy, Operative Potters: President Green, on a matter of order.

President Green: The Chair has recognized Delegate Tobin.

Delegate James Duffy: Can I not speak on a question of order, President Green?

President Green: You can raise that point after Delegate Tobin —

Delegate James Duffy (Interposing): That is contrary to parliamentary procedure, and you know that.

President Green: I have recognized him, and he is now going to speak to the convention.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: President Green and delegates, I want to apologize for taking up your time at this late hour in the convention, but I want you to consider our position. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is the largest organization in here, and we will be much larger by next January, our membership will have increased by the middle of January to the extent that I am sure we will pay tax on 500,000 members or more, but not one delegate from our International Union has taken up a moment of the time of this convention since the very beginning. I did express myself during the working of the Federation as Chairman of the Committee on Laws. That was the Federation's work, not the work of our International Union. Therefore I ask your indulgence on this all-important question.

First, Brother Obergfell asked why this matter came in now. That is a natural question. My answer is this, that until the decision of the Supreme Court had been rendered last week, and until we had received an official copy of the statement of the court, we were not at liberty to discuss this question.

Up to within a few months ago it was very doubtful whether or not the Brotherhood of Teamsters would be represented in this convention. Oh, I don't mean that we would sever our connections with the Federation, but because we were shackled by the courts of the country with injunctions obtained by an affiliated sister local union within this Federation. My friends from St. Louis, representing the Brewery Workers, just kept on saying, "Don't throw us out of the Federation." Why, over in St. Louis, the Anheuser-Busch Brewery, with the collaboration of that speaker and his associates has an injunction against us for several years whereby one of my people, any of my people, or myself, we can-

not ask a truck driver driving a beer truck to become a member of our union; and, then they tell you they are union men.

Two years ago in the convention of this Federation two of the members of the Executive Council, Harry Bates of the Bricklayers and Gus Bugniazet, were ordered by their attorneys to withdraw from the deliberations of this Federation during any discussion of the brewery case, because of the injunction against the Council, and unless the properties that they hold in their charging and keeping for their membership might have been endangered. That is two years ago.

The reason that we thought the Teamsters could not be represented at this Federation convention was for pretty near the same reason I have given you relative to the Electrical Workers who have large funds, and the Bricklayers. Harry Bates had to give up the chairmanship of the committee reporting on this matter, and it was taken over by Bill Hutcheson. He took a chance that he would not endanger the properties of the Carpenters. There never was in the history of any labor movement in the world a similar condition — and I notice many of the delegates applauding the speakers — the most disgraceful action, including that of the withdrawal of the C.I.O., that ever happened within the history of labor in this or any other country.

We have gone through two and a half years of litigation that has cost the Federation thousands of dollars by an affiliated union and cost our International Union also thousands of dollars. And the character and history of every officer of the Federation and of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been pulled through the courts under the microscope by the attorneys of the Brewery Workers. No Employers Association — and I have lived through the Buck Stove and Range fight of the Molders, and the Danbury cases, and all the other damnable cases that cried to destroy labor, and no case within the history of the courts of the nation has ever attempted to destroy the character and the solidarity of this Federa-

tion as has the Brewery Workers in recent years.

We are not trying to drive them out of the Federation. All we are asking the Brewery Workers to do is to live up to the decisions of this, the highest tribunal in labor. We are not asking the Brewery Workers, as they try to indicate—we are asking for truck drivers hauling outside, the products of the Brewery Workers, the same as any other truck driver. Now, how would you like to, even within the breweries—I see Brother Lynch of the Pattern Makers here about to arise; the President did not recognize him at the time.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Point of special privilege. I want Brother Tobin to know that when Brother Lynch wants to rise he will rise. At the same time it was not Brother Lynch that arose. Please be a little bit more careful.

Delegate Tobin: I say I noticed Brother Lynch attempting to arise. I don't think I am mistaken. He may not have wanted to arise for the purpose of speaking on this question, but I noticed his attempting to arise. I am sorry if I hurt his feelings, his very sensitive feelings.

Delegate Lynch: Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Tobin: I don't want to be disturbed, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: Brother Lynch, you can make answer in time, if you have something to say. Please be in order.

Delegate Tobin: I am sorry if I hurt his super-sensitiveness. I may have been mistaken, although I don't think I was. If I am mistaken, I apologize for the terrible thing I have said about him.

The point I want to make is this—I wonder how Brother Lynch or Brother Hutcheson of the Carpenters, or Brother Harvey Brown of the Machinists would like to have an injunction placed on them prohibiting them from asking one of their skilled tradesmen to join their organization?

They are working inside of the breweries. Our men do not go inside of the breweries. They are truck drivers. That is all they know about a brewery. They

haul the products. They are running down the streets like every other truck driver, and this convention, after years of discussion, decided that those truck drivers were the same as any other truck drivers, that they belonged to the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. That is the situation.

In the city of Chicago the brewery truck drivers, one of the largest cities in the country, are members of the Teamsters Union. The inside workers belong to the Brewery Workers and every mechanic belongs to his respective trade. Those of you who come from Chicago must understand that there is not a better part of the industry in any part of the country than the brewery industry in Chicago. That condition should obtain every place. That is all we want. If we are going to have to fight the C. I. O. to keep them out of the hauling of lumber—and we are doing it and will continue to do it—then why shouldn't we ask the Brewery Workers to respect our jurisdiction insofar as the truck drivers are concerned. We want no men that are properly covered by the jurisdiction of any other union within the brewery. In some places we have had to take them, but that would only prolong the story, where the Brewery Workers went on strike against our union drivers. Can you imagine an organization going on strike against union plumbers or union electrical workers who were chartered by their International Union and who were working under a union shop agreement? That condition has obtained.

Now, then, let us see where we are. This Federation issues a charter or a certificate of affiliation to charter International Unions. When you accept that charter or while you remain within this body you are expected to observe its decisions and its laws. That is common sense, that is reason. If you do not want to respect the decisions of these conventions then you do not belong within here, your place is on the outside.

If one of your local unions anywhere in America were to defy the action of your convention and then proceed to

take its International and its officers into court, how long would you permit that local union to remain in your International Union? In a larger sense the same rule applies to this Federation.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, understanding and desiring to obey the mandates of this convention and the laws as contained within its constitution, proceeded in accordance with those laws. We came before the Executive Council some years ago and we asked the Council, because of conditions arising within our trade, competition of a serious nature, that we be given jurisdiction over brewery truck drivers and helpers, that they were mingling with our people in downtown New York, Boston and every other large city. The Council heard the case and recommended that such action be taken by a convention, and it was discussed in the convention and in the succeeding convention, and two or three succeeding conventions approved the request of the Brotherhood of Teamsters after hours and days of discussion.

Now, then, as a result of the fact that the final court has made its decision and because we have heard it said—we have got it from pretty reliable authority, we have heard it said by the attorneys of the Brewery Workers in Washington that they are not through yet, that the courts—and some of them have expressed it around here—have another hole in which to drive a nail. We ask that you clarify, not for our sake but for the sake of this Federation, for the sake of the movement, for the sake of trade unionism in order to help us if we are dragged into the courts again, which we expect to be, judging from their previous action—we ask you to re-affirm, adopt the recommendation of the Executive Council in its 1939 convention.

We are leaving our case to the delegates. All these Brewery Workers have to do, and I will be happy if they see the light and do so and I will work with them—I told you in previous conventions that there are thousands of people that properly come under their jurisdiction that they could have had in

their jurisdiction. I believed at one time the Distillery Workers and the Winery Workers should be in their union, but they did not want them in. There are soft drink workers innumerable that are not now organized that we can help them to organize instead of fighting.

We ask you, for the benefit of the labor movement, to clarify and endorse the recommendation of the Executive Council made to the convention in Cincinnati two years ago.

I thank you.

Delegate Gillespie, Teamsters: I don't want to take up much time or add anything to what President Tobin has said. But the statement has been made by one, two, and possibly three of the Brewery Workers that in the conferences they offered three different proposals and we offered none. I want to say that the proposals that were offered were nothing more than a complete reversal of the decision made by the 1933 convention.

They also said that they would lose their economic strength if they lost the drivers. We made this proposal to them in front of a committee of brewery owners, one of them a late brewery owner who died in New York, chairman at that time in one of those conferences, that if they would live up to the decision made by the American Federation of Labor we would not sign an agreement with any brewery in this country or Canada until their agreements were all signed and properly placed on file, that if they had trouble we would not only go the distance as far as brewery drivers are concerned, but we would not allow a pound of freight or any other kind of material to go into any of their places until that agreement was settled, or any strike that they might have was settled.

Now, we find them coming here—and I don't like to use the word—crying again, and for what? So they can roll us around in the courts for another year. We have spent thousands of dollars in this particular court case that we should have spent organizing the unorganized, instead of turning it over

to the highest priced lawyers in America, and if this convention does not pass this motion, which I believe they will, we will be in the same position of spending anywhere from \$100,000.00 up during the next year.

President Green: Let me explain just one feature of this case to the delegates. This matter, as you all know, has been before conventions of the American Federation of Labor for many years. It is a jurisdictional controversy between the Brewery Workers and the Teamsters' International Union over truck drivers, beer wagon drivers, those who drive trucks in the distribution of the products of breweries.

Conventions of the American Federation of Labor passed upon the dispute. It has been acted upon and a decision was rendered at the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor upon the merits of the controversy. A delegation such as is sitting in this convention heard the case, considered it, and every delegate in the convention except six voted in favor of the recommendation of the Executive Council. And here it is. Listen:

"Because the Executive Council has exerted every means at its command to bring about compliance with the decision of the supreme authority within the American Federation of Labor, because the officers of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America have challenged the authority of the American Federation of Labor itself by seeking an injunction to restrain it from exercising its legal and moral right to settle jurisdictional controversies, the Executive Council recommends that the charter of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America be suspended, and that it remain suspended until the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers of America comply with the decision of the Washington and San Francisco conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

At the Washington and San Francisco conventions of the American Federation of Labor the delegates in attendance at the convention settled this jurisdictional controversy. They decided that truck

drivers employed by breweries were the same as truck drivers employed by any concern and came under the jurisdiction of the truck drivers' union. Now, logically that decision of the Cincinnati convention that I have just read would have been carried into effect. All the delegates in the convention voted to concur in that recommendation except six, as shown by the record of the Cincinnati convention. Why wasn't it carried out and why is it here? It was decided. Well, the reason why it wasn't carried out and the reason why it is here is because the Brewery Workers International Union made application to Judge Goldsborough's court in Washington for an injunction to restrain the officers of the Federation from carrying that decision into effect. Judge Goldsborough responded to the application and issued the injunction. Under the injunction we were restrained from acting. The case was heard on its merits. It took days and weeks and months. It cost the Brewery Workers a lot of money and it cost the Teamsters and the American Federation of Labor a lot of money. The American Federation of Labor, that is, the Executive Council, was made a party to the injunction and was restrained from carrying out the decision of the Cincinnati convention.

After days of hearing, Judge Goldsborough made the injunction permanent. We were permanently restrained, and all the time my good friend, President Tobin and his representatives were impatient, demanding that the Council carry out these instructions. They said, "We won our case in the courts of the American Federation of Labor; the highest tribunal decided it. It is no longer debatable; it has been acted upon. You are the servants of the American Federation of Labor and as servants you are under obligations to carry it out."

Our answer was, "Well, we respect the courts." It is most unusual for unions to fight out an issue in the courts of the American Federation of Labor and have it decided by all the courts and the highest tribunal, and

then after it is decided to go into the courts of the land seeking an injunction to restrain the American Federation of Labor from carrying out not a decision of one man but the decision of the delegates in attendance at the convention.

What happened? When Judge Goldsborough made his injunction permanent an appeal then was taken to the Court of Appeals and there it remained for weeks and weeks and months and months. The court deliberated a long, long time, but finally the court rendered its decision setting aside the decision of Judge Goldsborough, invalidating the injunction that he had made permanent and dissolving it.

Then came the Teamsters appealing to the Council to immediately carry into effect the decision I have read to you. I don't think I am betraying any secret when I say that the Teamsters talked in pretty strong and positive language and gave us to understand that if they were not going to be protected then they would have to take other steps. But we counseled patience, we begged them to be patient.

The Brewery Workers then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest tribunal. The Supreme Court some time during this summer, after the whole summer had gone by, another year, considered the case and on last Monday morning decided they could not respond to the appeal that the Supreme Court should review the decision of the Court of Appeals. By refusing to review, of course, they sustained the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals and no other interpretation could be put upon it.

Now the issue has been threshed out in this court, the court of the American Federation of Labor. It has been threshed out in the courts of the land, and this decision is rendered. Now the Teamsters come in asking that this convention virtually carry out the decision already made in the Cincinnati convention. We would have done so long ago if it had not been for the injunction. That is my opinion. The Executive

Council would have carried out the mandates of the convention if it had not been for the injunction. We were restrained by court injunction from carrying out a decision rendered by the court of last resort in the American Federation of Labor.

Now, the question is, shall the decisions of the American Federation of Labor be carried out and shall they be complied with, or shall we wait until it is threshed out in the courts of the land, and in the meantime you are restrained by an injunction from doing anything, tying your hands?

I have said this to you dispassionately. I think I have told the truth. I don't think I have made any mistake in presenting the issue. I have read the decision made by the convention. There is nobody trying to set that decision aside. That is not before the convention. It has already been decided and I have told you why it was not carried into effect, I have told you now that the court of last resort has rendered a final decision.

Now President Tobin is here asking that we carry out the decision. That is all there is to it.

Delegate Obergfell, Brewery Workers: Mr. Chairman, I hope the delegates will be patient enough to give us a chance to say a few words. Since this matter came up absolutely as a surprise I haven't the documentary evidence here, the correspondence, etc., that I brought with me, as I did not expect that the convention would entertain any motion that had not been brought in in line with constitutional provisions.

Now, Mr. Chairman, let me say this, speaking on the question—

Delegate Tobin (Interposing): Mr. Chairman, I am going to notify you now that if Brother Obergfell, who is speaking the second time, is given that privilege, we shall ask the same privilege if he is permitted to go into this case further, because we shall have to answer for the records and perhaps for the courts any statements that he makes. If the question went to a vote we are satisfied. If Brother Obergfell is going to

speak we shall be compelled, for our own protection, to answer statements that he makes.

President Green. You will be accorded the right to do so.

Delegate Obergfell: Mr. President, you read the decision of 1939. May I add, did you read the recommendation of the Executive Council or did you read the report of the committee that handled the case at the 1939 convention? I think there is a vast difference between the report of the Executive Council to that convention and the report that was made by the committee.

President Green: No, Brother Obergfell, the committee concurred in the recommendation of the Council and the issue was put squarely to the delegates as to approving the report of the committee or voting it down, and as I say, the record shows that every delegate in the convention except six voted to approve the report of the Council.

Delegate Obergfell: Mr. President, is it not a fact that the committee that handled the case upon the report of the Executive Council came into the convention and recommended that a special committee be appointed, and is it not a fact that a committee was appointed by you, that it held meetings, and this convention or the previous convention had no report as to what that committee had reported to the Executive Council?

Now, then, I think if you will read the proceedings of the convention you will find that the committee did make different recommendations than that which was proposed by the Executive Council. May I say that there were many new delegates who perhaps are not familiar with all the facts in this case. There are new faces here, and if we had known this matter was coming up we should have prepared ourselves to present the matter clearly to the delegates.

First of all, let me say that the Brewery Workers were organized many years before the American Federation of Labor came into existence and we immediately affiliated with the Federa-

tion. Twelve years later the Teamsters came into existence. Prior to their coming into existence the Brewery Workers had organized all the men employed in the industry in line and in conformity with the certificate of affiliation that we had obtained from the Federation on March 4, 1887.

In addition to that the Executive Council, in its report to the 1935 convention, had this to say, that they could not go along with the formation of the industrial form of union because of the fact that when they granted a certificate of affiliation to an organization it was a contract, and that contract could not be modified, altered or changed without the consent of the American Federation of Labor and the holder of that certificate of affiliation. Isn't that true?

Basing our contention that the contract which we obtained on March 4, 1887, that granted us the right to initiate into membership all the men engaged in the brewing industry was a contract, and we seeking redress in the courts only after extreme pressure was brought to bear to force our brewery drivers into membership in the Teamsters Union, we wanted to find out from the courts whether your statement to the 1935 convention was correct, that it was a contract when we obtained a certificate of affiliation that could not be modified or changed or altered in any respect without the consent of both parties.

Much has happened since that time. In your proposal made to the I. T. U. to return to the fold of the American Federation of Labor you stated, among other things, that the trade jurisdiction of the I. T. U. was to be respected and was not to be infringed upon by any organization. That is just exactly what we are asking the convention here to do. We have held these men in membership for over 55 years, in affiliation with the Federation and many years prior to that time when we were a part of the ranks of labor, and it does not seem right that the beer drivers at this late date, some of whom have held membership 48 years, as the testimony in the



trial in the courts will prove; men holding membership for 48 years as beer drivers and still active members should be forced at this time to sever their connection with an organization which is equivalent to their families. They do not want to have their families destroyed any more than they want their labor organization destroyed by ordering a man to transfer to another organization.

I hold that this is a pure raid upon the membership of the Brewery Workers' organization. Let's see what you did in this convention. You have had jurisdictional disputes and decisions in cases involving large organizations—the Carpenters, the Machinists, disputes that have been going on for 28 long years. What did you do?

You referred it back to the Executive Council. But the Brewery Workers are numerically small, but strong economically, and you tell us to get out of the Federation because we don't carry out your decision and transfer our men, whereas the Carpenters and the Machinists are told to confer further on a matter on which you had rendered a definite decision.

We ask the same privilege, that this matter be referred back to the Executive Council and see if there is not a way found that we can effect a compromise with honor and respect to all parties concerned.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I know there are a great many of the delegates who want to get away this afternoon, and believe me, I am not talking to you for the purpose of making any unnecessary impression on you. I am talking for the records, for the protection of the Federation and the protection of International Unions participating in this convention.

You just heard a slight reference to the I. T. U. That may indicate to you—it does to me—what is contemplated on a flimsy, technical, legal interpretation of the law by one with some slight legal training, an officer of that organization—technical point after technical point has been raised in order to keep that organization out of the Federation.

Now you can add all of their technicalities in the I. T. U. together, their referendums and the misrepresentation of the intent of the Federation as explained by their officers, the willful misrepresentation of the intent of this Federation in the case of the I. T. U.—you can multiply them by a hundred and they are not equal to the technical questions that have been raised in this litigation by the attorneys of the Brewery Workers, paid for by moneys contributed by the Brewery Workers' membership to help to dismember this Federation.

We are not trying to drive the Brewery Workers out of the Federation, not at all. I repeat, we hope that they will not go out, but what we are trying to do is to get any affiliated body to observe the laws and decisions of the body with whom they are affiliated, and if they can't do that, after appealing to the courts of labor and after labor has made its decisions, then they do not belong in this family, and if they do belong in this family then for our own protection we can't seat ourselves with them in this body.

Now I don't want that misinterpreted. That does not mean that we are not anxious and willing to remain within the Federation. It means that we cannot sit down with people who watch every word, who produce the records in court, whose attorneys misinterpret everything we say, endangering the funds and the properties of our organization and the safety of our International officers.

I was advised by our lawyers not to go within the District of Columbia with a number of cases before the governmental boards that I had to appear before, lest I be held in contempt. And who was I restrained by? By my associates, delegates within this Federation. What did they try to do, what did they attempt to do? They attempted to say that any decision you made—and they did say it—they tried to get the highest courts in the land to sustain them—that your decisions here were subject to the approval of a court outside of here. Now that is just the situation. If you want to go on that way, if you are going to sustain this procedure without plac-

ing your stamp of disapproval on it, you are endangering the safety of all unions here as to your future deliberations, you are not a free agency. That is why we were almost certain, up to within a month ago, not to be here, until we had some idea that we could keep within the law by attending here, but refraining from expressing ourselves.

The committee report to that convention referred to was to adopt the recommendation of the Executive Council, which was to suspend the Brewery Workers' Union if they could not get together, and after the convention adjourned, in Cincinnati, I remember being on the platform, and before the question was put I asked for a clarification of the report of the committee from Chairman Hutcheson, who had taken the place of Harry Bates as Chairman of the Committee. Harry Bates had to get off the committee, on advice of his counsel.

President Hutcheson clearly stated that it was the report of the committee that if, after holding a meeting of both sides no agreement was reached, the Executive Council was instructed to suspend the charter. A committee was appointed consisting of Brother Stevenson of the Molders, Brother Birthright of the Barbers, and Brother Jim Maloney of the Glass Bottle Blowers, all disinterested men, men who had no ax to grind, men who were not involved on either side, and men who were friendly with both sides. They spent days trying to reach an understanding. The Brewery Workers would do nothing. We had confidence in these three men, we believed in and respected them, and the committee was unanimous in saying, in substance, there is no hope.

I asked the Council to carry out a direct order of this convention. The Executive Council has no right—and I am a member of the Council, and have been for many years—we contended and our people throughout the nation contended that the Executive Council has no right to refuse to carry out an order of this convention. The Council is the servant of this body. You elect them. The Council did not carry it out, they postponed until we were getting tired.

Finally, of course, they did it because they believed that they would endanger the entire structure of the American Federation of Labor as a result of this injunction granted by Justice Goldsborough, and that they might be subject to fine or imprisonment in the District of Columbia.

Then when the Court of Appeals, the Federal Court of Appeals, composed of three distinguished jurists unanimously set aside the action of Judge Goldsborough in a scathing denunciation during the proceedings and called to task the attorneys for the Brewery Workers for some extravagant statements that they made, they unanimously sustained your convention.

Then we thought we had reached the end of our unpleasant relations. Oh, no; oh, no! The Brewery Workers again went to the Supreme Court of the United States and under the legal procedure the injunction still obtained, although we thought it was set aside by the unanimous decision of the Court of Appeals. Then we waited and waited. And remember, we had half a million members asking us why, why such and such action could not be put into effect by the Executive Council. It is not easy to explain to them.

That's the story. Now that we are loosened temporarily at least for a few moments, maybe a few days, loosened from those shackles of court procedure, we ask you to reaffirm or adopt the recommendation of the Executive Council to the Cincinnati convention in 1939.

The question was called for.

Delegate Ortiz, Honolulu Central Body: Mr. Chairman, I would like to quote from the acceptance speech of President Green yesterday.

President Green: Delegate, the question has been called for and the Chair is putting the motion. This is a serious question and I regret it very much myself, as I know you do, but the merits of the matter were thrashed out at previous conventions and decided. The only question now is whether, after going through the courts, we shall carry out the wishes of the convention.

Inasmuch as there is a legal question

involved, Delegate Tobin believes, as others believe, that we ought to decide this question on a roll call vote. The Chair has some rights and prerogatives in the matter, so in order to determine the question in a proper way I will order the question to be decided by a roll call vote.

The Secretary will call the roll, and as your names are called you will vote your delegations either in favor of the adoption of the motion offered by Delegate Tobin, or in opposition thereto. The answer will be "yes" or "no."

Secretary Meany proceeded to call the roll, with the following result:

### ROLL CALL VOTE— TEAMSTERS and BREWERY WORKERS

#### Motion of Delegate Tobin, Teamsters

YES—Birthright, Crane, Whitman, Robinson (J. B.), Merlino, Horn (R.), Weibel, Franklin (J. A.), Walter (W. E.), Davis (J. N.), Nacey, Bowen (W. J.), Bates, Matthews (W. T.), Moran (W. J.), Nolan, O'Donnell (T. H.), McFeyridge, Fletcher, Cooper (W. H.), Sullivan (D.), Hardy, Knight, Tremblay, Barney (I.), Fitzgerald (J. J.), Hutcheson (Wm. L.), Hutcheson (M. A.), Duffy (F.), Hanson (C. W.), Sexton, Rajoppi, Ricketts (J. E.), Fischer (A. E.), Schoenberg, Strunk, Ferron, Forrest (J.), George, Seyb, Shuster, Desepete, Coulter (C. C.), Atkinson (C. A.), MacDonald (J. C.), Milton (H.), Comfort, Maloney (W. E.), Fitzgerald (F. A.), Fay, Carter (O. W.), Delaney (J. J.), Swain, Volz, Woll, Schmal, Clinton (J.), Kelley (J. L.), England, Wright, Casselman, McCurdy, Adamski, Slater (G. C.), Brooks (W. R.), Blumberg, Tobin (W.), Molisani, Plotkin, Shane, Breslaw, Nagler, Antonini, Maloney (J.), Campbell (W. W.), Warren (J. B.), Frey (R. L.), Cook (H. H.), Hatch (H. C.), McCormick (L. A.), Burns (J. B.), Heffner, Schwandt, Moreschi, Marshall (J.), Rivers, Bove, Etchison, D'Andrea, Sheets, Flore, Ernst, Koveleski, Lane (C.), Koenig, Newman (P.), Messing, McSorley (W. J.), Hagen, Matthews (W. M.), Donovan (W. J.), Byers, Moore (F. A.), Nickelson (R.), Doherty (W. C.), Gorman (W. J.), Bang, Cox (E. W.), Lieberman, Ryan (J. P.), Owens (J. R.), Thronson, Brown (H. W.), Alifas, Clayton (J.), Burrows (D. M.), Edgar, Wharton, Millman, Farnan, Holleran (T. F.), Crook, Finneran, May, Stevenson (H.), Hutchinson (L. A.), Hogan (J. F.), Jeannette, Stein, Petrillo, Weber, Bagley, Steeper, Riccardi, Castonovo, Lindelof, Clarke (J. F.), Oliver

(J.), Meehan (J. P.), Madsen (C. M.), Wallace (A. W.), Masterton, Burke (T. E.), Meany, Rau, Ames, Britton, Kelsay, Berry, Orr, Boscoe, Shaughnessy, Smith, (F.), Mahon, Kehoe, Nelson (H.), Wigstrom, Arnott, Seward, Strickland, Howard (W. E.), Lundeborg, Waugh, Coester, Murphy (H.), Green (T. V.), Brock (E. J.), Jacobson, Zander, Noxon, McCann (J. F.), Chapman (G. W.), Miller (W. W.), Givens, Cullen (P. J.), Tobin (D. J.), Gillespie, Brewster, O'Rourke (J.), Wilson (G.), Lester, Allen (W. L.), Frey (J. P.), Brayfield, Lyons (T. J.), Fink, Martinez, Brackinreed, Peterson, Johnson (J. O.), Strausser, Slater (T. L.), Rains, Voorhees, Soutter, Carmichael, Thompson (A. G.), Doll (M.), Chinella, Welzeneker, Young (J. G.), Rivin, Quinn (J. C.), Haggerty (C. J.), Anderson (G.), Tipton, Baldwin (E. T.), O'Reilly (C.), Hawley, McIlvaigh, Bengough, Hult, Bonallo, McCoy (C. V.), Parkinson (M. J.), Ingebright, Ketner, Paque, Hopkins (T.), Ming, Lamberton (W. L.), Marock, Wahnner, Lufrano, representing 30,202 votes.

NO—Mara, Anderson (F. W.), Cory, Obergfell, Kugler, Huser, Henriksen (E. E.), Riehl, Bruck (R.), Castro, Lynch (G. Q.), Ross (G.), Duffy (J. M.), Hull (F.), Chadwick, Dickey, Burke (J. P.), Sherman (J.), Killen, Ashton, Meinz, Buckley (L. J.), Sumner (C. A.), Ortiz (R.), Derhammer, Adams, Day (P.), Freitas, Reisdorf, representing 1,765 votes.

NOT VOTING—Gillmore, Behncke, Mullaney, Sickles, Cary, Aldred, Noll, Washburn, Myrup, Schmidt, Beisel, McGuern, Winter (H.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Becker, Kasten, Tracy (W.), Morrin, Lyons (J. H.), Woods, Myers (L. L.), Strickland, Van Horn, Gross, Greenwald, Minaden, Zitello, Horner, Harrison (G. M.), Hinton, Amo, Doyle (J. J.), Toussaint, O'Neill (J.), Cilento, Rosemund, Brown (E. J.), Martin, Bugnizet, Hudson, Milne, Kenefick, Paulsen, Baer (F. W.), Maximilian, Mayeur, Foley, Russo, Zaritsky, Lawlor, Lewis (M.), Finkelstein, Spector, Levine, Quinn (B. G.), Madison (J. V.), McCarthy (W.), Conway, Gorman (P. E.), Lloyd, Jimerson, Hofmann (J.), Maxwell, Walsh (J. J.), Byron, Ryan (J. J.), Close, Moriarty, Huggins, Lambton, Addy, Rooney, McDonough, Donlin, Feeley, Reinlib, Laderman, Randolph, Webster, Honey, Jones (G. W.), Gaviak, Warfel, Winter (E. J.), Lewis (J.), Counts, Kuenzli, Turley, Orchard, Brown (H. G.), Mahoney (D. J.), Batty, Smith (W. W.), Hoffman, Rota, Gord, Sims, Heini, Coyne, Ornburn, Wade, Lehmann (C. T.), Egan (J. J.), Hill, Johnson (D. L.), Rosqvist, Soderstrom, Mullen, Couch, Blanders, Heatley, Taylor (K. I.), Dean, Lawson (G. W.), Ross (H.), Bingel, Graham, Brewer, Keefe, Barry, Marcante, Murrey (W. W.), Donnelly (T. J.), Nickerson, McDevitt, Loring, Acreman, Moore (O. C.), Taylor (J.

A.), Cairns, Seide, Cahill, Dykes, Lawler, Finch, Gresty, Gossett, Rowe, Harris (D.), Cartmel, Summers, Morgan, Kearney, Fyhen, Blair, Snyder (F. W.), Meyers (M. M.), Goudie, Hurst, Gooch, Lenehan, Garrett, Beck (G. E.), Inge, Flx, Martel, Hatter, Van Fossan, Birchall, Cushing, Ricks, Burke (M. J.), Egan (J. C.), Bomegardner, Cauley, Fritz, Augustino, Harrison (G. J.), O'Neill (H. S.), Hankins, Edsall, Camden, Hall (G. W.), Reid (J.), Watt, Tousley, Buzzell, Le Bow, Murphy (E.), Tower, Brown (R. F.), Ranney, Blanchard, Janson, Smith (E.), Hansen, Bobst, Soule, Jackson, Sullivan (J.), Draper, Hurley, Templeton, Estabrook, Lambert, Wald, Burch, Brandt, Cushman, Nelsson, Powers, Little, Kyle, Finnan, Ennis, Welsh, Toman, Crory, Kenyon, Latter, Harris (L. F.), Pierce, Phillips, Jenott, Mason (A.), Tanner, Smith (F. T.), Doyle (F. E.), Mueller, Woodmansee, McKenna, Coyert, Paulsen, Chesebro, Palmer, Locher, Lehman (G.), Sterling, Rubin, Dann, Kuhnley, Stahl, Smith (C. L.), Boutiette, Houser, Stredicke, Melgar, Lea, Stuckey, Lemon, Williams (W. J.), Driscoll, Watkins, Tuttle, Pratt, Erickson, Pierce (A. M.), Mason (W. J.), Kellogg, Headrick, Sharpe, Dahlbeck, Hefner, Prine, Williams (O.), Meagher, Simon, Lyman, Frederick, Bracy, Paulson (R.), Turco, Garrett, Prober, Cline, Hicks, Groner, Goodwin, McLean, Johnson (V.), Firth,

Gatchell, Munson, Bregante, Gary, Scales, Suarez, Dunaway, Mahan, Cardwell, Grossman, Thomson, Hough, Simpson (H. C.), representing 9,859 votes.

Secretary Meany: That completes the roll call, Mr. Chairman.

The Chair will have the vote announced in just a moment.

Secretary Meany: The result of the roll call:

For the motion: 30,202 votes.

Against the motion: 1,765 votes.

President Green: As a result of the vote, the Chair announces the motion carried.

We are rather overtime, and as a result, the Chair will announce a recess of the convention until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 1:20 o'clock p. m., the convention recessed until 3:00 o'clock p. m.

## EIGHTH DAY — THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at 3:00 o'clock by President Green.

President Green: The Chair will recognize Chairman Harry Stevenson, Chairman of the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

Delegate Stevenson, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Shorter Work Day is now ready to report, and the report will be made by Brother Herman Seide.

Secretary Seide submitted the following report:

### SHORTER WORK DAY AND SHORTER WORK WEEK

(Executive Council's Report, Page 101)

Your committee has had referred to it that portion of the Executive Council's

Report, entitled "Shorter Work Day and Shorter Work Week," on page 101 of the report.

Your committee desires to submit the following report to the convention.

Since the inception of our movement, we have labored consistently for a shorter work day and shorter work week. Today, as never before, Labor is called upon to stand firmly for the shorter week, in opposition to the agitation of the well meaning but uninformed and misinformed, who agitate for longer hours per day and more days per week for the workers, because they believe it will be beneficial to the defense program. That long hours of labor are not beneficial to the defense program or to the workers themselves, has been proven time and again and is being demonstrated today.

Countries which have lengthened work hours to increase armament pro-

duction have found that longer hours defeat the very purpose they are intended to accomplish. Increasing accidents, poor quality of work, and decreased production are the result of lengthening the work week.

In the last war, American Army officers recognized the danger of lengthening the work week and destroying labor standards. General Order No. 13, issued by the Chief of Ordnance and by the Quartermaster General of the United States Army, November 15, 1917, states:

"Industrial history proves that reasonable hours, fair working conditions, and a proper wage scale are essential to high production. The pressing argument for maintaining industrial safeguards in the present emergency is that they actually contribute to efficiency. To waive them would be a short-sighted policy, leading gradually but inevitably toward lowered production. It might be expected that an individual working 10 hours a day, instead of 8, would turn out more goods. He can—for the first few days. But experience shows us that in a few weeks, or a few months, the output will be the same, or even less, than it was during the shorter day."

In England, Emergency Report No. 1: "Industrial Health in War," issued March, 1940, by the Industrial Health Research Board, calls attention to the fact that excessive hours of work do not pay—even when considered solely on the basis of output. It emphasizes the effect of fatigue on production and shows that production is actually reduced when hours are lengthened. Men cannot be treated like a machine. A study of 56 men sizing fuse bodies showed that when the work week was lengthened by 7 hours, hourly production was actually reduced by 28 per cent, and total production by 18 per cent. Too long hours are listed as one of the chief causes of labor wastage, and the statement is made: "The country cannot afford the extravagance of paying for work done during incapacity from fatigue, just because so many hours are spent on it."

In America, where our productivity involves the use of complex, high-speed machinery, where noise often adds to

the strain of high mechanical speed, and where a maximum degree of care and accuracy is required in handling machines, hours must be shorter than in work done under less highly mechanized conditions.

It will not be beneficial or helpful to our defense program, if we exhaust the productive capacity of our man-power through long hours of work.

Our national government, through its priority orders, is attempting to conserve certain basic materials essential to the defense program. We believe it is just as necessary to the defense program to conserve the health and productive capacity of our workers as it is to conserve raw materials. The workers must be kept in a healthful condition in order to render real service in the defense program.

Long hours are now being worked in the form of overtime in industrial plants in one of our States. Men are working 10 to 11 hours per day and 6 to 7 days per week. The report of the industrial commission of this State shows that industrial accidents have increased 61% during the period June, 1940, to June, 1941, while employment increased 27.3% during the same period. The highest increase in one of the counties in this State was 131% while the lowest was 12.9%. Fatigue due to long hours of work is given as one of the major causes of these industrial accidents. While it may be necessary to work men overtime in some instances, overtime work should be kept to the very minimum and it is recommended that a plant be operated on 3 shifts of 7 to 8 hours per shift, instead of working one or two shifts of 10 or more hours per shift. The shortage of man power, given as an excuse by some for recommending longer hours of work, is contradicted by reports that due to dislocations, caused by the operation of priority orders, some 2,000,000 workers are out of work at the present time. Reports also come to us that some 6,000 small industries have been forced to close down entirely, because of lack of raw material. In the face of these reports, there does not appear to be any

sound reason for lengthening the hours of labor at this time.

We of the American Federation of Labor have another great responsibility, which we cannot evade, and that is the responsibility of maintaining and improving the standard of living, of maintaining and improving the wage and working standards for those of our workers that have been called to serve in the armed forces of our country. It would be unfair and unjust to them, if after having served our country during this great emergency, they were to return home and find that we who remained at home, had been unwilling or unable to maintain the living and working standards that they enjoyed before they joined the armed forces of our country. They would be justified in charging us with neglect of our duties to them.

The report of the Executive Council also calls attention to the adjustments that will have to be made when the present defense program is completed, and the post-war period arrives. We should plan now to meet the conditions that will confront us after the war is ended. We warmly commend the Executive Council for its comprehensive report and sound recommendations, and recommend concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's Report. We further recommend that the proper officers of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the post-war readjustment or economic committee that may be created by Act of Congress or Executive Order, the application of the 6-hour 5-day workweek without any reduction in hourly, daily or weekly pay for all workers, immediately when the post-war period arrives as a partial remedy for the unemployment that we feel will arrive with the post-war period.

Secretary Seide moved adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Seide: This completes the report of the committee, and it is signed by:

HARRY STEVENSON, Chairman  
HERMAN SEIDE, Secretary  
JOSEPH TREMBLAY  
JAMES MEEHAN  
CHRIS LANE  
EDUARDO MOLISANI  
FRANK H. WEIBEL  
WILLIAM COOPER  
JOSEPH HAUSER  
LOUIS P. MARCIANTE  
SAL B. HOFFMANN  
C. F. STRICKLAND  
MILTON P. WEBSTER  
JOHN F. McCANN  
HARRY J. HAGEN  
SAMUEL ASHTON  
IRA S. TURLEY  
PATRICK E. GORMAN  
WALTER J. KENEFICK  
FRED A. MOORE  
C. J. HAGGERTY

Committee on Shorter Work Day

Secretary Seide: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: Thank you for the service you rendered and for your report.

Now the Chair recognizes Chairman McSorley, of the Committee on Building Trades.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Delegate McSorley, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Building Trades has had referred to it nine resolutions and several subject matters from the report of the Executive Council. We have acted upon those matters and are now ready to submit the report.

Secretary Masterton will now submit the report.

Delegate Masterton, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

## Agreement Between Plumbers and Boilermakers

**Resolution No. 167** — By Delegates George Masterton, Thomas E. Burke, George Meany, Charles M. Rau, Harry J. Ames, United Association of Plumbers



and Steamfitters; J. A. Franklin, William E. Walter, Jasper N. Davis, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers.

WHEREAS, The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, and the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America, after long and earnest consideration of the jurisdictional controversies which have heretofore existed between these two International Unions have now reached an agreement, effective August 1, 1941, which disposes of all questions at issue between them and makes provisions for the handling of any future questions, if the same should arise.

This agreement disposes only of the questions between these two organizations and does not undertake to interfere with the relations of either organization with other International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but is designed solely in the interests of peace and fraternal good will between the respective memberships and in the future interest of peace with the industry by the eliminating of jurisdictional controversies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the aforementioned agreement be hereby recognized as the complete understanding between these two International Unions and the voiding of all previous decisions or interpretations applying to the work in dispute between these two organizations and that previous decisions or interpretations by the American Federation of Labor and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, or their agencies, affecting any of the work dealt with in this agreement is hereby rescinded and repealed.

Resolution No. 167 submits for the approval of this Convention an agreement consummated between the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. Your Committee desires to commend the officers of the above named organizations for the contribution they have made in making possible a full and complete settlement of this long standing jurisdictional controversy that has existed between them.

We, your Committee, recommend that Resolution No. 167 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## Prevailing Wages for Municipal Employees of the City of Chicago

**Resolution No. 166** — By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Bove, J. B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Robert Sheets, International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, In the City of Chicago, a condition prevails with Municipal Employees which is deplorable and which has a tendency to break down conditions as established by building trades organizations in that city during the past thirty (30) years, and

WHEREAS, Employees who are members of the respective International Unions of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor, who are in the employ of the City of Chicago, are not being paid the prevailing scale of wages, as established by collective bargaining agreements with private employers, and

WHEREAS, The matter was called to the attention of the Mayor of the City of Chicago and the Finance Committee of the City of Chicago, when they were making up the budget for the fiscal years 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940, and

WHEREAS, All of the organizations involved presented their grievances to those Civic Departments above mentioned, in the manner by them prescribed and in conformity with all law and usage, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the City of Chicago, the County of Cook, the Sanitary District, and the Board of Education, which are all divisions of Government, and are employers of members of our respective organizations, has been to include in the budget a provision for the payment of the prevailing scale of wages, as established by collective bargaining agreements with employers, and

WHEREAS, We have one hundred per cent organization covering the jurisdictions in question, in and around the vicinity of the City of Chicago, and the prevailing rate of wage is paid to all of the members of our organization, as established by the said collective bargaining agreements with Employers and Employers' Associations, excepting the City of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, It is a requirement of the budget-making body of the City of Chicago, that our organization submit to them collective bargaining agreements, as aforesaid, so as to establish the pre-



vailing rate of wage for each of the various jurisdictions of work, and

WHEREAS, We have properly in all instances and periodically, submitted the said required data to the various municipal authorities, and

WHEREAS, The City of Chicago, acting through its officials, has not paid to the members of our organization, working for the various city departments, the said prevailing rate of wage, as submitted and proven by the said collective bargaining agreements establishing a prevailing rate of wage in and around the said City of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, We have recently held meetings and conferences with sub-committees of the Finance Committee of the City of Chicago, which is the budget-making body, and such other authorities as have the power to establish the rate of wage to be paid to city employees, and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the several meetings and conferences with the said Civic Authorities, the proper, established prevailing wage rate is still not being paid and the said meetings and conferences have not resulted or materialized in any adjustment of the matter, and

WHEREAS, On or about January 9, 1941, there was a stoppage of work by the Chicago Building and Construction Trades Council and that during said stoppage an understanding was arrived at with the Mayor and other authorities of the City of Chicago, that the men return to work pending the appointment of a committee of three (3) for the purpose of attempting to amicably adjust the matter, and

WHEREAS, To this date the matter has not been adjusted, notwithstanding the number of meetings and conferences held and above referred to, and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Hod Carriers', Building, and Common Laborers' Union of America, in the employ of the said City of Chicago, deliver a day's work for a day's pay and are mostly per diem men and are subject to loss of time because of weather conditions, etc., and that employment by the City of Chicago for these men has been limited and their only means of livelihood; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session in Seattle, Washington, in the year 1941, endorse the principle, policy, custom, and usage of recognition of the prevailing rate of wage in and around the City of Chicago by the authorities vested with the power of setting the wage rate to be paid to Municipal Employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention declare that the practice of refusing to

recognize and pay the said prevailing rate of wages to Municipal Employees by proper authorities in charge of wage rates paid to Municipal Employees, in the City of Chicago and elsewhere, is improper, unfair, unjust and in conflict with existing law, usage and custom; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and Officers of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to take such action as may be necessary to bring about a proper and equitable adjustment of this matter by the recognition of and compliance with the prevailing rate policy by the municipal authorities of the City of Chicago.

This resolution deals with the failure of some municipal governmental agencies to extend to their employees the same working conditions enjoyed by members of organized labor under collective bargaining agreements with private industry.

It is the opinion of your Committee that public officials should at all times further and protect working standards in their respective communities by adhering to such standards with all personnel employed by them.

We, your Committee, recommend that the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take such action as may be necessary to establish a proper and equitable adjustment of these practices by governmental agencies, whether municipal, county, state or federal.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Requesting Use of Minimum Plumbing Code by Government Agencies

**Resolution No. 137**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, All civilized nations the world over have for years recognized the importance of sanitation in keeping their citizens healthy, and

WHEREAS, Practically all states, counties and cities in the United States have ordinances in force, drawn in conformity with the accepted sanitary standards governing the installation of plumbing, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department, the Army and other governmental agen-

cies have erected homes and other buildings in a number of cities and counties in California, and

WHEREAS, In the erection of these aforementioned buildings the plumbing was installed in conformity with a Plumbing Code titled B M S 66, which does not conform to above-mentioned sanitary standards; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, request the Navy Department, the Army and the USHA, and Mr. John Carmody, Administrator of Federal Works Agency, to use the minimum Plumbing Code submitted by the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters to the above-mentioned governmental agencies in place of B M S 66.

This resolution has for its objective the correction of a practice on the part of government agencies, engaged in the erection of homes for defense workers and those presently housed in sub-standard dwellings, whereby the plumbing codes in existence in the areas where these projects are being constructed are in most instances ignored with inferior materials and workmanship substituted.

Your Committee finds this to be true not only with respect to plumbing work but to other standards as well. It has become rather a common practice to erect temporary make-shift type homes with little or no regard for the preservation of the housing standards of the respective communities where these projects are to be built.

We, your committee, are further of the opinion that the type of homes being erected to house defense and other workers are not in conformity with the proper standards, and do not provide adequate safeguards for health and sanitation, such as the proper type of plumbing, lathing, plastering and such other standard materials as are customarily used in home construction to the end that the workers and their families will be properly protected.

We believe it essential that our government, if necessary, allow a slight increase in the established cost per unit limitation in such housing so as to provide sufficient funds to make possible the purchase of the necessary materials for these projects.

We, your Committee, recommend that the incoming members of the Executive

Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to place this matter before the proper governmental agencies with a request that the above named practices be discontinued in order that the housing standards promoted by our Federation may be preserved. We therefore recommend concurrence in Resolution No. 137.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly on Resolutions Nos. 135, 164 and 165, which are as follows:

### Low-Rent Housing and Slum Clearance

**Resolution No. 135**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The successful outcome of the national defense program depends on the health, welfare, and morale of the workers of America, and

WHEREAS, Acute shortage of housing for workers threatens the well-being and undermines the spirit of our wage earners and their families, and

WHEREAS, The low-rent housing and slum clearance program locally, administered by local housing authorities with the aid of the United States Housing Authority, is Labor's program whose abandonment or interruption at this critical time would be detrimental to the welfare of the people of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Sixty-First Annual Convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, instruct its officers to petition the Congress of the United States, and the President of the United States, to assure continuation of the Low-Rent Housing and Slum Clearance Program, to authorize funds necessary to carry it on, and to assure priority ratings for materials and equipment necessary for the construction of USHA-aided projects.

### USHA Low-Rent Housing Program

**Resolution No. 164**—By Delegate Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America; Delegate George Masterton, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; Delegate John P. Coyne, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, During the past four years the United States Housing Authority has provided housing for low income families with speed, economy and efficiency, and

WHEREAS, The program of low rent housing and slum clearance construction which has been authorized by Congress to date is far too small to take care of millions of families who must be rehoused, and

WHEREAS, A permanent public housing program is essential if decent, low-rent housing is to be made available to the families now subjected to the dangers of overcrowding and disease which prevail in slums, and

WHEREAS, To escape a recurrence of widespread unemployment at the end of the war emergency, such a long-range program must be planned now; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its belief that the United States Housing Authority is the Federal agency which should be entrusted with the entire program of housing for low income groups; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take all steps necessary to secure without delay an additional authorization of loan funds to the United States Housing Authority, in order that the housing program may be continued.

### **Priorities for Low-Rent Housing and Slum Clearance**

**Resolution No. 165**—By Delegate Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America; Delegate George Masterton, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters; Delegate John P. Coyne, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, In hundreds of communities throughout the United States there are critical shortages of housing facilities, for workers and their families, and

WHEREAS, Lack of decent, sanitary and soundly built housing facilities threatens the welfare of our workers, and

WHEREAS, The well-being and high morale of wage earners engaged in national defense production are indispensable to the success of our national effort, and

WHEREAS, The USHA program of low rent housing and slum clearance, administered by local housing authorities, constitutes the speediest and most economical means of providing sound,

permanent, and livable homes for low income families of workers during defense emergency, and of meeting the housing needs of workers when the emergency is over; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, its Housing Committee, and its affiliated organizations take all steps necessary to assure the continuation of the low rent housing and slum clearance program of the USHA during the present emergency; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the President of the United States to issue a blanket priority rating for building materials necessary for uninterrupted construction of low rent housing and slum clearance projects built with the aid of the United States Housing Authority.

These resolutions are concerned with the uninterrupted continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program by local housing authorities, with the aid of the United States Housing Authority, and with the assurance of priority ratings for materials and equipment necessary for the construction of USHA aided projects.

The American Federation of Labor has had a major share of the responsibility in the formulation of a national low-rent housing and slum clearance program. The resulting United States Housing Act of 1937 was approved by Congress with nation-wide support of our entire membership. In the past two years the Executive Council has made every effort to secure from Congress additional loan authorization to make possible timely expansion of this program. Although predominant sentiment in Congress strongly favored extension of low-rent housing for workers, minority interests, responsive to special pressures, have been successful in holding up this legislation in committees. Critical housing shortages which have developed in many industrial communities under defense conditions are in large measure attributable to the inability of the local housing authorities to secure loan funds from Congress in time to develop well-planned, long-term projects to provide housing for low income wage-earners. And yet the United States Housing Authority, although deprived of adequate funds, was able to carry on the work of low-rent housing and slum

clearance to perfect the standards of workers' housing, to achieve unprecedented economies in the construction of such housing, and to maintain the integrity of this pioneer program.

Low-rent housing for low income workers is an integral part of the program of social security we have developed in America. To suspend this program for the duration of the emergency would be no less disastrous than to suspend unemployment compensation, old age benefits, or any other permanent measures of economic security for workers, to the maintenance of which the government is pledged to the people. The USHA program of low-rent housing and slum clearance, locally administered by local housing authorities, has gained added importance in the present emergency. It offers the speediest and the most economical means of providing sound, permanent, and livable homes for low income families of workers during the emergency crisis. It is a program which, because of its local decentralized administration, truly reflects the needs of each community. Above all, it is a program of housing which can be fully and permanently utilized when the emergency is over.

Continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program will not be possible unless blanket priority ratings for building materials and equipment necessary for uninterrupted construction of low-rent housing projects are assured by the Federal Government. In the administration of priorities, the vital contribution made by low-rent housing to the welfare and morale of our workers should be fully recognized. It is also clear that all low-rent housing now under construction or to be constructed will primarily serve defense workers.

Your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor, its Housing Committee, its local housing committees, and its affiliated organizations be directed to take all steps necessary to assure the continuation of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program of the USHA during the present emergency, and to secure from Congress additional authorization of loan funds for this purpose.

Your Committee recommends further that the American Federation of Labor request the President of the United States to authorize the issuance of a blanket priority rating for the USHA-aided low-rent housing projects.

Your Committee recommends full concurrence in the principles, purposes and policies of these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly on Resolutions Nos. 133, 134 and 136, as follows:

### **Use of Local Housing Authorities as Defense Housing Agencies**

**Resolution No. 133**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In communities in which defense production is concentrated, lack of housing for defense workers has made it necessary for workers responsible for defense production to live under shocking conditions, and

WHEREAS, Speedy construction of sound housing for defense workers which fully meets the needs of each community can best be achieved through the tested decentralized machinery of local housing authorities, and

WHEREAS, Local housing authorities are representative public agencies, established to serve the best interests of the community and are responsive to the real needs of defense workers, and

WHEREAS, A post-war housing crisis can be averted only by means of a unified program of housing designed to meet the long-range requirements of the entire community as well as to safeguard its people against bankruptcy, homelessness, and distress, and

WHEREAS, A local housing authority is an agency best fitted to assume the responsibility of solving the housing problem in its community at the end of the emergency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, with full support of the Central Labor Councils, Building and Construction Trades Councils, and Local Housing Committees, call upon the President of the United States to designate the local housing authorities as local defense housing agencies for the administration and development of all local defense housing, and for the formulation of post-war housing plans.

## Defense Housing Projects

**Resolution No. 134**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a need for 150,000 new homes for workers in defense industries, and

WHEREAS, Congress is now considering a bill appropriating \$300,000,000 for this purpose, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has made a nation-wide survey and has advocated \$600,000,000 for housing defense workers, and

WHEREAS, The defense housing projects constructed by the United States Housing Authority or in cooperation with local public housing agencies have generally proven to be superior to those constructed by other governmental agencies, and

WHEREAS, There exists and has always existed a good mutual understanding between the United States Housing Authority and Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to carry out the policies of the Executive Council hereby: (1) This body go on record approving of the action of the Council and requesting the officers of the Executive Council to call upon members of Congress, urging them to give their unqualified support to this measure; to bring this matter to the attention of the officers of the affiliated national and international unions and of all local building trade councils and central labor councils and to take all other steps necessary to insure that these funds be appropriated and allotted to USHA; (2) Request the officers of the Department to continue their active cooperation with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor in order to safeguard fair wages, working conditions and construction standards during construction of all USHA projects, and in order to secure satisfactory labor representation on all local housing authorities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be endorsed by the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington.

## Appropriation of Funds for Housing Projects

**Resolution No. 136**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Defense Program has contributed further to an already acute shortage of decent housing, and

WHEREAS, Practically all funds available for defense housing have been exhausted, and housing conditions among defense workers are still deplorable, and

WHEREAS, The United States Housing Authority because of its three and one-half years of housing and planning experience, and because of its existing close relationships with the local housing authorities of communities throughout the United States, has demonstrated its ability to design, construct and manage housing projects possessing a high degree of utility and beauty, expeditiously and at a low cost, and

WHEREAS, The defense housing projects constructed by the United States Housing Authority or in cooperation with local public housing agencies have generally proven to be superior to those constructed by other government agencies, and

WHEREAS, There exists and has always existed a good mutual understanding between the United States Housing Authority and Organized Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, direct its officers to call upon the members of the Congress of the United States urging them to appropriate the necessary funds for the construction of the essential additional defense housing; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these funds be allocated to the United States Housing Authority for the design, construction and management of additional defense housing in localities throughout the United States in cooperation with the local housing authorities of the communities.

These resolutions emphasize the need of speedy and sound housing for defense workers and for the utilization of local housing authorities as local defense housing agencies for the administration and development of all local defense housing and for the formulation of post-war housing plans.

Provision of adequate housing for defense workers has to date fallen far short of the need for housing in all communities in which defense production is concentrated. Lack of housing has forced defense workers and their families in many communities to live under intolerable conditions which, in a number of localities, have become chronic. Speedy provision of soundly built, sanitary dwellings for defense workers is one of

our most urgent defense needs. Local housing authorities, constituted in most of our communities as representative public agencies, are best equipped to assume the responsibility for the construction of defense housing. Favoritism and pressure of vested interests in the administration of defense housing have combined to deprive the local housing authorities of responsibility for the development of defense housing, which would have been granted them exclusively under a sound defense housing plan.

Your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor urgently call upon Congress and the President of the United States for the promulgation of a unified program of defense public housing to be developed and administered by the local housing authorities under the supervision of the United States Housing Authority.

Your Committee recommends the approval of the purposes and policies embodied in these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## HOUSING

**(Executive Council's Report, pp. 77-78)**

This portion of the Executive Council's report contains a summary of legislation enacted and considered by Congress during the past year in connection with various phases of housing.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## HOUSING FOR WORKERS

**(Executive Council's Report, page 129)**

This portion of the Executive Council's report contains a review of basic developments in the field of housing, and a broad statement of the American Federation of Labor's approach to the national housing policy.

Provision of adequate housing facilities for defense workers and their families is just as important as provision

of materials, equipment and labor to turn out defense production itself. Lack of decent shelter and sanitary facilities in congested defense communities, provides a constant threat of epidemic and disease, placing in jeopardy the health and productive ability of our defense workers, and deters many of them from moving to defense centers and from filling strategic jobs. Thousands of our workers employed in the production of planes, ships, tanks, and guns are housed in trailers, and shanties, or are packed in cramped and crowded quarters in makeshift barracks, tents, jail houses and public buildings. Utter lack of sanitary facilities, adequate water supply and sewage disposal, is common in communities in which defense production is concentrated. Unless they are provided with adequate quarters which meet minimum standards of space and comfort—unless these quarters are sufficient to afford the opportunity for needed rest and recreation—these workers cannot achieve top efficiency on defense production, and cannot contribute to the Nation the full measure of their skill and productivity. Nor should defense housing be furnished in the form of flimsy, small, ill-heated, jerry-built shacks. Sound, safely constructed, carefully planned homes meeting minimum standards of construction are the housing accommodations to which defense workers are entitled.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor estimates need for 750,000 family dwelling units and 300,000 units for single workers to provide the most essential accommodations to workers on defense industries. In this connection, your committee deems it important to stress the following statement of the Executive Council, embodied in its report to this convention:

"In reviewing the defense housing program in its entirety, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that no clear-cut, single-minded policy with regard to housing has been formulated by the Federal Government. This has resulted inevitably in a multitude of different and often conflicting policies and in wasteful competition among several operating agencies with overlapping jurisdictions.

"The attitude of the Administration toward the place of public housing in the defense program was one of hesitancy



and indecision. Many precious days, weeks, and months were devoted to repeated efforts to cajole private operative builders into doing a job on their own initiative and in their own way which the Federal Government could have started immediately and completed without delay. Even more time was spent on experiments with prefabrication in response to pressures from promoters eager to get the Federal Government to underwrite their promotion and development costs. At the same time the need for a public defense housing program was consistently understated. No attempt was made by the Administration to place before the public and before Congress the unassailable case in support of a prompt and adequate public defense housing program. No call was sounded for a single, unified, planned program which would fit the long range needs of defense communities and could be administered through the existing network of 618 local housing authorities equipped to build the housing best suited to the requirements of each community and to the needs of its workers.

"It cannot be denied that the absence of such an aggressive policy served to bring about the acute housing crisis in our key defense communities. We urgently request that steps be taken by the American Federation of Labor and its Housing Committee to achieve a fundamental realignment and unification of the national housing policy. The insufferable conditions, which threaten the welfare of defense workers in the face of the approaching winter and threaten the defense program itself, must be promptly brought to an end. We ask that a housing program be formulated which would make speedy provision of durable, sanitary, and livable housing for defense workers the prime objective, second to none."

The first defense housing statute enacted in the present crisis was a proposal advocated and supported by the American Federation of Labor. This law, Public 671, approved by the President on June 28, 1940, authorizing utilization of the U. S. Housing Authority and of the tested and decentralized machinery of the local housing authorities throughout the Nation, contemplated a unified program designed to achieve sound planning, as well as maximum economy and speed in the construction of housing facilities for defense workers. Your Committee is in accord with the Executive Council that the framework of Public 671 is best suited for a public defense housing program, and recommends that every organization affiliated with the American Federation of

Labor be urged to support the extension of defense housing under this statute.

The major portion of defense housing is being built under the Lanham Act, administered under the supervision of the Federal Works Agency. We note that at least ten separate and unrelated branches of federal and local governments have been designated as construction agencies to carry out this program. Integration of defense housing construction administration and establishment of uniform standards and procedures for the entire public defense housing program is a vital necessity. Prime responsibility for the execution of this program must be placed upon the local housing authorities of the USHA.

A major development in defense housing was the approval by Congress of Title VI of the National Housing Act, which provides for private construction of homes in defense areas under especially favorable mortgage financing by the FHA. This program, formulated and recommended by the Defense Housing Coordinator, now provides for the construction of \$300,000,000 worth of privately built housing.

Your Committee concurs with the Executive Council's view that it is highly questionable to press home ownership upon defense workers in emergency jobs, under terms which most workers could ill afford under normal conditions and can afford even less when their defense jobs are necessarily unstable and uncertain. A public policy designed to anchor to home ownership low-income defense workers, whose employment status is least secure, is ill-conceived and unsound. To bring to these workers the pretense of home ownership, without in any way protecting the risk they assume in underwriting the entire equity without a down payment, is a policy subversive to the true American ideal of sound and permanent home ownership we hope to bring within the reach of our wage-earners. Under the terms of this title, the banker and the builder are given 100 per cent protection by the government of the risk they assume. The worker, however, is given no protection whatsoever, and would be subject to the deficiency judgments for the



unpaid balance on a home he would be forced to give up when his emergency employment terminated. Your Committee commends the Executive Council for their disapproval of this proposal, and for their attempts to correct its most vicious features.

We concur in the statement of the Executive Council that skyrocketing rents in many defense centers call for prompt remedy and place a special responsibility on our local housing committees. Union representatives should serve on all local fair rent committees already established, and where none exist, should see to it that such committees are properly established. We recommend the establishment of rent ceilings in defense areas by Congressional authority, with full provision for local recommendations and labor representation in the fixing of such ceilings. Until provision is made by law to establish such ceilings on rents, we urge that our Housing Committee be authorized to recommend a program of action to our unions to protect defense workers against exploitation by unscrupulous landlords and others seeking to take advantage of emergency conditions for profiteering.

We commend the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor for its vigilance in protecting the interests of labor with regard to housing, and recommend that, in view of the urgency of the defense housing problem, sufficient facilities be made available to the Committee to intensify its efforts and to enable it to serve fully the housing needs of our membership during the ensuing year.

Shifting and unstable defense employment of building mechanics and laborers make it particularly important that the employment needs of building workers be made fully known to the government agencies concerned, and a sound program of housing construction be developed.

Labor must meet the present emergency by taking an active and leading part in the formulation and development of a sound program of housing for the Nation. To assure full representation and effective voice in the development

of this program, active participation of every union of the American Federation of Labor is urgently needed. We strongly concur in the recommendation that all Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor be urged to bring their housing committees to full activity, so that, under the general supervision of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, they can provide effective channels for information, representation, and action pertaining to housing in every community of the Nation.

The permanent program of low-rent housing and slum clearance is labor's program and must not be allowed to lapse during the emergency. Its value to the nation in defense and as a means of meeting the post-war housing problem is of foremost importance. Full priority ratings must be accorded to low-rent projects to make possible their uninterrupted construction.

In the administration of all housing and building priorities labor has an immediate and vital concern. Full labor representation is essential in the administration of priorities on building materials, supplies and in connection with regulations governing allocation of defense construction.

With these recommendations your Committee urges the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## **BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT**

**(Executive Council's Report, page 159)**

The past year has set a high mark in the record of achievement of the Building and Construction Trades Department in its service of safeguarding the interests and advancing the welfare of mechanics and laborers in the great building and construction industries. We note with special commendation the successful conclusion of a nationwide agreement with regard to labor standards and labor policies, negotiated and concluded

for our membership with the representatives of the United States Government.

Substantial reduction in jurisdictional disputes in the field of building and construction is largely the result of the far-sighted policy, firmly pursued by the department, to solve equitably conflicts arising from the introduction of new materials, and organizational developments in the building trades.

The Building and Construction Trades Unions have fully lived up to their pledge of unstinted cooperation with the national government in the defense emergency. The record which has been established, which has reduced delays and stoppages of work due to disputes, to negligible proportions, is especially notable.

We commend the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department for their record of statesmanship, vision and service to labor during the past year.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

Chairman Masterton moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Vice-President Bates: While this Convention has been meeting, one of the most remarkable spectacles in labor history has been unfolding in Washington. Leaders of the Construction Workers' Unions of the C. I. O., marching side by side with two of the foremost enemies of labor, Representative Clare Hoffman of Michigan and Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, have unleashed a bitter and destructive attack upon the Building Trades Unions of the American Federation of Labor and the national defense program.

Hoffman and Smith, bitterly critical of every labor action since they have been in Congress, have come to the defense of the C. I. O.'s Construction Workers' Union, headed by Denny Lewis. They are supporting the effort of the United Construction Workers, to portray Patrick J. Currier, notorious anti-union mill owner of Detroit as a friend of Labor.

Currier's record in Detroit is notorious. He has resisted all unionization efforts and has been the subject of National Labor Relations Board action started by the C. I. O. A few months after Currier promised to comply with the Wagner Act and got the Labor Board case against him dropped, last February, a bloody riot took place in front of his plant. Arthur Quesbarth, a member of the Teamsters' Union, was fatally injured when he was struck by a missile hurled by one of the "loyal workers" of Currier's gang, who, at that time were classed as scabs by both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

In August, Currier called his workers together in a meeting and told them he wanted them to join a union. He signed a closed shop union contract with a check-off provision, after which the clerks, stenographers, factory workers and Building Trades workers in his employ were required to join the C. I. O. union.

Currier's wage rates, according to labor men in Detroit, have ranged from 45c to 80c an hour, whereas \$1.40 an hour is the average rate on the housing projects jobs built by members of the Building Trades Unions of the American Federation of Labor in that area.

This new C. I. O. propaganda campaign against the Building Trades Unions has received extensive publicity in the daily newspapers all over the nation, which have followed with charges that the A. F. of L. has been given a monopoly on defense construction. We of the labor movement know there is no truth in it, but I feel that we must make every effort to answer the charges in the public press and public forums. I urge you to take back to your communities the real story of the stabilization agreement between the Building and Construction Trades Department and the government construction agencies.

This stabilization agreement is a high point in the government's labor relations. It was entered into freely after full discussion between the recognized building trades union, working through the Building and Construction Trades Department, and the government. It

was not done in secret. It was announced in full text last July 24.

In that agreement the Building Trades Unions showed their patriotism by agreeing not to strike on defense jobs, and by relinquishing special prerogatives, including double pay for overtime, which had been enjoyed very widely. These concessions saved millions of dollars to the government—but the saving of dollars was not the important thing, either to the government or to the unions.

The regularization of employment, together with the mobilization of the supply of workers by the Building Trades Unions, enable the government to insure that the defense job would be done. It enabled the defense program to work out methods for orderly transfer of labor, without cost to the government, for the construction of huge projects in out-of-the-way locations. It set up a uniform structure of wages and working conditions which discouraged labor raiding, and enabled skilled and semi-skilled Building Trades workers to get jobs near their homes.

The agreement furthermore showed that the Building Trades unions stood ready to do their part in completing the Defense building program in the shortest possible time; that they were ready to sacrifice in order to insure production.

Now the charge of monopoly is made against us. I ask you, is it a monopoly for the government's defense construction agencies to make an agreement with the only organized body of labor supply which could possibly do the gigantic job which it faced? Is it a monopoly for the government not to deal with a union which has organized chiefly by signing up low-wage, non-union contractors instead of workers?

There is nothing secret, monopolistic or fraudulent about the agreement, and I submit that it is your duty to defend it in your communities when you return to your homes. It is your duty to prevent the C. I. O. Construction Workers' Union from selling the public the idea that it really represents any great number of the highly skilled construction workers of America.

Unlike most union organizing efforts, the C. I. O. Construction Workers' Union was aimed at an industry which was not only well-organized but also one in which the organized labor movement has after many years of struggle established high standards of wages and conditions. These wages and conditions played a prominent part in the effort of thousands and thousands of workers, both organized and unorganized in maintaining their wage rates during the last decade.

By back-door methods, by secret deals with anti-labor employers such as Currier, this C. I. O. union is endeavoring to destroy the benefits enjoyed by the Building Trades Unions of the A. F. of L.

This attack upon the Building Trades unions and upon the action of the Office of Production Management is more than an effort to obtain a housing contract for a notorious anti-union operator.

It is an attack upon the defense program, and an attack upon the position of the A. F. of L. building trades unions. It is an attack upon the standards of wages and working conditions which our unions have developed over many years of bitter struggle. It is an attack upon our entire standard of living.

I want to announce here and now a warning to the American people to be on their guard against the vicious attack now being made on the Building Trades unions of the A. F. of L. by the obstructionist labor-hating Congressmen, by labor-hating columnists and labor-hating firms like the Currier firm and those in league with them.

We must rally against this unholy alliance and defend the democratic procedure as embodied in the stabilization agreement between the Building Trades and the different Government agencies entrusted with the building program necessary for National Defense.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Masterton: This completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades. It is signed by the entire committee:

WM. J. MCSORLEY,  
Chairman  
JAMES L. McDEVITT,  
Secretary  
JOHN P. COYNE,  
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,  
F. B. COMFORT,  
OLIVER W. CARTER,  
JOHN H. LYONS,  
GEORGE MASTERTON,  
EDW. L. NOLAN,  
PAUL A. GIVENS,  
JOHN OLIVER,  
H. H. HUDSON,  
J. M. GAVLAK,  
M. J. McDONOUGH,  
JOHN J. CONWAY,  
GEORGE WILSON,  
D. E. NICKERSON,  
C. A. FINK,  
RALEIGH RAJOPPI,  
NICHOLAS RUSSO,  
Committee on Building  
Trades

Secretary Masterton: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: I thank the committee for its report and for the service rendered the delegates in attendance at the convention.

Now I will recognize Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey: May we have the floor until we get through, Mr. Chairman?

President Green: You may, yes, sir.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee submitted the following report:

### Government Operated Pig Iron Plants for the Pacific Coast

**Resolution No. 176**—By Delegate Claude O'Reilly, Central Labor Council, Seattle, Washington.

WHEREAS, Twice within the last generation the United States Government has asked the Metal Trades workers to build and man hundreds of new shipyards up and down the Pacific Coast to meet a national emergency. Pursuant to the last request more than one hundred thousand men are now engaged directly in building ships on this coast and many thousand

others are employed in affiliated occupations. The climax of this employment is still several years distant, by which time these members will have increased so greatly that approximately a million people will be directly or indirectly dependent upon this employment. A similar crisis developed on this coast during the first world war. At the end of that crisis every shipyard was dismantled and every employee thrown out of work. Why? Because we do not produce a pound of iron or steel on the entire Pacific Coast. All of it comes from somewhere in the East. The iron ore is mined in Michigan, Alabama or Brazil. It is manufactured into iron and steel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Gary, Indiana, or other eastern points, then shipped to the Pacific Coast where it is fabricated into vessels which are then sent back to the Atlantic Coast to engage in trade with Europe. The economic waste involved is obvious—so obvious, indeed, that when the crises have passed the big steel and shipbuilding companies promptly eliminated this waste by transferring all their shipbuilding operations back to the East Coast where their iron mines and steel mills were located. Bad as it is, this economic waste is relatively insignificant compared with the suffering entailed upon the employees and their dependents. Why should this be? Three materials are essential to the manufacture of pig iron, viz: coking coal, lime-rock and iron ore. It cannot be successfully denied that all three of these essential materials exist on the Pacific Coast in abundant quantities. Nor is there any doubt that we have on this coast an abundant supply of native-born skilled workmen and the finest hardwood and the finest climate for shipbuilding to be found anywhere in the world. The shipbuilding industry, however, is controlled by the steel industry and it is a matter of all too common knowledge that if the steel industry can prevent it there will be no competition on the Pacific Coast, because the freight rate on pig iron from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the Pacific Coast is \$15.00 a ton and it can be manufactured on the Pacific Coast for less than half of that price. Obviously, therefore, if a steel and iron industry is developed on the Pacific Coast the eastern steel companies will lose not only the coast trade but all the oriental trade flowing through Pacific Coast ports. Just now, however—it is the present that concerns us most—there is a pressing need for more steel products than the entire industry can possibly supply. Intercoastal shipping by way of the Canal has practically stopped for lack of ships and the railroads admit that they need from forty thousand to seventy-five thousand additional cars to meet existing traffic demands. So much for the economic picture—and it is bad enough. A much more serious matter, however, is that the closing down of our shipyards is going to throw more than one hundred and fifty thousand men out of employment and throw more than three-quarters of a mil-

lion people onto public relief rolls. All this can readily be avoided if the Government will but spend a few million dollars in establishing one or two pig iron plants on the Pacific Coast. Not only will this save our shipbuilding industry, but it will provide new employment in our iron mines, coal mines and lime quarries. No cheaper or more wholesome social security than this is possible; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Government of the United States build two or more pig iron plants at strategically located points on the Pacific Coast, precisely as it has already built aluminum plants and that to prevent these plants from falling into the control of the steel industry the Government operate them under its own supervision; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we ask the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor to concur in this resolution, and that we ask all other labor organizations and all civic and industrial organizations on the Pacific Coast to cooperate with us in securing this new industry.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

Secretary Frey moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Ketner, Federal Labor Union 18887, Philadelphia: On this resolution, Government operated pig iron plants for the Pacific Coast, I desire to bring your attention to the impracticability of it. In this resolution it says the cost of freight of pig iron is \$15.00 a ton. That in itself is erroneous. In the East we can buy all the pig iron we want for \$12.00 or \$13.00 a ton.

Another thing, they claim to have pig iron for the steel-producing plants of the West, of which there is none. Now, to make pig iron on the West Coast, it would have to be shipped into the steel producing countries of the East, shipped back again to be fabricated for shipbuilding on the West Coast—just double the expense.

Another thing—Government ownership. This country was founded on private ownership. The private companies pay the taxes; Government ownership does not pay any taxes. If the Government is grabbing everything, where is the money coming from to pay people?

Under the matter of the pig iron, there might be some pig iron around this part of the country, but the majority of the iron ore comes from the Great Messaba Range in Minnesota. That would have to be shipped out of here, converted through the blast furnaces, shipped East to be made into steel and sent back here again. I believe it is a little too far-fetched to put the Government to that expense.

The report of the committee was adopted.

### Farmers' Products Price Legislation

**Resolution No. 175** — By Delegates George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, J. B. Boscoe, Joseph D. Shaughnessy, Frank Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America:

**WHEREAS**, Organized labor realizes that its welfare is to a great extent dependent on the welfare of the farmer and that upon the welfare of both depend the moral and physical strength of the Nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention go on record as being opposed to legislation which would set a ceiling on the price of farm products at the farm, and as favoring legislation which would guarantee to the farmer a return equal to the cost of production plus a reasonable return for his effort.

Your committee in recommending reference of this resolution to the Executive Council also directs attention to the fact that when the previous World War ended farmers found themselves between inflation of war and a post-war deflation. As a result great farm cooperatives developed which performed a great service. Your committee believes that as we again face the crisis threatening wage earners as well as farmers, we recommend that the Executive Council also give consideration to the subject of consumers' cooperative activities and to production and consumers' cooperative organizations and associations and to take such action as will best protect and promote the interests of both wage earners, farmers and consumers in general.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## COMPLIANCE WITH LAW AND LAWFUL PROCEDURE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 69)

### Defense of Hod Carriers International

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Slandorous attacks have been made upon the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, its officers and members, by a Claude E. McGovern, pseudo president of the Northern California District Council of Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, In making these attacks this same pretender has fraudulently and arrogantly claimed that his baseless charges were authorized by the Northern California District Council of Hod Carriers, Building and Construction Laborers, and

WHEREAS, Because of this person's violation and betrayal of his oath of office to obey and honor the laws of the International Union, of which he was a paid officer for over three years, charges were preferred against him by members of the Northern California District Council, and

WHEREAS, To prevent these charges from being properly investigated, this self-styled Labor leader swore to an injunction in which he incorporated atrociously untrue and malicious charges which were copied from the poisonous column of Westbrook Pegler, and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union repudiated these attacks and showed complete contempt for them by electing unanimously each of its officers who had been maligned and unpardonably smeared, and

WHEREAS, These ridiculous and unfounded charges were given the widest publicity, thereby doing irreparable damage to the good name of the American Federation of Labor, its officers, and members and affiliated unions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Seattle, Washington, that we hereby denounce these unjustifiable and unprincipled attacks as being viciously anti-union and detrimental of Organized Labor.

Your committee had intended to report on Resolution No. 114 in connection with its comment on that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption,

"Compliance with Law and Lawful Procedure." So that the record of the convention may be corrected, your committee recommends that the necessary entry in the minutes of the convention be made and that the committee's recommendation that the resolution, No. 114, be approved, be recorded.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 197-198)

On this portion of the Executive Council's report, which deals with the general subject of the European Conflict, the action on the brutal attack on the free peoples of Europe by the Nazi dictator, which was taken at the Sixtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor in New Orleans, La., last November, your committee also has considered Resolutions Nos. 12 and 24, which deal with the same subject.

The resolutions are as follows:

### Support to American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor

**Resolution No. 12**—By Delegates Wave Tobin, Eduardo Molisani, Abraham Plotkin, Bernard Shane, Joseph Breslaw, Isidore Nagler, Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The free and democratic labor movement of the world and the free and democratic way of life are indivisible, and

WHEREAS, The ruthless Nazi gangster government of Germany, advancing behind a military machine of unexampled brutality, has crushed the free labor movement of fourteen independent nations as part of its openly announced plan to dominate the world, and

WHEREAS, The free labor movement of Great Britain is giving of its utmost in strength, skill, heart and mind in the struggle of Democracy and Freedom against Nazi barbarism and economic slavery, and

WHEREAS, The ideals of the free British labor movement and the ideals of the American labor movement are both rooted in heartfelt devotion to decency and humanity as a way of life; therefore, be it



**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its 61st annual convention at Seattle, Wash., pledge its full spiritual and material support to the American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor express its admiration for and its determination to aid the embattled British labor movement in its crucial struggle to halt the onrush and finally destroy the Nazi tyranny.

### **All-Out Aid to Britain, China, Russia and Allies Against Hitlerism**

**Resolution No. 24**—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

**WHEREAS**, Hitler, Hitlerism and the Axis powers are a menace to democracy and freedom, oppressed minorities, trade unions and the American way of life; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the 61st Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled at Seattle, Washington, go on record as saluting the heroism and bravery of the British workers and people in their death grapple with the barbarism of Nazi Germany to safeguard the jewels of liberty and humanity and pledge them and their constant allies all-out aid—material, financial and moral—to the end that Hitler and Hitlerism may be completely destroyed and swept from the face of the earth.

Reference is made to the attack made upon Russia by Adolf Hitler since the New Orleans Convention adjourned, and in this connection the statement made by Communists in this country who are already endeavoring to propel America into a close alliance with Russia.

The teachings and practices of Communism are just as dangerous to the American institutions as in the past. Russia, in her present effort of national defense, has indicated no change in her policy towards the forms of democracy in other countries. The proper and active support which the United States is now giving to Russia, is not because of the change in our attitude toward Communism, but to assist a people brutally attacked to defend themselves.

The proper support now being given to Russia so that her people may more adequately defend their national existence, should not, and must not, be ac-

cepted as any change in our attitude towards Communism and the methods it has applied internally and externally.

It is the opinion of your committee that a victory by Stalin over the other countries in Europe, would be as disastrous to free institutions as a victory by Hitler.

It is the sincere hope of your committee, now that Great Britain and her Allies are actively assisting that country, and the United States is supplying all material and assistance possible, that this will lead the government of Russia to refrain, when war is over, from continuing the propaganda, and the efforts of Communists in this country to break down the American conception of free institutions and government under law.

Your committee further hopes that the present assistance being given by our nation to Russia, will result in a more thorough understanding and practice of self-government of the people of Russia, administered by the peoples' chosen representative.

The report calls attention to the heroic part being played by British labor in the defense of their country. We recommend that this convention extend to the trade union movement of Great Britain its admiration for the part they are playing in the national defense of their own country, and for the heroic example they are giving to labor in all other countries affected by the program of destruction and supreme dictatorship which has been launched by Adolf Hitler.

In addition your committee calls attention to the urgent necessity for assisting British workmen in a material manner through contributions from the American trade union movement to the labor unions of Great Britain. The American Labor Committee to assist British workers is the official organization of the American Federation of Labor through which contributions should be made.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.



Your committee also recommends approval of the purpose and substance of Resolutions Nos. 12 and 24.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, it is not my purpose to take up unnecessarily the time of the convention at this late date with any extended remarks on this subject. I wish merely to call attention to the formation of the American Labor Committee to aid British workers.

This committee came into being as a result of the visit of Sir Walter Citrine last year, when he visited so many of our localities and addressed our labor groups in many cities, indicating the trials and tribulations through which our British workers had then passed and have since been passing. In all of the descriptions he presented, in the dramatic and tragic situations he placed before us, not one single word was uttered by him in behalf of an appeal insofar as medical supplies or anything of that kind was concerned. He urged merely support in the placement of tanks, airplanes, munitions and facilities of combat.

Nevertheless, we who heard this address were inspired by the heroic battle put up by our British workers, and moved deeply by the suffering entailed, actuated by a spirit of humanity, we organized the American Labor Committee to aid our British workers in these most trying days and trying times.

Of this committee President Green is honorary Chairman and I its acting Chairman. The work of this committee has been proceeding most excellently and the response has been highly encouraging, and as a result the work of this committee and of the American Federation of Labor and of its unions, has received a most responsive echo in the hearts and minds and souls of our British workers.

We are actuated, of course, not merely to extend sympathy and help to our British workers in these darkened days, but we are likewise paying back a debt we owe them—a debt, first of all, in the

support they gave to the American labor movement when we were first founded, and even in recent years when we attempted to secure proper representation in the International Labor Organization, in the International Federation of Trade Unions, and in many other ways and in many other relationships, barring not at all the fraternal relationship that exists between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor.

It is therefore but right and just that we here in America, still living under the skies of peace, and reigning under prosperity, not suffering the evils and consequences of barbarism that have been inflicted upon innocent peoples abroad, should, to the best of our full ability, make such contributions to their relief as we are capable of doing. Our local and international unions have responded well. We feel confident that when the campaign ends there will be on the roster each and every affiliated national and international union, with some contribution indicating its sympathy and heartfelt feelings towards our British workers abroad.

Within the past month we have been required to extend our appeal to also look after the workers in other countries outside of Great Britain. The difficulties entailed in bringing relief to some of these conquered nations is extreme, but we feel confident that with the cooperation of the British Trades Union Congress we will be able to render relief to some of the other nations that are in dire consequences, and give hope and inspiration to the workers in those conquered lands who are now working underground to again revive the hope of liberty, freedom, and democracy, and continue on in that noble work.

I do hope that the delegates, when they return to their respective homes, and the officers when they return to their respective national headquarters will give this appeal due and proper and favorable attention.

Thank you.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: President Green, in dealing with the matter of defense and lending assistance to Great

Britain, most of us seem to think of ships, airplanes and munitions. Too few of us realize the fact that actual cash money and finances are needed as well in order to properly care for those in need in the suffering countries.

As our friend Matthew Woll has informed you, a committee has been established for the special purpose of raising such finances. This committee to defend America, of which your President of the American Federation of Labor is the Chairman, has done splendid work, work that probably has not been recognized by you or me or by the public or the press. They have, however, continued that work and are receiving a great many donations from International Unions and local unions.

The administrative chairman of this committee, Brother Samuel Shore, of the Ladies' Garment Workers, has charge of the Labor Division of this committee. I have had some pleasant experiences in connection with the work of this committee and the administrative chairman, Brother Shore.

On the 27th day of September of this year, in the cities of New York and Brooklyn we were advised, under the supervision of Chairman Shore, that the Painters' District Council No. 9 of New York, and District Council No. 18 of the city of Brooklyn, decided that they would do something substantial in order to assist Great Britain and other needy countries financially. Through a referendum vote carried on by the membership of those two District Councils it was decided to do away with the law that has existed for many years and to permit members of those two District Councils to work on Saturday, with the provision that the earnings of the men who worked on that Saturday be turned over to the Committee to Defend America.

The contractors in the cities of New York and Brooklyn were contacted in order to have them provide the work for those men who wanted to work on Saturday. Managers of office buildings were contacted, and because of that some 5,000 union painters worked on Saturday, September 27th, in order to raise these fi-

nances. After the day's work the men who had worked and their families were entertained lavishly, and Mayor La Guardia, who is the national chairman of this committee, presided at the meeting and delivered a splendid address.

The success that was realized in the cities of Brooklyn and New York could be accomplished in other localities and similar amounts of money could be raised in order to lend the necessary assistance to Great Britain.

I want to read a letter before I assume a pleasant duty that I have to perform in presenting a check to Chairman Woll, of the committee, from the Director of the Labor Division, Brother Shore. This letter is as follows:

New York, New York,  
October 4, 1941.

Mr. Matthew Woll,  
Union Labor Life Ins. Co.,  
570 Lexington Ave.,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Woll:

Best greetings to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

As you know, the Labor Division of the Committee to Defend America in cooperation with the New York and Brooklyn District Councils of the International Brotherhood of Painters proclaimed Saturday, September 27th, as Painters' Defend America Day. For the first time in more than twenty-five years the New York Painters departed from their sacred five-day week rule and worked on a Saturday.

Carrying out of this plan was authorized by a ten to one vote in its favor in a membership referendum of twelve local unions. The latter also decided to donate the great bulk of the wages earned on Painters' Defend America Day to the Labor Division of the Committee to Defend America. These funds are to be used by the Labor Division of the Committee to Defend America to make American Labor more defense-conscious, to insure the success of the Defense Program in its larger as well as its immediate aspects, and to stimulate American Labor's awareness of its most vital stake in the outcome of the war.

Furthermore, it was the desire of the New York and Brooklyn Painters' District Councils, as well as our own desire, that a portion of the funds thus raised should be donated to other worthy causes. In agreement with the New York Painters' District Councils there have been appropriated about twelve thousand dollars for such other organizations, particularly those dedicated to

war relief and international Labor solidarity. You will be interested to note that we are donating more than half of this sum—six thousand two hundred fifty dollars to be exact—through the American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor, earmarked specifically as per attached. We are doing this in recognition of your vigorous efforts and services in behalf of American-British Labor solidarity.

Surely it is unnecessary for me to emphasize to you the significance of this highly humanitarian and patriotic performance and contribution made by the New York Painters. Mayor La Guardia, in a stirring address to the Painters Defend America Day celebration, characterized it adequately when he said: "This is not poetry about democracy. This is not songs about democracy. This is democracy working tonight." And that staunch friend of Labor, Senator Robert F. Wagner, summed it up eloquently when he greeted the Painters with a statement that what they had done "will stand in the history of our times as a splendid mark of their devotion to democracy and a symbol of the sacrifices which American Labor will willingly undertake in order that the scourge of Hitlerism may be banished from the earth."

Rest assured, Brother Woll, that the Labor Division of the Committee to Defend America is ready to cooperate wholeheartedly with every Labor union in similar worthy efforts. We hope that many other unions will follow the inspiring example set by the New York Painters.

With every good wish to you, I remain

With fraternal greetings,

SAMUEL SHORE, Chairman,  
Administrative Committee.

I am going to take this opportunity of presenting to Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Committee, a check for \$6,250.00, with the compliments of the Painters' District Councils of New York and Brooklyn, and from the committee. I feel that the action taken by the Painters in the cities of Brooklyn and New York is something that could be well carried out in other localities, and I will do my part with the balance of the local unions and district councils of my organization in an endeavor to institute such proceeding. Naturally I want to plead with other International Unions to do likewise, in order that we may make a successful campaign for the raising of funds in order to properly take care of the finances

that are so much needed to assist our British workers.

I thank you.

Delegate Nagler, International Ladies' Garment Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I merely rise here to make a statement at this time. I am sure the delegates to a great extent are impatient at this late hour. But the report of the Committee on Resolutions was so interesting that I feel that at this moment it would serve the purpose if I were to make a very important statement.

We all appreciate the great contribution that is being made by the American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor, the excellent work, the arduous work that is being put in by the honorary chairman, the President of the American Federation of Labor, and the Chairman of the Committee to Aid British Labor, Brother Matthew Woll.

At our last meeting of the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, held a few weeks ago in the city of Philadelphia, our organization allocated \$50,000 towards this Committee for Aid to British Labor in their present emergency.

President Green: These actions speak louder than words. They make a deep impression on us and touch us very deeply.

The motion to adopt this section of the committee's report was unanimously carried.

President Green: Brother Thomson is deeply touched by this demonstration of loyalty and devotion to the British workers, and I know he will be happy indeed if he is privileged to say just a word, so I am going to call on him and give him an opportunity to do so.

Fraternal Delegate G. W. Thomson: President Green, Brother Woll, and brothers: I should be lacking in my duty, I think, if I did not take this opportunity of saying how deeply touched I am at what has happened in connection with this fund. It was no intention, as Brother Woll has said, of Sir Walter Citrine when he made his magnificent tour here last year to ask for funds of this description. His sole idea—and the invitation, I think,

came from this Federation—was to make known what Great Britain, especially the labor element, which he so ably represents, had entered this war for. He perhaps unwittingly sowed, Brother Woll watered, and the Painters and the Garment Workers, and possibly many others I do not know, alone gave the increase.

It is not only for the contributions themselves, magnificent as they are even in the history of American hospitality and well wishing and collection of funds, but in the spirit that animates you in doing such magnificent things. I feel perfectly sure the British Trades Union Movement and the British public generally will understand by this practical form of sympathy, no less than by your spoken words and the actions you have already taken in producing and promising to produce in greater abundance those munitions that are so absolutely necessary if we are to pull through, that this action will demonstrate as fully as anything that we have the American people fighting the battle of democracy—not helping Britain, that is of very little importance—but in fighting the battle of democracy and the battle of freedom, which alone can sustain a free and democratic civilization.

May I, President Green, on behalf of the whole British trades movement, thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

President Green: Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

## LABOR STANDARDS AND DEFENSE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 109)

This portion of the Executive Council's report contains valuable statistical information as to the minimum wage orders issued by the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Your committee in calling attention to the valuable wage data incorporated in this portion of the Executive Council's report, also approves of the recommendations made in this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 75)

This portion of the Executive Council's report details a number of legislative measures enacted by Congress to provide the American people with invincible defense against foreign aggression and to furnish effective aid to the nations fighting against the world conquest by the Nazi dictatorship.

**The Lend-Lease Bill (page 75)**—The leading measure designed to provide material aid to any nation whose defense the President deems vital to the welfare of the United States was the Lend-Lease Law enacted on March 11, 1941. The program authorized by this statute was later implemented by the appropriation of seven billion dollars to be available until June 30, 1943.

In pursuance of the express action of the New Orleans convention favoring the extension of all aid to democracies, the enactment of this legislation was strongly supported by the American Federation of Labor. The Federation also urged that assurance of free participation of the United States in the economic reconstruction of the post-war world be secured in return for our material assistance.

From the outset of the new world conflict the American Federation of Labor has been pledged to unreserved help and assistance to the people of Great Britain and to all democratic nations which arose to defend their freedom and their independence against Nazi enslavement. As we meet in convention in Seattle, the battle of Russia is approaching its crucial stage. The outcome of the World War is in the balance.

Your committee emphasizes the fact that Communism is abhorrent to American labor and that Communist dictatorship has deprived the Russian workers and the Russian people of the freedom they once won. But the people of Russia today are fighting valiantly against the Hitler war machine—they are fighting for their homes, for their lives and for their native land. In fighting the Nazi in-

vasion they are fighting a common battle with all enemies of Hitler. As such the Russian people must be able to rely on effective aid from free America in this decisive hour. But let it be clear that in extending this aid we hope and pray for the liberation of the world from Nazi domination and also make our contribution toward the self-liberation of the Russian people from the Communist dictatorship.

With a renewed call for all possible material assistance to all nations engaged in the struggle against Fascist aggressors, your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## MILITARY AND NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 76-77)

We note the authorizations and appropriations of expenditures for military defense enumerated in this portion of the report. These include construction of naval bases, aviation facilities, training stations, provision of additional coast guard facilities, and of other defense equipment. Measures to assure health and sanitation in military areas are also noted. Authorization for protection of naval shore establishments, and the extension of War Department buildings are necessary actions taken by Congress to meet the urgent military requirements. Your committee commends these emergency measures designed to strengthen the land and sea defenses maintained by our armed forces.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report the committee acted jointly on Resolutions Nos. 128, 139, 140 and 149.

## National Defense

**Resolution No. 128**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A victory of the Axis powers in the present war would constitute a fatal blow to democracy all over the world, and

WHEREAS, From their internal actions the German and Italian governments have demonstrated that they are savage enemies of Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Only with a defeat of the Axis can there be any hope that various social gains, painfully established since the last war, can be maintained; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, call on the national government to take any steps thought wise by the Administration, with the advice and consent of the Congress, acting on the advice of the United States Army Chief of Staff, the Secretary of the Navy and other responsible agencies, to keep at its maximum efficiency the United States Army, Navy and defense program; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention urge and support whatever action is deemed necessary by the Administration to make sure that American aid reaches its intended destination; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention pledge itself to the moral unity demanded by an unlimited national emergency.

## National Defense

**Resolution No. 139**—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A victory of the Axis Powers in the present war would be a fatal blow to Democracy all over the world, and

WHEREAS, From their internal actions the German and Italian Governments have demonstrated they are savage enemies of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Only with a defeat of the Axis can there be any hope that various social gains, painfully established since the last war, can be maintained; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention call on the national government to take any steps thought wise by the Administration, with the advice and consent of the Congress, acting on the advice of the United States Army Chief of Staff, the Secretary of the Navy and other responsible agencies, to keep at its maximum efficiency the United States Army, Navy, and defense program; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention pledge itself to the moral unity demanded by an unlimited national emergency.

### National Defense and Aid to Democracies

**Resolution No. 140**—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States cannot afford to have Germany win this war under any circumstances and must, therefore, do all in its power to bring about her complete defeat, and

WHEREAS, Enough evidence has been submitted to prove our case a thousand times over, and

WHEREAS, If there is need to review any part of this evidence, we would remind all those who perhaps have become lost in a sea of words, that long ago this country decided under the Monroe Doctrine that it would fight before submitting to foreign conquest in our hemisphere, and the evidence well shows that such conquest would come about through the well known Nazi method if Hitler were to win the war, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is committed to a policy of all-out defense and aid to the democracies of the world, and the Indiana Building and Construction Trades Council in convention assembled has adopted a resolution embodying the principles of this resolution, and labor organizations throughout the country have endorsed the policies of the American Federation of Labor in relation to all-out defense and aid to the democracies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in convention assembled reiterate, that this war must be won. We say this and accept our full responsibilities in saying it. We urge leaders of organized labor throughout our nation to say no less. We challenge business leaders to take the same path we elect to take and say that no matter what it may cost, this war against the Nazis must be won, and it is now time to stand by our traditional policy of freedom of the seas.

### National Defense

**Resolution No. 149**—By Delegate Wendell J. Phillips, Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, Our Government is involved in a tremendous national defense program which consists of aid to Great Britain, Russia and all forces fighting Hitlerism, and

WHEREAS, The issues involved in the present war were for the first time made completely clear when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill surprised the world with their history-making meeting at sea, and announced an 8-point program, which briefly is:

1. No territorial aggrandizement.
2. No territorial changes against the will of the people concerned.
3. Restoration of the freedom and privileges of those people in countries forcibly deprived of them and the right of all people in all countries to democratically determine their own form of government.
4. A free world trade and a free world market for vanquished nations as well as victor.
5. Collaboration between all nations in the economic field for improved labor standards and social security.
6. After the victory of the anti-Hitler forces, a hope that there will be established the means by which all nations may dwell in safety in their own countries and that all may be free from fear and want.
7. Freedom of the seas.
8. Abandonment of the use of force in all countries. Disarmament of nations who threaten the safety of the world and to aid and encourage all practical methods in the direction of world disarmament; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we forward to the President our position relative to the world crisis as follows:

1. That the American Federation of Labor does hereby officially pledge its fullest support to the national defense program. We insist, however, that there shall be no abrogation of any of Labor's legislative or economic gains. It should therefore be understood that we expect full protection of labor's right and gains.
2. That we concur in President Roosevelt's policy of all possible aid to Great Britain and Russia and all other countries fighting Hitlerism; and
3. That we support the policy of a complete embargo on all war materials destined for Japan and urge all possible assistance to China.

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee includes Resolutions Nos. 128, 139, 140, and 149, the purpose and substance of which meet with your committee's approval. We therefore move the adoption of the committee's report including approval of these resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council's Report, Pp. 84-86)

In this portion of the Executive Council's Report your Committee has considered the sections dealing with legisla-



tion relating to the improvements of compensation and work standards of federal employees.

The legislation reported includes compensation to civilian employees ordered to military or naval duty; additional compensation to rural letter carriers serving extensive routes; overtime compensation on administrative work to employees of the War Department, the Panama Canal, the Navy Department, and the Coast Guard; extension of the Civil Service to include postmasters of the first, second and third class; Civil Service classification and pay increases for employees paid from emergency appropriations during recent years, and disability or death compensation to persons employed at military, air or naval bases acquired by the United States from foreign countries.

In noting these gains and improvements, your Committee expresses its gratification over the effective work done by the American Federation of Labor to protect and advance the standards of Federal employees. Special problems have been created for Federal workers by the present emergency. It will therefore become necessary for us to continue to safeguard the welfare of these workers with renewed vigor.

With this recommendation, your Committee urges the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, page 89)

War conditions throughout the world have drastically curtailed the flow of immigration to the United States, and have brought before the American Government a set of new problems with regard to the admission into our borders of war refugees, as well as of infiltration of spies, propagandists, fifth columnists, and other persons engaged in activity inimical to the American form of government. This portion of the Executive Council's Report summarizes the emergency restrictions effected by the gov-

ernment on the entry of aliens, and legislation recently enacted in connection with immigration and naturalization problems.

Among the more important proposals pending enactment is a House resolution providing for the detention of aliens whose deportation has been ordered but cannot be carried out because the country of their origin refuses to accept them. The bill proposes to create a board in the Department of Justice, vested with quasi-judicial powers, and granted general supervision over deportable aliens. The board is given discretion to decide whether aliens ordered deported may be detained or paroled. Another provision of this bill makes it possible for refugees who have been admitted as non-immigrants to secure a permanent immigration status if there is a substantial reason to believe that they will be subjected to persecution if returned to the countries of their origin.

Another bill pending enactment is one which permits the courts of the United States and state courts to issue naturalization certificates to all persons over 21 who are entitled to American citizenship by the naturalization of their parents or spouse. It is the purpose of this bill to make it possible for those entitled to full citizenship status to secure proof of their citizenship.

A Senate bill provides for exclusion of immigrants who are nationals of countries which refuse re-entry of any person deported from the United States, who is documented as a national of such country. This bill is pending Senate action.

A House resolution is pending on the House calendar, deferring admission of aliens held in detention camps in a foreign country to one year after release from such internment. It is the purpose of this bill to exclude from immediate entry into the United States aliens whom England and Canada deem necessary to subject to detention and internment. A Senate bill would authorize the refusal of visas to aliens whose entry into the United States would be a danger to public safety.



Special interests have exerted pressure upon the Immigration and Naturalization Service for permission to import into the United States contract labor from Mexico. A formal application for permission to import Mexican workers has been made by the Southern Pacific Company. As unemployment is still widespread in the United States, especially among unskilled workers, no justification can be advanced for such requests, other than a desire to secure labor willing to work at outrageously low wages. We commend the action of the Executive Council, which has strongly protested against such importation of contract labor.

Your Committee is in accord with the policies pursued by the Executive Council with regard to the legislation dealing with immigration and naturalization, and recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **W.P.A. APPROPRIATION**

**(Executive Council's Report, page 95)**

This section of the Executive Council's Report indicates that the continuing efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor to remove limitations, which labor has protested for the past three years, in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act have not been favorably received by Congress.

We recommend that the policy pursued by the Executive Council be continued, and urge the adoption of this portion of the Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **FEDERAL AID TO HIGHWAYS**

**(Executive Council's Report, page 95)**

Under this heading the Executive Council reports on Congressional appropriations providing for a strategic network of highways and extension of public roads vital to national defense. The bill, supported by the American Federa-

tion of Labor, was vetoed by President Roosevelt, and while the Senate repassed it over the veto, the House vote against the veto fell short of the necessary two-thirds majority, and the legislation was thus killed. A new bill conforming to the President's objections is now pending enactment.

Your Committee urges approval of the policy of the Executive Council in this connection, and recommends the adoption of this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **TENNESSEE VALLEY HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECTS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 97)**

This section of the Executive Council's report refers to the additional appropriation secured for the Tennessee Valley Authority for the construction of additional power and transmission facilities. This measure was enacted with the active support of the American Federation of Labor, and its timeliness was demonstrated by the appearance of severe power shortages in areas strategic to defense.

Your committee recommends the approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **TRANSPORTATION FOR RELEASED PRISONERS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 96)**

Under this heading the Executive Council reports on legislation which would provide for subsistence and transportation to the place of arrest of prisoners released without conviction. This proposal received the support of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## APPROPRIATION FOR WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 95)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports attempts made to curtail the appropriation for inspection and enforcement under the Wage and Hour Law. We commend the Executive Council for its effective action in restoring this appropriation. With the extension of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, need for effective enforcement of the minimum wage and overtime standards becomes especially grave under emergency conditions.

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## FOREST LANDS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)

Under this heading the Executive Council reports the findings of the Joint Committee on Forestry, made as a result of an extensive investigation.

The major portion of the workers engaged in lumber, logging, and forestry operations are members of the American Federation of Labor. Gainful work and income for a decent living for these men depends on the adequate development and maintenance of the nation's forest resources. Our forests and timber stands are among the most valuable assets of the Nation and deserve carefully planned preservation and development. Wanton destruction of our virgin timber stands, which has given us barren stump lands and decadent lumber communities with stranded workers, must not be permitted to continue.

We heartily endorse the policy of the Executive Council for an aggressive forestry program, including public regulation of forest practices or outright government acquisition of timber lands when such action is in the public interest.

We strongly recommend the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## COAL MINE INSPECTION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 100)

Your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report, which deals with the proposed Federal inspection and investigation of coal mines.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITH THE UNITED STATES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 99)

Under this caption the Executive Council reports the enactment of the Walter-Logan Bill, which was subsequently vetoed by the President.

Your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## WIRE TAPPING

(Executive Council's Report, Page 81)

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## DEFENSE

(Executive Council's Report, Pages  
200-203)  
and

## RESOLUTION No. 125 Regulating Priorities

**Resolution No. 125**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Because of the inadequate supply of various basic metals and other materials necessary to defense industry, it has become necessary for the Federal Government to issue priorities giving those engaged in defense industry priority of such metals and other materials, thereby depriving others engaged in non-military work of the necessary supply of such materials, and

WHEREAS, Such action causes violent dislocation of industry and results in the unemployment of large numbers of persons who cannot obtain immediate employment in our defense industries, and

WHEREAS, Hasty action in the allocation of such materials will not only tend to cripple non-defense industry, but likewise cause widespread unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Its disastrous effect can to a large degree be minimized if the government agencies in charge of priorities act only after mature consideration of all factors involved, including any resultant unemployment and its effect upon the general economy of the country, and

WHEREAS, It is the settled policy and desire of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to give the Federal Government full cooperation in all matters affecting national defense, and give President Roosevelt full backing in his declared policy of resisting Nazi and Fascist aggression, and

WHEREAS, In many instances needless suffering may be avoided if such governmental agencies, prior to issuance of such priority orders, consult with officials of Labor Organizations which represent the workers involved; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, that it is the sense of this convention that prior to the issuance of any priority order the governmental agency issuing such order consult with the representatives of the Labor Unions whose membership would be affected by such order, to the end that hardship resulting therefrom may be minimized and an orderly transition be made from peace time to war time economy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States; to Sidney Hillman and William Knudsen.

The Executive Council Report under this caption briefly recounts the various organizations of the Defense Administration during the past year in order better to deal with developing problems. Need of increasing the rate and speed of out-

put has occasioned the various changes. The objectives of our defense program put safety for democratic freedom above all other considerations growing out of an economy in which prices control decisions. Failure to realize this fundamental change has been responsible for delay. Maintenance of the practice of letting contracts by competitive bidding and to companies with whose production facilities the Army and Navy Departments had become familiar through educational orders resulted in concentrating three-quarters of the contracts in 56 of the largest corporations. When priority orders diverted critical materials to those companies in large quantities civilian production was sharply cut, complete breakdown of the small business concerns upon which the larger portion of our country depends for service and employment was threatened. What is called priority unemployment threatened to add several millions to the ranks of the unemployed.

To provide better coordination and location of authority the President then created the present controlling board—the Supply, Priorities and Allocations Board of which Vice-President Wallace is chairman and Donald Nelson is Executive Director. To spread defense contracts more widely so as to expedite production and conserve small business and economies to utilize production facilities to the utmost, the Division of Contract Distribution was established. A technical service will be set up to help business undertakings with limited technical counsel to determine for what defense production their facilities can be converted and in getting sub-contracts. Wider distribution of defense contracts is the only compensation to offer for the loss of business and jobs due to diversion of essential materials for defense purposes. In order to achieve its purpose and also to facilitate defense production, the advisory committees of business men and engineers which this Division has created should be supplemented by an advisory committee representative of the workers. The use of representatives chosen by a group is the direct and effective way to mobilize the group represented in cooperation

with the undertaking. An individual appointed by the Government brings only his own cooperation whereas the representative of a group can draw upon the whole group.

The second policy the Federation recommends to this division is allocation of contracts in place of the cumbersome, and for present conditions, inept method of competitive bidding even with new rules liberalizing conditions. If the United States is to supply the weapons for this titanic conflict in defense of democracy the need is urgent and gigantic. There is no time to lose. This Division of Contract Distribution should get the cooperation of employers and others in providing them with inventories of machines and skills of the work staffs, as a basis for planning allocation of contracts for commodities or parts needed. If legislation is needed to free the division for wider use of negotiated contracts, that should be enacted without delay.

The protection of workers and their rights in this period of widespread dislocations rests immediately upon the organized labor movement which must formulate the principles and programs to be followed. The effective use of human resources is of equal importance to the defense production program as it is to the workers themselves. Not a worker or a machine should be idle in this hour of need. We note with approval the program for protecting workers' rights outlined in Bulletin No. 4 of the A. F. of L. Committee on Defense and recommend its widest use.

America's workers want to do their full part in defending democratic institutions for they realize what personal freedom means to them. It is our responsibility to see to it that our services are given under conditions that assure the maintenance of freedom in our daily practices. We urge whole-hearted support for our national defense program and that national, state and central labor unions as well as individual unions do their utmost within their jurisdictions to further the defense program.

In connection with recommending approval of this portion of the Executive

Council's report, your committee recommends approval of the purpose and substance of Resolution No. 125.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## COMMITTEE REPORT ON LEGAL ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report,  
pages 189-196)

During the year which has elapsed, the Federation was confronted with more legal problems than in any previous similar period. Important cases affecting labor were briefed and argued in various courts of the country—including the Supreme Court of the United States, resulting in reversal of old harmful precedents and the pronouncement of new advantageous ones.

The old United States Supreme Court decision of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, holding that neither States nor the Federal government could outlaw child labor, was reversed by the Supreme Court this year by the *Darby* case which upheld the provisions of the Wage and Hour Law protecting child labor.

As pointed out in the Executive Council's report on the Anti-Trust prosecutions, the United States Supreme Court in the *Hutcheson* case exempted labor unions and their officers from prosecution under the Anti-Trust laws when engaged in usual union activities.

The United States Supreme Court, in the *Lake Valley Farms* case and the *Swing* case, dealt the final blow to "government by injunction." In the first case, the Court held that alleged violations of Anti-Trust laws did not remove labor from the protection of the Norris-LaGuardia Act which prohibits courts from issuing labor injunctions. In the *Swing* case, the Court extended the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech by holding that, even in those States which did not have a Norris-LaGuardia Act, State judges could not issue injunctions against picketing by a union even though no employee of the picketed concern was a member of the union. The decision was founded on the *Thornhill* case which was briefed and argued last year.

Our General Counsel and his staff prepared legislation, rendered numerous legal opinions, tried important Labor Board cases, and appeared before Boards and Commissions on many matters requiring legal attention.

The year to come will no doubt present important cases pertaining to legislation now before Congress having for its purpose the destruction of labor's fundamental rights. Most vicious and dangerous are the proposed bills seeking to bring labor unions under the Anti-Trust laws. Should any of these pass, your Committee recommends that the legal department of the A. F. of L. be instructed to institute appropriate proceedings to have these laws declared invalid.

It is fitting that we conclude this report with the acknowledgment that our General Counsel, Judge Padway, has rendered legal services of the highest quality. He and his staff have responded to every demand, and the results have been most successful.

Your Committee moves the adoption of the report.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

## **WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 124)**

This portion of the Executive Council's report presents a comprehensive, factual account of the impact of defense on our relief and work relief problems. Far-reaching dislocations taking place throughout our economy have brought about large-scale job displacement and acute distress among workers in many communities. Shifts from civilian to defense production, application of priorities, and curtailment in the supply of raw materials are the major sources of defense unemployment. Confused and ineffective organization of the defense production program and failure to consider employment as one of the basic guiding factors in letting defense contracts were in large measure responsible for the new wave of

unemployment. A firm policy with regard to subcontracting of defense orders as widely as possible, in such a way as to spread employment equitably among all communities and all sections of the country is most urgently needed.

Available data on the distribution of W. P. A. employment bring out lack of integration between the new work relief need and the distribution of relief employment. The W. P. A. has undertaken a large number of so-called "defense projects," most of which involve building and construction work which could readily be done by private contractors employing qualified union labor. We recommend that the use of contract method on all building and construction initiated by the Federal Government be made a requirement under the Emergency Relief Act and under policies and procedures of all Federal agencies.

The relief needs of the nation are still extremely large. Emergency conditions must not obscure the vital urgency of the problem, and relief needs must be fully met through Federal as well as local public assistance channels. We urge that special attention be devoted to the needs of workers' families subjected to unemployment because of dislocations incidental to defense, and that relief employment be continued wherever truly needed and wherever its allocation is not in conflict with available private employment.

We emphasize the need to achieve closer integration of the relief administration with the placement work of public employment offices, with active advisory participation of union representatives.

Planning must be without delay to provide for workers whose employment will terminate at the end of the emergency. Such planning, to be effective, must be from the roots up. Central Labor Unions and their committees should be urged to initiate studies for each locality, to determine the industrial and power resources of the community, as well as of housing and other facilities, which would make possible an integrated national program reflecting real needs of each community.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## ANTI-LABOR LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 79)

This portion of the Executive Council's report renders an account of vicious and persistent attempts made by the enemies of Labor to secure the enactment of legislation which would restrict or altogether destroy Labor's basic rights of free self-organization and collective bargaining. The present emergency has been seized upon by those seeking to black-out free Labor and to repeal the many gains won by workers over a period of many years.

Notorious among some twenty anti-labor proposals advanced in the past year were the Smith Bill, the Vinson Bill, and the Ball Bill, introduced in the House, and the so-called Connally and May amendments in the Senate. Some of these proposals included a variety of far-reaching restrictions on Labor's rights of self-organization, others would deprive workers of the right to strike, or provided for what is known as the "cooling-off" periods which would result in compulsory employment.

An attempt was also made to repeal the provisions of the Federal Communications Act of 1934 which outlaws wire-tapping. Determined efforts were made not only to legalize wire-tapping, which is unnecessary, unethical and destructive of American liberties, but also to extend this practice. The defeat of this proposal was a decided victory for Labor.

Forced labor cannot be accepted or tolerated by a free people. In our defense of democracy from destruction from without we must be sure that we do not permit destruction of the democratic process from within. A free and unrestricted Labor Movement is the most effective protection our nation has against undemocratic controls and procedure.

Your Committee heartily commends the Executive Council for the determined efforts made to prevent the enactment by Congress of these measures which would have cut at the very heart of our Labor Movement. We are gratified to note that the effective work of the American Federation of Labor's Legislative Committee has prevented our enemies from securing the enactment of restrictive proposals

under the pressure of emergency procedure. We recommend that the Executive Council be urged to maintain unremitting vigilance against legislation endangering workers' rights and freedoms.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

(Executive Council's Report, page 173)

A detailed account of the services provided to our affiliated unions by the research staff of the American Federation of Labor is rendered in this section of the Executive Council's Report. The research services of the Federation have been designed primarily to achieve a two-fold purpose. The first objective is to strengthen our organizing activities by placing in the hands of organizers basic information on wages, working conditions, union labor standards, economic conditions, and defense trends. This material is proving to be indispensable in planning organizational campaigns and in equipping organizers with labor facts of vital interest to workers in the industry or locality in question. The second major aim of the service is to assist unions in meeting major problems confronting them in connection with wage negotiations, and defense developments and to provide for them a central clearing house of basic union information.

The work of the research and information service include wage and hour surveys for particular occupations and industries; advance notification of developments in all cases before the National Labor Relations Board in which our unions are involved directly or indirectly; weekly reports on government contracts let, including defense contracts; studies of housing conditions and reports on construction activity; special analyses of unemployment compensation proposals for the use of State Federations of Labor; and reports to Central Labor Unions on the procedures and on the rights of individual workers under the Old-Age, Survivors' Insurance, and other Social Security laws. Of special value to our unions has been

the service designed to provide them with facts for collective bargaining. It has been possible to develop a system of reports from National and International Unions, directly affiliated unions, Central Labor Unions, and organizers, which make it possible to form a central reservoir of up-to-date information of immeasurable value to our movement. This union information is supplemented by specially prepared reports on the financial standing of particular companies, industrial outlook, changes in cost of living and wages paid by competing firms. With the improvement in the quality and scope of these reports, urgent requests for them from unions have reached unprecedented proportions, indicating their value to our membership.

The Federation's estimates of unemployment and periodic surveys of the employment situation have long occupied a prominent place as a standard source of information, and have been most helpful to individual unions and to the entire labor movement. The publication of Labor's Monthly Survey has been a useful and economic means of making available to unions basic information in printed form. The survey is widely used by the labor press, quoted by the general press, and fills an important need in the work of our unions.

All these services have gained special importance to our unions under the impact of defense developments. Information on priority orders and their interpretation, data on the effect of allocation of materials to civilian production, and explanation of procedures followed in distribution of defense contracts have become vital to our organizations. In response to this urgent need, the research and information facilities of the Federation have been integrated to make available to unions essential defense information, to advise them in advance of hearings scheduled by defense agencies, and to serve the American Federation of Labor Defense Committee.

Although the Federation's research facilities have been developed primarily to service the needs of directly affiliated unions, there has been a steadily in-

creasing number of requests for reports, studies, and surveys from National and International Unions. Some Internationals having their own research facilities, but not having access to the comprehensive sources of information available at the Federation headquarters, are securing basic information from the Federation's research staff and interpreting it for their own local unions.

Other International Unions have relied completely on the Federation's research reports in meeting the needs of their locals. All requests for information received by the Federation from locals of National and International Unions have been handed in strict compliance with instructions from National and International officers. Rapidly growing under pressure of national emergency, this urgent demand for information by National and International Unions has taxed beyond capacity the research staff of the Federation, whose facilities were initially designed for service of directly affiliated unions only. Conditions call for a practical solution to meet this need.

Your Committee commends the Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor for making provision for the vitally needed research services which have been effectively and competently rendered by the research staff. It is our belief that the American Federation of Labor has a prime responsibility for coordination of research services to our unions, a responsibility enhanced by emergency conditions inherent in a war economy. Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council be requested to survey the requirements for research assistance to National and International Unions, in order to establish a practical and equitable basis for providing National and International Unions and their locals with research and information facilities most needed by them. With this we recommend the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.



## A. F. OF L. COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 203)

This portion of the Executive Council's report refers to the appointment of a Committee on National Defense, the purpose of which is to coordinate the activities of Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor for the purpose of systematic, unified activity in order to protect labor's interests and welfare.

The committee has given special consideration to the dangerous degree of unemployment which has been caused through the issuance of priority orders. At the present moment many thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor are unemployed because the plants in which they worked have been prevented through priority orders from securing the customary raw and semi-finished materials which they required.

The Committee on National Defense has already prepared four Bulletins dealing with the steps which should be taken locally to adjust industries, closed down because of priority orders, to the production of articles for national defense which they are best equipped and trained to provide.

If the instructions of the first four Bulletins are put into practical effect by Central Labor Councils and State Federations of Labor, a large measure of unemployment caused by priority orders, can be avoided.

Your committee recommends that the affiliated National and International Unions study these four Bulletins and others which will follow, so that their field representatives will be able to give informed assistance to their local unions in applying the means for job protection which are contained in the Bulletins.

With these comments your committee endorses the appointment of the Committee on National Defense, and recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 199)

### Resolutions Nos. 119, 124 and 145 Post-War Economic Adjustment

**Resolution No. 119**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The people of the United States are now entirely engrossed in the national defense program, which is rapidly absorbing not only workers who have been unemployed, but in addition thereto, large numbers of men and women are being taken away from their normal occupations and transplanted into others, and

WHEREAS, Thousands of industries and industrial plants in America are being transformed from their normal line of production into plants for the manufacture of war munitions, and

WHEREAS, When the inevitable end of the present war conditions comes to America, it will mean that all of those industries which are not engaged in war defense work must be readjusted to their normal business, which cannot be done over-night; and there is a realization that unless some preparations are made the American people will be plunged into a long period of mass unemployment, such as came after the last World War and again in 1930; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, go on record urging the Federal Government to take such steps as may seem necessary to anticipate the change back to normalcy, and to provide such means as are necessary to prevent unemployment, even to the extent of subsidizing all of the industries of this country, so that they, in turn, may continue the payrolls which now and will exist during the defense program.

## Mass Unemployment

**Resolution No. 124**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, After the War of 1918, a condition was prevailing, whereby millions of workers were unemployed, many families in need of assistance, and open shop policies were in existence, and

WHEREAS, This condition may again arise after the emergency, and with proper planning the effect will not be as depraving, and

WHEREAS, There is a tremendous increase in the population of the State, and many will be unemployed when the

preparation program is over; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, take whatever steps may be necessary to eliminate the danger of mass unemployment.

### Study of Post-War Social and Economic Problems

**Resolution No. 145** — By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

**WHEREAS**, The government of the United States through its executive and legislative branches is giving serious consideration now to the problem of economic and social adjustment and reconstruction of the post-war period, and

**WHEREAS**, These studies and the findings based thereon are of vital importance to labor and the general public, and

**WHEREAS**, The potential value of these studies and the practical benefits which may be derived therefrom rest largely upon intimate knowledge of our members and their fellow citizens of every phase of this undertaking, and active participation in the critical study thereof; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled expresses its gratification that studies are being made; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That it calls upon city central bodies and state federations of labor to name a committee now, on Post War Social and Economic Planning, which committee shall in each community of itself and in cooperation with other social-minded civic groups give continuous attention to data and problems bearing on post war problems of:

1. Maintenance of full employment of working people
2. Maintenance of community social services
3. Maintenance of high living standards where they exist and the development thereof where they do not exist
4. Preservation of existing social legislation and the further development thereof
5. Adjustment of industry to peace-time basis
6. Retraining of workers as a highly important phase of readjustment
7. The preservation of the principle of the sanctity of the individual human being in a highly integrated coordinated, cooperative society.

and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That it calls upon government agencies now studying post war

problems to make available now, and continuously hereafter, reports of its studies for the consideration and critical evaluation of the findings of these studies by each community in terms of community experience; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council take the necessary steps to carry out the provisions of this resolution.

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption Post-War Reconstruction, your committee has considered Resolutions Nos. 119, 124 and 145.

This portion of the Executive Council's report deals with the necessity of planning now for the period which will immediately follow the end of the War in Europe, Asia and Africa. Unless a national program for the Post-War Reconstruction period is established before the end of the war, a chaotic and perhaps disruptive condition will face the people of this country.

In his recent broadcast to the People of Norway, President Green promised that "the American Federation of Labor will aid in bringing just peace and social justice throughout the world at the close of the war."

With this pledge your committee is in hearty approval, for the problem of a reconstructed post-war period is one which cannot be adopted by any individual nation regardless of what may be done by others. It is an international problem and can only be worked out upon an international basis, if true peace is to follow a laying down of arms. While international peace and international reconstruction of relations is essential, it is equally true that the internal reconstruction in each country is equally essential.

No nation will face a graver problem to its institutions, to its industrial and its social life than our own, and for this reason it is essential that the American Federation of Labor should immediately begin to formulate policies and the methods by which they will be applied to meet the fundamental problems which we must face immediately after the European war has ended.

To this end your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to study the problem of Post-War Reconstruction,

and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to request the Congress of the United States to appoint a national committee on Post War Reconstruction, in the membership of which there will be represented experienced men from the field of labor, agriculture, commerce, industry, and the professional groups, chosen or recommended by their respective groups.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the Executive Council's report, and the purpose and substance of Resolutions Nos. 119, 124 and 145.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **PUERTO RICO FREE FEDERATION OF LABOR**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 219)**

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, attention should be called to the fact that it covers collective agreements in the sugar industry. With this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **ALASKA**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 227)**

Under the caption Alaska, the Executive Council reports on activities in Alaska and the assistance given by the American Federation of Labor to trade unionists in that territory. Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **HAWAII**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 227)**

In this section of the Executive Council's report a statement is submitted relative to Government employment in Hawaii, and the welfare of wage earners and members of trade unions in that territory. With this portion of the Execu-

tive Council's report, your committee is in concurrence and recommends its approval by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **JAPANESE WAR ON CHINA**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 199)**

In connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, your committee recommends the reaffirmation of all previous declarations on this subject.

Your committee is in full agreement with that portion of the report which holds that China must be permitted to work out her own destiny, and that her territorial integrity must be respected and maintained.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

In connection with this subject your committee believes that continued sympathetic consideration should be given to the pressing necessities of the gallant people of China who have suffered as greatly as any other nation has suffered in Europe during the present conflict. Every possible voluntary support should be given to the people of China. There exists the American Labor Committee, the appropriate channel through which American trade unionists can contribute to the relief of China's people, and we recommend to the sympathetic attention of every delegate the necessity of contributing to the funds being collected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **BOYCOTT ON GERMAN AND JAPANESE GOODS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 199)**

Under the caption, "Boycott on German and Japanese Goods," in connection with this portion of the Executive Council's report, with which your committee recommends concurrence, your committee believes it advisable that the previous action of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor declaring a boycott on German and Japanese goods should be

continued, and that the convention give its approval to the action of the Federal Government in limiting the commercial activities of Germany and Japan in the Western Hemisphere.

Secretary Frey moved adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Turco, Newsboys' Union: I would like "Italian" to be inserted in that same resolution to make it "boycott on German, Japanese and Italian goods."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: Delegate Turco has made the suggestion that we might consider a boycott on Italian goods. I think the suggestion merits consideration, and therefore I move you that subject be referred to the Executive Council, with authority to act upon it.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

## **PUBLICITY AND THE LABOR PRESS**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 171)**

Your committee is informed that negotiations are in progress with the National Broadcasting Company for the establishment of a regular American Federation of Labor radio program which will be heard over a coast-to-coast chain of stations every two weeks. The N. B. C. has tentatively agreed to make this valuable time available to the American Federation of Labor as a public service and in recognition of the important role organized labor occupies in the nation's life.

Through this medium the American Federation of Labor will be able to present the news and views of labor most effectively to its members and to the public generally. Too often labor news as published in the daily press is colored and distorted to such a degree that the public is kept in ignorance of the facts, while the constructive accomplishments of labor are almost wholly obscured.

Therefore, your committee recommends that, as soon as the details of this new radio program are finally worked out, the widest publicity be given to it so that all

members of the American Federation of Labor and the host of our friends will know when and where to tune in. Your committee also urges the officers of all national, international and local unions to help create interest in these programs. We are confident that the labor and official press will gladly cooperate in this endeavor.

Your committee warmly endorses the recommendation of the Executive Council for the expansion of the publicity and informational facilities of the American Federation of Labor by the establishment of publicity bureaus in conjunction with central labor unions in the larger cities. The increasing public interest in the activities of labor, as well as the need of disseminating labor news more widely, make this step of vital importance.

Your committee commends the fine service rendered by the bona fide labor press during the past year and concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that increased support be given to these loyal publications by the entire labor movement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## **AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 171)**

Your committee feels that it merely echoes the unanimous sentiments of the membership of the American Federation of Labor when it calls attention to the notable progress made in the preparation and publication of the American Federationist.

In format, in contents, in appearance and in prestige, this official publication of the American Federation of Labor ranks foremost in its field. It is readable, interesting, informative and effective. The American Federationist may well serve as a model for other labor publications.

Your committee commends the progressive policy which is being followed in the preparation and publication of the American Federationist and it believes it noteworthy of attention that the new achievements of this publication have been accomplished not by the expendi-

ture of increased sums of money but at a considerable saving in expenses.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The Committee on Resolutions, of its own behalf, desires to bring a statement before the convention.

### Thomas L. Hughes

When your Committee on Resolutions assembled this year, a familiar and beloved associate was absent.

Since the last convention, Brother Thomas L. Hughes, late Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, has passed away.

To your Committee on Resolutions, his absence from the convention this year was accompanied by the most heartfelt regret that we must wait until all of our earthly activities have ceased before we meet him again.

For twenty years Brother Thomas L. Hughes had served as a member of the Committee on Resolutions. To the committee discussions and conclusions, he had contributed the services of a well-balanced and well-informed mind. He understood our trade union movement as it lived and functioned. He was familiar with its principles its policies, and no less, its problems.

He brought to the services of the committee an unbiased mind and a devotion to the welfare of the American trade union movement which gave not only a most helpful influence within the committee's activities, but materially assisted in the preparation of reports to the convention, the prime purpose of which was to avoid the adoption of unsound policies, and strengthening the structure of our trade union movement.

Since Brother Hughes was called to his final reward, tributes to his services and his memory have been offered by many trade union organizations, in addition to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, to which he gave such outstanding service and devotion.

Your Committee on Resolutions desires to add another tribute to the memory of

a man who had become so vital a part of the committee's activities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The Committee on Resolutions submits another resolution:

### Appreciation to Seattle

**Resolution No. 177**—By Committee on Resolutions, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the trade union movement of Seattle and vicinity has been most hospitable in welcoming and entertaining the 61st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There has been extended every courtesy to the convention and the officers of the American Federation of Labor by the press and broadcasting facilities of the city and the nation, and

WHEREAS, The officers, delegates and guests to the 61st Convention have been accorded every possible consideration by the state and city officials, the churches, and representative groups of the city, and

WHEREAS, The pleasure of our stay in Seattle during the sessions of this convention will always be remembered with gratitude and kindness toward the people of this community; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby convey to our fellow trade unionists and other citizens of Seattle and vicinity, and to all who have contributed to our comfort and pleasure during our stay here, our most sincere and hearty thanks for their most generous hospitality and untiring efforts to make this a most successful and enjoyable convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

Secretary Frey: This completes the report of your Committee on Resolutions, which is signed by all the members of the committee.

MATTHEW WOLL,  
Chairman  
JOHN P. FREY, Sec'y  
A. A. MYRUP,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,  
WILLIAM E. MALONEY,  
P. J. MORRIN,  
ISIDORE NAGLER,  
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,  
L. P. LINDELOF,  
R. G. SODERSTROM,  
THOS. H. O'DONNELL

JOHN J. MARA,  
FRED BAER,  
HENRY STRICKLAND,  
M. A. HUTCHESON,  
ARNOLD ZANDER,  
JOHN E. ROONEY,  
JOSEPH P. RYAN,  
FRANK KASTEN,  
J. SCOTT MILNE,  
Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Frey: I now move adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: The Chair, I think, can say for you that the Committee on Resolutions performed a great task, did a fine piece of work and submitted to this convention a fine report. We appreciate it and thank you for the service rendered.

President Green: When the hour of adjournment arrives, the Chair will notify you. We have two more committees, and I will now call upon the Chairman of the Committee on Organization for his report.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Harvey W. Brown, Chairman of the Committee: Your Committee on Organization has reviewed and given careful consideration to all subjects and resolutions referred to this Committee. We have held hearings for the benefit of those who have introduced resolutions. Our report is complete. It will not be as long-winded as the report of the committee which has just completed its work.

Secretary Buzzell will now submit the report.

Secretary Buzzell reported as follows:

The committee reports jointly on Resolutions No. 161 and 48.

#### Marine Trades Department for American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 161**—By Delegate Wendell J. Phillips, Labor Council, San Francisco, California.

WHEREAS, There now exists within the American Federation of Labor several unintegrated marine groups, and

WHEREAS, This lack of co-ordination causes dissatisfaction and defections in the ranks of marine labor, and

WHEREAS, This lack of co-operation among marine groups causes confusion, duplication of effort and ignores the real economic problems of marine workers, and

WHEREAS, Certain rival marine groups are now planning a colossally intensified membership drive which aims at a vertical union to contain all these marine crafts and promises direct action for marine workers so organized, and

WHEREAS, The marine unions within the American Federation of Labor regard this threat to their membership as ominous and imminent to their craft unions and are alarmed at the full implications of so sweeping a marine movement, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of all qualified marine leaders that a similar movement within the American Federation of Labor can forestall the action described above, and

WHEREAS, Most marine units would prefer to keep their autonomy, but appreciate the need for concerted marine action by a combination of all marine crafts acting in unison; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record in favor of establishing a maritime council within the American Federation of Labor similar to the units now functioning for the metal trades, building trades and railroad departments.

#### Marine Trades Department for American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 48**—By Delegate C. F. May, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, There now exists within the American Federation of Labor several unintegrated marine groups, and

WHEREAS, This lack of coordination causes dissatisfaction and defections in the ranks of marine labor, and

WHEREAS, This lack of cooperation among marine groups causes confusion, duplication of effort and ignores the real economic problems of marine workers, and

WHEREAS, Certain rival marine groups are now planning a colossally intensified membership drive which aims at a vertical union to contain all these marine crafts and promises direct action for marine workers so organized, and

WHEREAS, The marine unions within the American Federation of Labor regard this threat to their membership as ominous and imminent to their craft

unions and are alarmed at the full implications of so sweeping a marine movement, and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of all qualified marine leaders that a similar movement within the American Federation of Labor can forestall the action described above, and

WHEREAS, Most marine units would prefer to keep their autonomy but appreciate the need for concerted marine action by a combination of all marine crafts acting in unison; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this organization petition the present Convention of the American Federation of Labor to authorize the Executive Council to set up a marine department in the current year, within the American Federation of Labor, similar to the units now functioning for metal trades and railroad departments; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this unit resemble a maritime council wherein all marine crafts shall be grouped for mutual benefit and unified action; therefore, be it finally

RESOLVED, That the Convention unite and empower all marine unions in the American Federation of Labor to participate in the formation of said Council and jointly participate in the formation of by-laws and rules of procedure, patterned after the departments within the A. F. of L., which have unified the Metal Trades and Railroad crafts.

The committee approves the purpose of both these resolutions and recommends that they be referred to the Presidents of the National and International Unions involved, for conference on the subject and to report to the first meeting of the Executive Council in 1942.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 45, 47, 52, 131 and 163.

## National Council of Office Workers

**Resolution No. 45**—By Delegate Thomas J. Slater, Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Illinois.

WHEREAS, For many years past, office workers' local unions throughout the country have made known to the American Federation of Labor their earnest desire and great need for the active interest and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in organizing the vast army of poorly paid, over-worked and exploited white collar workers, and

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced in the American Federation of Labor Convention at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International

Union of Office Workers, were referred to the Executive Council and upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937, and no further steps have been taken to carry out in full the aims, objects and purposes of the National Council as enunciated at the Denver Conference, namely: to call a conference of office workers' unions' delegates; to elect permanent officers for the Council; to set up regional districts; to establish working rules and regulations; to adopt a uniform union label to be used by all members of office workers' unions; to exchange information and advice on ways and means of organizing office workers on a large scale, and

WHEREAS, It is the sincere belief of the Chicago Federation of Labor, reached by its experience in cooperating with Office Employees Local Union No. 20732 of Chicago, that such a conference should be called by the American Federation of Labor at as early a date as possible, so that representatives of all office workers' local unions may be enabled to select officers for their National Council and instruct said officers to handle the affairs of the Council so that the problems presented by affiliated local unions will receive prompt and careful consideration and attention, and

WHEREAS, In the 1940 convention of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans, Louisiana, the Committee on Organization made the following statement, in its report:

"Your Committee commends the achievement in the field of office workers and wishes to point out that here lies one of the greatest unorganized groups needing unionization and recommends that all possible activity be given by all organizers of the Federation, and particularly do we request the assistance of the Internationals when organizing and negotiating contracts to render all possible assistance to organizing the office employees of all employers."

WHEREAS, It has been the experience of individual local unions of office workers that it is difficult for them to receive recognition, respect and cooperation from International Unions, in organizing campaigns, but they are convinced that if they are part of a strong, functioning National Council of Office Workers, they will enjoy the prestige, cohesion and strength of a large federated group, which will be of material aid to them in carrying on organizational campaigns in all parts of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention at Seattle, Washington, instruct its officers to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution with as little delay as possible.



### International Union for Office Workers

**Resolution No. 47**—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning National Federation of Office Workers Local Union, and

WHEREAS, All Organizational work among office workers at the present time must of necessity be carried on by the local unions which cannot afford to conduct effective organizational campaigns, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that a functioning National Council or International Union is a prerequisite to the formation of effective organizational activity among the unorganized office workers and to the establishment of uniform wages and employment standards for office workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Seattle, Washington, request its officers to give due consideration to this matter and take such action as is necessary to carry out the intent of this resolution.

### International Union of Office Employees

**Resolution No. 52**—By Delegate R. A. Olson, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Resolutions were introduced at the Tampa Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1936 proposing the formation of an International Union of Office Workers which was referred to the Executive Council and upon recommendation of the Executive Council a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver in 1937, and

WHEREAS, It is now felt by the formation of an International Union of Office Workers greater organizational work could be carried on among all the office employees, with a resultant establishment of uniform wages and employment standards for office workers that would redound to the credit of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 1941 Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Seattle instruct the Executive Council to give consideration to the formation of an International Union of Office Workers.

### International Union for Office Workers

**Resolution No. 131**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its effort to organize workers of America is in the habit of forming local unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor when it has an opportunity to organize men and women who may be employed at trades for which no International Union exists, and

WHEREAS, Many of the International Unions now in the American Federation of Labor have been organized by bringing together a number of such Federal unions in given crafts or callings, and the formation of such an International seemed to be advisable as the more practical way to handle the affairs of these combined local unions, and

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its representatives, with the cooperation of city Central bodies and State Federations of Labor, a large number of Office Employees' Unions have been formed throughout the country, all of which are now operating under separate Federal Union charters, and

WHEREAS, The affairs of these organizations have now grown to a proportion that warrants the belief that they could work better if they were all together in an International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Seattle, Washington, that it go on record in favor of the formation of such an International Union of Office Employees, and petition the American Federation of Labor to grant a charter to such an International Union and to give it such guidance and help as it may need from the Federation to get successfully started.

### International Union for Office Workers

**Resolution No. 163**—By Central Labor Council, Alameda County, California.

WHEREAS, Resolutions introduced at the American Federation of Labor convention held at Tampa, Florida, in 1936, proposing the formation of an Interna-

tional Union of Office Workers were referred to the Executive Council; and upon recommendation of the Executive Council, a nucleus of a National Council of Office Workers was formed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Denver, Colorado, in 1937; and no further steps have been taken to establish a functioning International Union of Office Workers, and

WHEREAS, The formation of an International Union would facilitate the development of an organizational program; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Seattle, Washington, in 1941, request its officers to take the necessary steps for the creation of a functioning International Union of Office Workers.

These five resolutions are upon the general subject matter of a "National Organization for Office Workers."

Your Committee concurs in the intent and purpose contained in all these resolutions, and recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for further consideration and investigation, so that the question of jurisdiction, maintenance and support, etc., may be established before a National or International Union charter is granted to office workers.

The Committee further recommends that this be done by the Executive Council at the earliest possible opportunity.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Organizing Campaign for Southern California

**Resolution No. 160**—By Delegate F. T. Baldwin, San Fernando Valley Central Labor Council, California.

WHEREAS, The Labor Movement in Los Angeles County is passing through a very critical stage due to the tremendous influx of unorganized workers from all parts of the country, who because of their economic status and lack of knowledge of union principles, undermine the efforts of local organizers to bring many industries into contractual relations with local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The various unions involved are unable financially to cope with the situation and need the assistance of additional experienced organizers to offset the anti-labor activities of the Merchants & Manufacturers, Asso-

ciated Farmers, Women of the Pacific, and other anti-labor forces, and

WHEREAS, The dual organization, commonly known as the C. I. O., is at the present time conducting a vigorous organizational campaign, not only to organize the unorganized workers, but also to make inroads into and disrupt our own organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor empower the President and the Executive Council of their honorable body to assign a sufficient number of experienced organizers to the Southern California area to adequately insure the complete organization of the workers in this district, and a sufficient amount of money be expended to guarantee success in bringing these organized workers into the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

The Committee approves the efforts put forth by the Central Labor Councils in Southern California to complete the organization of that district, and recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for such attention and assistance as he may be able to render.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Organizing Campaign for Vermont

**Resolution No. 51**—By Vermont State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Thousands of Vermont workers still remain unorganized and suffering from long hours, low wages and poor working conditions, and

WHEREAS, It is not only in their interest but also for protection of organized labor's standards that they should be organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor extend moral and material support to the initiation of an organizing campaign by the Vermont State Federation of Labor.

The Committee approves the effort of the Vermont State Federation of Labor to organize the workers of that State, and recommends that the resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for any assistance which it may be possible for him to render.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Johns-Manville Employees Organizing Campaign

**Resolution No. 53**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union 19508, of Waukegan, Illinois, is now negotiating with the Waukegan Plant of the Johns-Manville Corporation for the purpose of securing a new contract, such contract to include Union Shop provisions, and

WHEREAS, Contracts in the Waukegan, Illinois; Manville, N. J.; Watson, Calif.; Pittsburg, Calif.; Redwood City, Calif.; Los Angeles, Calif., and Lompoc, Calif., all expire at virtually the same time; and

WHEREAS, The Johns-Manville Products Corporation is a large manufacturer of building material, 90 per cent of which is consumed through the hands of A. F. of L. tradesmen, with factories in the following localities: Nashau, N. H.; Manville, N. J.; Jarret, Va.; Marroero, La.; Alexandria and Richmond, Ind.; Waukegan, Ill.; Pittsburg, Redwood City, Watson, Los Angeles, and Lompoc, Calif.; also mines at Lompoc, Calif.; Chisotyl, Ariz., and a mine and factory at Asbestos, Quebec, employing approximately 18,000 workers, and

WHEREAS, A similar resolution was adopted in the convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor of 1940 at Rockford, approving aid to the Waukegan local and urging the American Federation of Labor in convention at New Orleans to create a nation-wide drive to organize the various plants and mines of Johns-Manville where it was also approved and passed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor assist these locals in the Johns-Manville Company plants in these states to secure Union Shop agreements and to create a nation-wide drive to bring all Johns-Manville plants into the fold of the American Federation of Labor and eventually the Union Label on all J. M. products.

The Committee approves the subject matter of this resolution and recommends that it be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor to do whatever may be possible to do, so that all the workers of the Johns-Manville Corporation may become thoroughly organized into the appropriate unions of their respective crafts.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 46 and 49, as follows:

### Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska

**Resolution No. 46**—By Ketchikan Central Labor Council, Ketchikan, Alaska.

WHEREAS, The establishment of a Territorial Federation of Labor to act in behalf of and for all the American Federation of Labor affiliated unions in the Territory of Alaska would facilitate the progress of the labor movement in this vicinity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as approving the establishment of a Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska; and further urges that the proposed Territorial Federation of Labor be officered by and with persons resident in Alaska and familiar with the peculiar conditions and problems associated with trade union organization and local unions and their members.

### Territorial Federation of Labor for Alaska

**Resolution No. 49**—By Delegate Frank Chinella, Central Labor Council, Juneau, Alaska.

WHEREAS, Alaska, a territory of 586,400 square miles in area, is fast growing in population, and

WHEREAS, Alaska's population has increased in number as much as one-third of its 1940 population in the year of 1941, and all indications are that the increase is made up of the wage earners of various skilled and unskilled craft and laboring groups, and

WHEREAS, Alaska is extremely union minded, and has shown this by the gains its labor has made in the years past without the help or benefit of a Territorial co-ordinating body, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor in Alaska is in much need of favorable legislation and coordination of its actions for the protection of its laboring groups and members, and this can best be brought about by a Territorial Federation of Labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The extreme difficulty for traffic from town to town in Alaska has greatly handicapped the organization of Alaska and of any organizational pro-

gram to the disadvantage of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, Because of these conditions Labor Unions have been uninformed of the working conditions and matters of interest to organized labor in all parts of Alaska thus greatly hindering the organization of Alaska's workers, and

WHEREAS, Because of this many undesirable elements have constantly attacked labor and at critical times have been able to disrupt, disorganize and at various times do much harm to labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Juneau Central Labor Council in accord with the Central Labor Councils of Ketchikan, Anchorage, Sitka and Kodiak do wholeheartedly indorse and support the organization of the Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor, to be affiliated with the time honored American Labor Movement, the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International, National and all affiliated Unions of the American Federation of Labor held in convention assembled at Seattle, Washington, in October, 1941, do hereby give our support to the organization of an Alaska Territorial Federation of Labor to include all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such Federation be seated in the Capital city of Alaska, so that it may better carry on the functions of its office at the seat of the Territorial Government.

Secretary Buzzell: Before reporting on these resolutions, Mr. Chairman, I want to state that delegates representing two labor councils who had no resolutions in, both of them from Alaska, stated the Central Labor Councils had adopted similar resolutions as the two referred to here.

After hearing delegates representing various organizations in the territory of Alaska, your Committee recommends approval of the purpose of these resolutions, and further recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with the suggestion that the Executive Council take the necessary steps to put them into effect.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 54 and 50.

## Organizing Assistance to National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

**Resolution No. 54**—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, of which body the Illinois Federation is a constituent, when chartered by the American Federation of Labor was granted jurisdiction over all rural letter carriers employed by the Post Office Department, and this organization during its existence has carried on an active campaign of organization among the unorganized rural carriers with the result fair headway has been made in that work, and

WHEREAS, There has been in existence for some years a dual organization of rural carriers not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it is now called to the attention of the Illinois Federation of Rural Letter Carriers that many of the members of this dual organization are now showing a receptive attitude in regard to accepting membership in the Illinois Federation of Rural Carriers, but due to the magnitude of the job to contact these unorganized rural carriers as well as members of the dual union, we are requesting the assistance of all organized labor affiliated with the National and Illinois Federation of Rural Carriers in their campaign to organize the unaffiliated rural letter carriers into our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and executive council of the American Federation of Labor and salaried organizers of the American Federation of Labor, be requested immediately to assist in the work of organizing the unorganized and/or unaffiliated rural letter carriers in their respective territories in cooperation with the National and Illinois Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

## Organizing Assistance to National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers

**Resolution No. 50**—By Delegate Julius V. Madison, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers when chartered by the American Federation of Labor was granted jurisdiction over all Rural Letter Carriers employed by the Post Office Department and this organization during its years of existence has carried on an active campaign of organization among the unorganized Rural Letter Carriers with the result very fair headway has been made in that work, and

WHEREAS, There has been in existence for some years a dual organization of Rural Letter Carriers not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it is now called to the attention of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers that many of the members of this dual union are now showing a receptive attitude in regards to accepting memberships in the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; but due to the magnitude of the job to contact these unorganized Rural Letter Carriers as well as the members of the dual organization, we are requesting the assistance of all organized labor affiliated with the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in their campaign to organize the unaffiliated Rural Letter Carriers in the United States into our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled at this convention, that the officers and executive council of the American Federation of Labor as well as all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, Volunteer Organizers, and salaried Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, be requested immediately to assist in the work of organizing the unorganized and/or unaffiliated Rural Letter Carriers in their respective territories.

The Committee recommends concurrence in the subject matter of these resolutions. The Committee recommends that they be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with the suggestion that he circularize Central Labor Councils, and State Federations of Labor, as well as the American Federation of Labor Organizers, asking cooperation to accomplish the purpose of both of them.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Assistance for the American Federation of Labor Unions at Detroit**

**Resolution No. 162**—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan.

WHEREAS, In the last five years the American Federation of Labor Unions in Detroit and vicinity have made great progress in building new unions and strengthening those already in existence, and

WHEREAS, A supreme effort is now being made by the proponents of dual unionism to invade the established and recognized American Federation of Labor Unions in Detroit and vicinity

with their raiding tactics and "sweetheart agreements," and

WHEREAS, The head of the dual movement has announced that Detroit is to be made the battleground for invasion of the Teamsters' Union and the building trades unions, and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the dual unionists to invade the American Federation of Labor Unions on the Detroit municipally-owned street railway system and the hotel and restaurant workers unions have been successfully resisted by the united opposition of the American Federation of Labor unions in the City of Detroit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge its support to the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor and its affiliated Local Unions in resisting the attacks of dual unionists on the American Federation of Labor, Local Unions at Detroit and the executive officers of this Federation be authorized to examine closely into the situation as it exists at Detroit and vicinity and to render every aid possible to the American Federation of Labor movement in that city in resisting this threatened invasion of the Teamsters and Chauffeurs Movement, the Building Trades Council Movement, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Movement and other organizations now confronted with the threat of dual unionism in that city.

The Committee believes that this resolution presents one of the most important problems now facing the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor, and while the resolution calls attention to the situation that exists in Detroit, we are mindful of the fact that it exists in other cities also.

Your Committee feels called upon to mention the fact in passing, however, that the work of meeting the invasion of the dual organization is made much more complicated by the inclination of a number of organizations in the American Federation of Labor to fail to respect the jurisdiction of others. The Committee believes that this is especially disastrous in campaigns to organize large groups of men and women workers who have never before been organized, and in recommending concurrence in the resolution, the Committee would especially call attention to this matter.

The Committee further recommends that the resolution itself be referred to

the President of the American Federation of Labor with the suggestion that a survey be made for the purpose of determining in what cities the situation presented by the resolution is most acute, and all possible energy be directed to those cities, and that the local Labor Movement therein be definitely called upon to assist in this work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Autonomous Cannery and Preserve Workers Council**

**Resolution No. 132**—By Delegate C. T. Lehmann, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the second largest industry in the state of California is the canning and processing of fruits and vegetables, in which industry there are employed at the present time upwards of 70,000 duly affiliated American Federation of Labor unionists, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor established in the year 1937 many federal chartered locals whose main purpose was the organization of this all-important industry, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council, consisting of federal chartered unions located in the state of California, was primarily instrumental in obtaining extensive collective bargaining advancements, in fact so much so that at the present time the standard of wages, hours, and working conditions in the fruit canning industry of the state of California is the highest paid in the United States, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council which now bears the name of the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers has during the past A. F. of L. convention year instituted many advantages and benefits for those unionists engaged in the canning industry, more particularly by a collective bargaining agreement involving increased wages, shorter hours and better labor conditions (said collective bargaining agreement attached hereto) and has established a central office in the city of Hayward, California, for the express purpose of clearing all matters as may properly relate to those persons rendering them valuable assistance to the end that many thousands of dollars have accrued to the benefit of those unionists engaged in the canning industry, both by the adjustment of wages and wage rates for piece work, and

WHEREAS, There was paid to the Cannery Workers Council by those who were affiliated with it one cent per capita tax per member per month, that by reason of the increased activity of the Cannery Workers Council which entailed considerable additional expense and expressly for the purpose that greater valuable assistance could be rendered to those affiliated with the Cannery Workers Council, the members affiliated with the Cannery Workers Council did by referendum vote increase in their per capita tax in the sum of ten cents, thus making eleven cents per capita per member, payable to the Council, and

WHEREAS, The Cannery Workers Council contemplating placing an auditor in the field so that said auditor may audit the books of the employer to the end that those unionists engaged in the canning industry shall not be deprived of their just earnings, and

WHEREAS, It is contemplated by the Cannery Workers Council the placing of paid organizers to assist small locals who because of strained finances cannot afford an organizer, for the purpose of organizing the unorganized, and

WHEREAS, It is the intent of the Cannery Workers Council to extend its scope of organizational activity so it can give beneficial aid and valuable assistance to those federal chartered unions located in the states of Washington and Oregon, and

WHEREAS, During the past four years the federated chartered locals have paid per capita to the American Federation of Labor in the sum of upwards of \$300,000, and

WHEREAS, Request was made for recognition as a National Council at the New Orleans convention, by appropriate resolution, which resolution was concurred in by the Committee on Organization, however, referring the same to the Executive Council with request that they act immediately to facilitate the setting up of a National Council as requested by said resolution, and

WHEREAS, The best interests of the American Federation of Labor and those members affiliated with it will be served by immediate action by the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Sixty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the City of Seattle, Washington, hereby adopt the following organizational setup for fruit and vegetable cannery workers and preserve workers;

1. That an autonomous Cannery Workers and Preserve Workers Council be established and that all federated chartered locals in these classifications be required to become part of such Council.



2. That such workers be charged with the responsibility of managing their own organization, subject to supervision by a representative of the American Federation of Labor only to the degree that the American Federation of Labor will be kept informed of the progress of such unions and put in a better position to assist when necessary.

3. That a definite and proper proportion of the per capita tax paid by those unions affiliated with the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers at a sum not less than that now paid as per capita to the Cannery Workers Council, by the members thereof, namely eleven cents, is to be allocated by the American Federation of Labor for the express purpose of and benefit of disbursement of such activities as may benefit the National Council of Cannery and Process Workers; further, that said sum be distributed through its representatives out of the western office of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention recommend and urge the adoption of the recommendations contained in the above resolution so that the same may redound to the benefits of those affiliated with organized labor.

Your Committee approves the purpose of this resolution, and in addition to the statements contained in it, would call attention to the fact that there are many peculiar circumstances surrounding operation of cannery and preserve workers' unions that do not apply to most other trades due to the seasonal type of work.

It seems to be necessary to form a more closer knit organization among the already organized unions in this type of work through and by which, rules regulating transfers of membership, the collection of dues, and the establishment of a financial system to take the organization over the slack periods so as to prevent the necessity of a complete reorganization campaign each year, which your Committee feels can only be obtained by an autonomous organization. We therefore recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of putting a plan into operation, as outlined in the resolution, within the coming year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report,  
Pages 51-53)

Your Committee wishes to commend and to congratulate the Executive Council on the splendid progress that has been made during the past year which indicates a progressively greater growth of the American Federation of Labor year after year. We call attention to the progress in Panama, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska and Canada, places where organization has not been as extensive as it should have been, especially among workers in groups other than those covered by already established International Unions.

Your Committee desires also to call attention to the splendid work that has been done by the organizing staff of the Federation, out in the field generally, not only for its efforts, but for its accomplishments.

The Executive Council, in one subject of its report on organization, calls attention to the organizing campaigns that have been carried on through various Central Labor Unions, State Federations of Labor, and American Federation of Labor Organizers with the aid and cooperation of representatives of National and International Unions. We believe that this is one of the most important forms of organizing work of the Federation, and we urge greater stress upon it.

It is realized of course, that each of the National and International Unions have problems of their own in every city of the country to which their representatives must direct their first attention, but at the same time, these representatives of National and International Unions could, by more constant contact with local Central Bodies and organizing committees, very materially add to the strength of organizing campaigns and such representatives should be encouraged by National and International Unions not only to attend local organizing conferences, but to give to them all the time they can without neglecting the interests of their own National or International Unions.



Central Labor Unions should be constantly urged to greater efforts and to continuously take the lead in such work, and as new unions are formed to undertake the responsibility to act as business agents for them while they are in their early stages and learning how to handle their own business, in the absence of representatives of National and International Unions.

The progress that is indicated in the report of the Executive Council under the captions, Chemical Workers, American Editorial Association, Agriculture, Cannery and Citrus Workers, Aluminum Workers, Distillery Workers, Grain Processors, Fabricated Metal Workers, Office Workers, Rubber Workers, Textile Workers, Telegraph Workers, Railway Patrolmen, and the several fields covered by the caption, "Miscellaneous Unions" is highly gratifying.

The progress in these fields during the year is reflected in the report of the Executive Council wherein it is pointed out that the American Federation of Labor has organized and issued charters to 400 directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions, all but 22 of which are still active and properly functioning. Your Committee directs attention to that portion of the report which indicates that the American Federation of Labor's efforts have directly resulted in the organization of 242 local unions for the various National and International Unions, and in addition thereto has transferred to the appropriate National and International Unions 147 locals. This fact in itself, we think, justifies the assumption that the organization work in the field can be and is, being done to a splendid degree by the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor, the City Central Labor Unions, and State Federations of Labor, and should be encouraged.

Your Committee feels that the subject of the Executive Council's report under the caption, "American Editorial Association," is one of much more than passing note. Work in this field has more for an objective than the organization of unorganized workers, or the bringing back to the bona fide Labor Movement those who have left it. It has

never been the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to attempt to influence its membership in their professional or trade capacities, but your Committee believes that it should be apparent to everyone that the organization of newspaper reporters and writers affiliated with the C.I.O. does influence the professional work of many of its members. It is apparent that in some places a public opinion adverse to the American Federation of Labor has been created by the manner in which labor news has been treated by C.I.O. newspaper writers, and there is also reason to believe that in many instances some newspaper writers are guided not only by the C.I.O., but by the Communist Party.

This, in the judgment of your Committee, presents a menace and a threat to an unbiased and free press of the country, which can only be removed by a complete organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor of all of those who are employed in this type of work.

We are glad to note the progress that has been made in the Aluminum industry. This industry has assumed great proportions since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor because of its importance in the National Defense program. New and greater developments are being made in the use of aluminum and its alloys, which we believe, warrants greater effort not only among aluminum production workers but upon the part of the various metal trades international unions whose jurisdictions cover many operations in the aluminum manufacturing business.

The Committee is also pleased with the progress being made among the Textile Workers, which indicates that this great industry can be organized, and we urge continued effort in this field.

We have commented upon the advisability and wisdom of a more constant contact with the problems of general organization work by representatives of National and International Union. The report of the Executive Council indicates splendid progress in the field of Fabricated Metal Workers, and in regard to

this subject, we would commend again our thought of cooperation in this field, where obviously the organizing work must be continued, but many of the problems as to jurisdiction which hinder progress could be obviated by closer association between general organizers and those of the various National and International Unions.

It is good to note in the report of the Executive Council that hundreds of agreements have been made between new unions and the employers of their members that have brought about the establishment of vacations with pay, wage increases, and other improvements, some of which have long been dreamed of but never before realized, and we believe that organizers should carry on additional campaigns of education among unions to make more universal the system of vacation with pay.

A year ago this Committee called attention to the advancements of the preceding year that were the finest and most substantial of any during the preceding decade, and that they were the direct result of the Executive Council's decision to create an organizing department, charged with full responsibility in this field, under the direction of President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany, and Director of Organization Frank Fenton. The growth of the American Federation of Labor during the year just ended is further substantial proof of the wisdom of the Executive Council in this matter.

The task of educating the American public to a better understanding of the objectives and the workings of the American Federation of Labor is being better accomplished by the more systematic form of organization work than was ever done before and, it should be more and more the responsibility of the organizing staff to carry on, and direct, this public educational work, to enlighten the public as to the rights and the needs of those who do the necessary work for society, and to point out the accomplishments that have come from the work of the American Federation of Labor.

More and more emphasis should be given to the story that can be told of the thousands upon thousands

of families, throughout America, whose standard of life has been raised, whose hopes and ambitions are being realized because of the splendid work of the American Federation of Labor.

The story should be told again and again how the American Federation of Labor has brought to the present generations a better life and, of the feeling of security that has come to the homes of the American Workers because of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee would call attention to another very important matter. While it is gratifying to read the splendid reports of the work that has been done and, to realize that the accomplishments of organization are multiplying each year, the task of securing membership and extending organization is only a part of the job. Keeping it after it has been secured is an equally important and difficult task.

We would recommend to the organizing department of the American Federation of Labor the thought that early planning should be done to anticipate, what seems to your Committee, to be inevitable mass unemployment immediately after the close of the present World War, and the Defense Program now underway in this country.

It seems to us that it is easy to anticipate a stagnation of business when practically all of American industry suddenly ceases the operations it has been engaged in, and attempts to resume its normal activities. Under those circumstances, the results of our systematic organization and the standards of wages and working conditions which have and will be accomplished, will be hard to maintain in the face of general unemployment among the workers throughout the country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Buzzell, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Organization, signed by all the members of the committee.

HARVEY W. BROWN, Chairman,  
J. W. BUZZELL, Secretary,  
FRANK DUFFY,  
H. G. BROWN,  
JOHN P. BURKE,  
FRANK GILLMORE,  
PATRICK H. REAGAN,

JESS FLETCHER,  
VINCENT CASTRONOVA,  
WM. J. RIEHL,  
JAMES BOVE,  
CHARLES F. MAY,  
JOHN B. PREWITT,  
EARL W. JIMERSON,  
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,  
JOSEPH SCHMIDT,  
J. BELTON WARREN,  
T. J. FINNERAN,  
FRANK SMITH,  
SAM J. BYERS,  
LESTER WASHBURN,

Committee on Organization.

Delegate Buzzell moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Ketner, Federal Labor Union 1887: In reference to the report of the Committee on Organization, two years ago at Cincinnati I earnestly requested that you, Mr. Chairman, and the Executive Council give serious consideration to sending organizers into the steel mills and the steel towns of the country. That has not been done.

The elections in Bethlehem Steel by the National Labor Relations Board have been for the C.I.O. or no union. That is not right. You are quite aware of the pressure we have had on us this last summer. It is for no other reason than to get the organizers to put us on the offensive, instead of being on the defensive, which we have been.

Today there are between 700,000 and 800,000 steel workers in the United States. In the last couple of days you have seen pictures in the papers from Gary, Indiana, of this dues-collecting drive of the C.I.O. That is only a secondary matter. Their primary purpose is to close the place up as a closed shop, and if they do that they will run right through the country, and before you know it you will be shut out completely.

President Green: I appreciate your remarks and I know how sincere you are. The whole problem has been one of difficulty in that particular field. Where the opportunity seemed to present itself we have endeavored to get in, and of course we know that all of them in this particular field are facing some very trying days ahead and some very great difficulties.

I want this convention to know that this delegate represents one of the finest steel workers' organizations in the country. It is a great credit to the American Federation of Labor, and whenever opportunity has presented itself I have paid a proper tribute to the delegates and those associated with them for the fine work they have done.

Now may I ask to say something about the award made by the Navy Department. Will you tell us just what that is?

Delegate Ketner: Those men who have been in the Navy would be more familiar with it. The highest award that you can get in the Navy is a Congressional medal of honor, that is, singly, but for a group the highest award is the coveted Navy "E." Any ship on the line that carries the "E" on its mast, that means, "efficiency, excellency." The red "E" on the stack is efficiency in engineering and on the planes, the plane that carries the "E" has been efficient in that particular type of work.

This year the Navy Department has chosen 14 concerns in the country to award the Navy "E" for efficiency in getting their contracts out on time or ahead of time. My particular concern makes guns, arms, turrets and sundry things for the Navy Department, and on August 9th of this year Admiral W. H. P. Blandy, of the Ordnance Department, came to our plant and presented our concern with the Navy "E." Under the ensign we fly Dahlgren cross guns of the Ordnance Department, and under that flag we fly the Navy "E," and each member was presented a button. A telegram was read from the Secretary of the Navy on a job well done.

I might also add, Mr. President, that we are the only steel company in America that flies the Navy "E."

President Green: I assumed that would be of deep interest to the delegates, because it thrilled me very much when the delegate explained it to me. He represents the American Federation of Steel Workers at the Midvale Steel Company's Plant at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and we are proud of them.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee as a whole was carried.

President Green: I thank the committee for the fine service which it has rendered.

### **REPORT ON RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED BY LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany to report for the Executive Council on resolutions presented by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Secretary Meany submitted the following report:

The Executive Council, having considered resolutions presented to it by Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, submits the following as a record of its disposition of such resolutions as is required by constitutional provision.

Resolutions received from the following unions deal with the question of establishing an international union for office workers:

Office Employees Union No. 21320, San Francisco, California.  
 Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 20360, Tacoma, Washington.  
 Office Workers Union No. 20744, Alameda County, Oakland, California.  
 Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 16456, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.  
 Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 21142, Rochester, New York.  
 Office Workers Union No. 20913, Salt Lake City, Utah.  
 Office Employees Union No. 22337, Cleveland, Ohio.  
 Office Employees' Union No. 22501, Sheffield, Alabama.  
 Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants Union No. 14491, Denver, Colorado.  
 Office Employees Union No. 19403, Birmingham, Alabama.  
 Office Workers Union No. 17661, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Resolutions Nos. 45, 47, 52, 131, 163 which deal with this subject matter were considered by the Committee on Organization and by action of this Convention were referred to the Executive

Council for further consideration. The resolutions listed above, will be considered by the Executive Council in connection with the convention action taken on Resolutions Nos. 45, 47, 52, 131 and 163 as a result of the recommendation of the Committee on Organization.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin. Requesting constitutional amendment changing the method of voting in Central Labor Unions. Disapproved.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wisconsin. Dealing with the priority problem in national defense as it pertains to the furniture and bedding industry. Referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with the recommendation that it be brought to the attention of the National Defense Committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor to deal with priority problems.

Aluminum Workers Union No. 22442, Vancouver, Washington. Requesting establishment of an international union in the aluminum field. This resolution will be given further consideration by the Executive Council.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 22473, Sunnyvale, California. Endorsing President Roosevelt's policy of all-out aid to Great Britain and Russia and all other countries fighting Hitlerism and pledging full support to the national defense program; also full support of a complete embargo of materials and supplies destined for Japan. This resolution was approved.

Vice-President Woll moved the adoption of the report as read.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Woll for the report of the last convention committee, the Committee on International Labor Relations.

### **REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS**

Vice-President Woll: First of all, may I express extreme regret that the

Chairman of our Committee, Thomas Burke, is unable to be with us on this occasion to direct the presentation of this report. As may be known to some of you, Chairman Burke is very ill and he is lying between life and death at the hospital here. Let all of us who have faith in prayer pray that he may have a speedy recovery. We regret exceedingly that he is unable to be with us to present this report.

The committee reports as follows:

### **Assistance in Organizing and Legislative Activities of Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen**

**Resolution No. 168**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Fifty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Tampa, Florida, November 16 to 27, 1936, unanimously adopted the following resolutions as submitted and recommended by the Committee on State Organizations:

"We have noted that considerable progress has been made in securing social and labor legislation in the Island of Puerto Rico and we desire to commend the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico for the splendid work they have done and recommend that the Executive Council continue to render assistance to them.

"We note with interest what the Free Federation of Workingmen has to say about the move to give to Puerto Rico the status of an independent nation and the apprehension of the Puerto Rican workers as to their position if such independence is granted at this time.

"We would therefore recommend that the Executive Council watch the move in Congress instituted by Senator Millard Tydings to provide for a plebiscite for the independence of the Island, and that until such time as there is every guarantee that any independent government set up in Puerto Rico will fully protect the rights of the Puerto Rican workers to organize and bargain collectively and to provide for the Puerto Rican people a truly democratic form of government, that such move for independence be resisted by the American Federation of Labor."

WHEREAS, The attitude of Puerto Rican Labor at the present is exactly the same as it was during the last forty-three (43) years of struggle for better conditions, and toward the free institutions of the United States of America which have made possible for the workers to secure the necessary guarantees to exert their rights as free citizens; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby ratifies its solemn pledge as contained in the above quoted resolutions to continue to render all possible moral and financial assistance to the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico in their efforts to establish an adequate standard of living for all the workers, and will continue to see to it that a proper form of permanent Government is established in this Island in harmony with the dignity of both the people of Puerto Rico and the people of the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to take all legal and practical steps deemed to be necessary to achieve these ends.

The American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly supports the efforts of organized labor of Puerto Rico to establish adequate living standards. Your Committee concurs in the proposal as set forth in the above resolution to continue such moral and financial assistance to the Labor Movement of Puerto Rico to aid them in their effort in a manner which conforms with the dignity of the people of Puerto Rico and the United States.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

President Green: The Chair wishes to explain that this resolution was referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations by mistake. It should have gone to the Resolutions Committee or the Committee on Organization. Puerto Rico is considered really as a part of our own great country and could not be included in the question of international relationships.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

### Pan American Federation of Labor

**Resolution No. 170**—By Delegate P. Rivera Martinez, Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, Under date of August 29 of this year, Third Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor addressed a communication in Spanish to the State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico advising that the American Federation of Labor has always the deepest interest in the social and economic welfare of the workers of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, and that at the last Convention the Executive Council of our Federation brought to the attention of the Delegates the abnormal situation prevailing the world over, and

WHEREAS, We were also advised that there exists the urgent necessity of establishing closer relations with all the labor organizations of the different countries of the Western Hemisphere, there being also most urgent to add all the strength and experience of the rank and file so as to contribute more effectively to guide through the proper channels all these events in harmony with our common democratic ideals, and

WHEREAS, We were further advised that the American Federation of Labor has the most ardent desire and is ready to tackle all the problems affecting the labor people of our Americas, acting jointly with all the other genuine and bona fide labor organizations of the American Continent, to be able to study the social and economic matters concerning us, since the welfare of the workers in any of our American countries depends entirely on the workers of the countries of this hemisphere, having arrived to the conclusion that it would be immensely useful and beneficial for all of us if we could meet to realize our common problems and try our best efforts to solve them in a spirit of harmony and practical solutions, and

WHEREAS, By this communication of Vice-President Matthew Woll we are invited to submit suggestions and to offer cooperation for the execution of the plan, and

WHEREAS, the Free Federation of the Workmen of Puerto Rico, as one of the founders of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been always willing and ready to cooperate to make effective the program and plans of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, an institution which was so useful to all the Latin American countries in general during the first decade of its existence, and during all the time that our late President Iglesias served as the

first Spanish Secretary of such institution; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That in view of the geographical position of Puerto Rico between the Americas, its bilingual education and knowledge of the customs, habits and traditions of all the people of Spanish speaking Republics, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to study and determine, in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, on the advisability and possibility of establishing a Branch Office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico through proper arrangements with the Puerto Rico State Federation of Labor, this office to be devoted, among other things, to the diffusion among the Latin American Republics in the Spanish language of the principles and program of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; translation into Spanish of all the material of propaganda in use; of all circulars, correspondence and literature as published by the "Weekly News Service" of the American Federation of Labor, the "American Federationist," or any other literature or material authorized by the Executive Council; and, if funds would permit, the publication of a Spanish magazine to be distributed among the Latin American Labor Unions and other agencies, to bring them duly acquainted with our movement; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this Government heartily adhere to the principles, program and plans as outlined, explained and advocated by Vice-President Woll and pledges its undivided support to bring to a prompt realization the program which represents the hopes and logical aspirations of all the organized labor movements of the Nations of our Hemisphere for the mutual defense and adequate protection of the interests which are common to all the working classes of these Americas; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby empowered and directed to take all practical steps that might be deemed necessary to revive the activities of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, to achieve the ends as provided in this resolution, and to bring to a successful end the purpose of strengthening the ties and fraternal relations that should unite and keep united the organized labor movements of our Americas.

The proposal that a Branch Office of the Pan-American Federation of Labor be established in Puerto Rico in cooperation with the State Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico is a suggestion



worthy of consideration and for reasons noted in the resolution.

Your Committee recommends, therefore, that the Executive Council as it gives consideration to the plans for the re-establishment of the Pan-American Federation of Labor inquire into the validity of the proposal for the establishment of a Branch Office in connection with the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico. With this understanding, the Committee approves this resolution in principle and refers the application of its several proposals to the Executive Council for consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### **Standing Committee on International Relations**

**Resolution No. 169** — By Delegates George S. Counts, Irvin R. Kuenzli, Ira S. Turley, Selma M. Borchardt, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is vitally concerned with the many aspects of the gigantic conflict on the outcome of which rests the freedom of mankind, and

WHEREAS, The membership of the American Federation of Labor wishes to be kept continuously informed on labor's participation therein; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled asks that because of this emergency the chairman and the secretary of the convention Committee on International Relations in cooperation with the President of the American Federation of Labor serve as a standing committee during the ensuing year and present to our membership continuously factual data and questions for consideration; and in every way possible devise means to give practical expression to the Federation's ideals of truly social cooperation among the peoples of the earth.

The Committee on International Relations was established by the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in 1914. This Committee has year after year helped to formulate the policy of this Federation in connection with International Relations. The pro-

posal set forth in this resolution is that the convention chairman and secretary of this Committee serve as a Standing Committee of the Federation during the ensuing year. Such action in effect would give continuity between conventions to the work started by the Committee at its convention. There is today an urgent need that our membership be continuously and accurately informed on events and trends of events throughout the world.

The need at this time of a Standing Committee on International Relations and of its sending out accurate information dealing with the world events as they affect us is apparent, and a recommendation that such a committee as is suggested in the resolution be established merits our support.

Your Committee, therefore, concurs in the recommendation as set forth in the resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

### **INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION**

**(Executive Council's Report, Page 213)**

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor the working center of the International Labor Organization has been moved from Geneva, Switzerland, to McGill University at Montreal, Canada. The move took place when it became apparent that any agency of international cooperation would find it increasingly difficult to function in Europe under the constant and growing threat of totalitarianism. This movement of the staff was facilitated through the good offices of President Green and after consultation with the President of the United States and the Secretary of State.

Four months later John G. Winant, Director of the International Labor Organization since 1938, resigned to accept appointment as United States Ambassador to Great Britain. Edward J. Phelan was thereupon elected acting director.

Those of us who have the good of the I. L. O. at heart were gratified that Mr.



Phelan was ready and willing at that time to undertake the difficult task of carrying on the work in the interim. Mr. Phelan was peculiarly fitted by training and experience to perform this work. He is the only man active in the conduct of the organization today who has actually lived through the complete history of the organization from its inception. In the days of the founding of the I. L. O., it was Edward T. Phelan who served as expert on the International Labor Commission under Samuel Gompers in Paris in 1919. With the organization once established, he was named its first Secretariat under Albert Thomas. The training and experience he received under Thomas, that magnificent, courageous, and far-sighted leader of Labor, amply qualified Mr. Phelan to serve as assistant subsequently to Harold Butler and to John G. Winant.

His thorough knowledge of the I. L. O., his comprehension of its broad social purposes, as well as his sensitive appreciation of the part which the American Federation of Labor is to play in this world program for the betterment of all Labor, prompted the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to endorse Mr. Phelan for the position of Director of the International Labor Office, so that by his election to that post, we may all be assured of the continuance of his work for the common good. Your Committee recommends heartily endorsement of the Council's action, and commends Mr. Phelan to the favorable consideration for this position to all labor representatives attending the coming I. L. O. Conference, as well as to the members of its governing board.

With the grave problems that have confronted the I. L. O. during this period while operating under the direction of one so well informed and equipped by experience, the I. L. O. began to function from its new working center in the Western Hemisphere. Thus an organization which owes so much of its creation to an American, and indeed held its first conference in America, returns twenty-one years later to North America for a place from which to continue its work.

Upon the Governing Body of the I. L. O., Robert J. Watt, at this time represents the American Federation of Labor. James Wilson, formerly one of the Vice-Presidents of the Federation, and who, for the past six years, has served as a liaison officer of the Federation on the staff of the I. L. O., has continued his work as labor counsellor. This Committee believes that his work of interpretation of the I. L. O. and of the underlying purposes of this organization needs to be extended, and provision should be made to this end.

From the working center of the I. L. O., there is carried on important research dealing with labor problems, especially today to those concerning the war reconstruction. These studies should be made available to our members and means should be provided to have them carefully considered for our entire membership.

The staff of the I. L. O. office has continued its work of consultation and expert advice to governments on social legislation. Such consultation has been carried on with especial effectiveness among the South and Central American Republics during the past year.

The International Labor Organization will convene in International Conference in New York City beginning October 27, next. To this Conference it is expected that there will come representatives of some thirty countries to consider the vast and grave problems confronting labor today. Unquestionably, the deliberations of this International Conference will be followed with the keenest interest by labor throughout the nation, as well as by labor throughout the world.

Your committee urges that the American membership in this agency of international cooperation be continued to be made the outward evidence of our steadfast determination to share fully and without reservation in helping to build, in cooperation with other free nations, the world of tomorrow.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADES UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, page 212)

The year which has brought such devastating changes to Europe with the onward march of Hitler's legions has destroyed the functioning of free trade unions in practically all of Continental Europe. The one agency of protest, the one organization through which the subjected people, and particularly, oppressed workers, have been able to express themselves has been the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As nation after nation was overrun, occupied and pillaged by the Nazi hordes, the workers still retained their devotion to the principles of free trade unionism, and all that that implied. As workers escaped from suppressed to free countries, they immediately sought and contacted the International Trade Union center. Thus the International Federation of Trade Unions has been maintained even as an expression of the workers of suppressed, oppressed and conquered nations.

Proving that labor may suffer reverses but is never defeated, the International Federation of Trade Unions has carried on. Following Hitler's rise to power, the International Federation of Trades Unions moved from Berlin to France. Then followed the workers of each of the conquered nations. They, too, moved their headquarters to France. Then France fell. Though hard hit, but even more determined, the workers moved the I. F. T. U. headquarters to England. And so, too, the unions in the conquered lands moved their headquarters to England.

From Transport House in London, the work of the I. F. T. U. is being carried on. It has maintained its centers openly and freely in all free countries. It has established as well underground movements in all conquered lands. Here it gathers facts and publishes them. Here it serves as a means of contact to and from these underground groups and organizations. Here it helps to provide asylum for our co-workers who have escaped from enslaved lands. Here it

gives courage to those in free lands by letting them know of the strength—growing daily—of these underground movements and activities of workers and for workers, and in turn, it serves as an excellent medium for advising these underground groups and workers of the support and encouragement and of the great hope which the workers of a free world hold out to them.

The regular illuminating, interesting and instructive reports of the I. F. T. U., reports covering activities from all corners of the earth, are a practical evidence of the splendid activities of the I. F. T. U.

A year ago a meeting was held at which there were present the representatives of unions of Austria, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Spain. Here the workers of all these lands pledged to carry on the fight until victory is won! We know that pledge will be kept. We know that in spite of all obstacles and difficulties, despite the darkness of the present storm, the work of the International Federation of Trades Unions will go on and on.

The visits of Sir Walter Citrine, President, and that of Walter Schevenals, General Secretary of the I. F. T. U. and the subsequent meeting of the Executive Body held in Washington last January make us feel more than ever that we are not only an integral part, but an important and a most valuable part of the work of the I. F. T. U. And we rejoice in this—our great participation.

Your Committee is therefore moved to recommend that this Convention reaffirm its pledge of support to the I. F. T. U., and to the cause which it serves so ably and so well so that we as an intimate part of the world family of free trade unions, may participate fully and wholeheartedly in the social as well as the economic reconstruction of the world that is to follow. We likewise recommend full and hearty concurrence in this section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

## PAN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

(Executive Council's Report, page 179)

The American Federation of Labor is eager to work in cooperation with its fellow trade unionists in each of the other American nations to promote the welfare of the people of all these nations.

We appreciate the value of words of good will; we appreciate the importance of tokens and gestures through which that good will may be made known. But most of all we are keenly aware of the need of the very practical expression of a practical program of good will; a functional, joint effort the effects of which may actually be felt by the workers in each and in all of the sovereign nations of the western hemisphere.

Your committee would urge first of all that the workers in the United States be made fully acquainted with the economic and social factors of each of the other nations of this continent; of the rapid changes which have occurred within each of the Latin American countries in the way of life of the people; particularly the changes which are incident to the transition of a predominantly agrarian economy to an industrial one. We must realize that each of these nations rich in some natural resources is now developing these resources industrially. These developments are significant. They have changed and they are changing the life of our neighbors.

Many of the usual occurrences incident to the development of new industrial enterprise can be noted in each of these countries, following a pattern similar to that followed here in the United States in our own early industrial history; the concentration of power and wealth; the lack of labor standards and the abortive efforts in the development of a national trade union movement, followed by the rise of localized and specialized, but not often closely knit trade union centers; the lack of adjustment between private financial gains and social return on the workers' investment in the enterprise; the vicious

consequences of absentee ownership; the effort of each nation's new industry to protect itself from foreign competition by national legislation. All these are present in greater or less degree in each of the Latin American republics. We in this country know these manifestations of industrial growth for they are in varied form an integral part of our own experience.

However, there are a number of major differences in how these developments express themselves in the Latin American countries. There are first of all basic, inherited, cultural differences which are reflected in the every day life of a nation; they are, in fact, a part of a nation's soul. The heritage of each of these nations makes for as marked a pattern as ours does for us. Then the suddenness with which industrial development has occurred in these countries, and the fact that it started many years after the United States and most of the European nations had become highly industrialized also gave rise to a different pattern. An additional complicating factor is the existence in a number of the nations of a single-crop economy. The relations of such a specialized economy on the life of the nation, on the social experience of its people and on the nation's relative place in a world economy cannot be over-emphasized.

To this already complex picture we may add a consideration of the world problems which are a part of this gigantic struggle between the democratic way of life and totalitarian tyranny in the Kampf for the Western Hemisphere. We are made profoundly aware of the grave challenge that thus confronts the Americas.

The development of foreign markets, which followed the growth of new industry gave rise to the hope of wider distribution of benefits among the workers. As more goods were sold more money could be put in circulation, more markets in turn created, and from it all could come a better average salary for the workers; and hence, a better standard of living for a greater number of persons in each of the nations. But this economic development is dependent

upon two major factors; an assured increasing flow of money into the country as a result of its expanding markets, and the functioning of a strong and free trade union movement in each of these countries. Only in this way can the workers be assured a socially and economically just sharing in these returns.

When the rich financial return from the now expanding industry appeared to be a close practical reality, a new form of economic attack was made on these countries by the totalitarian forces. Holding a choking hand to the throat of the new industries and in fact, to the very nations themselves, the totalitarian forces demanded that barter be substituted for free competitive trade. The evil effect of barter was two-fold; it prevented the free flow of money for the further development of industry in the form and the manner that would best serve each nation's interests and it enforced a form of slavery on the workers which bound them not merely to the job, but to the job at slave's wages. Workers aware of the full significance of this threat, played a major role in helping each threatened nation relieve itself from the threat of the barter system. The development of free, competitive markets from the exchange of which will flow money from which the workers will profit is essential to us all.

We should note that in each of these countries its trade union movement reflects and interprets its social consciousness and, may we say, the way that consciousness operates. The degree and form of trade union organization varies among and within these countries.

Since the first Pan-American Labor Conference was held in Chile in 1936, a number of the Latin American countries have adopted labor laws of far-reaching consequence. Laws providing for legal limitation on hours of work, minimum wage legislation, workmen's compensation, wages and hours regulation, regulation of home work, relief provisions, protective legislation for agricultural workers, rent control, organization of cooperative societies, accident prevention, industrial education and training, regulation and prohibition of child labor, social security laws and regulation of

immigration are to be found on the statute books of these countries; better in some instances in one than in the other; better enforced in some than others. These matters interest us deeply for we are intimately concerned with the well-being of our fellow workers in this hemisphere; quite frankly we admit without any sentimentality, we are concerned for humanitarian reasons and for personal economic reasons.

For upon the well-being of the people of each of the nations of this hemisphere, there rests, ultimately, the question of the well-being of all. It is to the advantage of workers in each country to have high real wages in the other. The question of markets today is essentially a question of purchasing power; purchasing power is a matter of wages. Increased wages mean increased markets and these in turn give employment to others. To the thought "Give employment", we should add, "under such social conditions, as raise the standard of living of the workers where the goods are produced, and inferentially do not by anti-social competition lower the standard of others."

It is essential that all members of the American Federation of Labor know the facts concerning the social and economic problems affecting the workers of each of the other countries and know them realistically.

Today this means to know of economic and political threats. The attack on free enterprise in the Western Hemisphere by attempting to substitute barter for free trade. Attacks through propaganda, physical threats, Fifth Column activities, bribes, crimes of violence, have all been used by totalitarian forces to destroy the democracy in the Western Hemisphere. It is known that the work of the anti-democratic forces work with great intensity in every country on the Western Hemisphere.

Attention is also directed to developments very near our own borders where the Communists as well as the Nazis are still at work. The "Eddie Gordon Plan" for the control of the Caribbean is the plain blue print for Communist control in the Caribbean.

Gordon and his Communist associates have their men in each important waterfront spot. Inasmuch as the proper law enforcement agencies of this country are in full possession of the details of "the Plan", we have reason to believe that the blue print will not be expressed in actual "Building" by the Communists. Gordons' present activity emanates from his Cuban headquarters to every Caribbean port, and must be watched.

To give practical expression to the principles herein set forth, and as contained in the report of the Executive Council, your committee recommends that labor officials from each of the countries of the Western Hemisphere be asked to meet informally, to consider the basis for a more formal conference of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; to discuss not only broad general terms of social welfare, but include specific means and processes through which to give practical expression to these ideals.

As a first step in promoting closer functional relations between the United States and our sister republics Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, went to Mexico City as a fraternal delegate to the Mexican Federation of Labor. He extended our fraternal greetings and bade them to play a major role in helping to bring about the actual functioning of a vitalized Pan-American Federation of Labor. The President of Mexico assured Vice-President Woll of his earnest desire to cooperate in a program which the Mexican workers might initiate. He assured him of sympathetic support looking to the development of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. In view of the progress made your committee is prompted to recommend that the effective work which has been begun by the Executive Council, through Vice-President Woll, be continued and extended with all possible support from the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee further recommends that the data on labor laws, social trends, economic problems, and threats to our democratic ideals relative to countries on the Western Hemisphere

should be gathered, compiled, analyzed, and reports thereon distributed regularly to all of our members; and be distributed among our fellow trade unionists in other countries.

Your committee would further call to the attention of the delegates that the workers in the British possessions in the Caribbean seek now to raise their standard of living. Trade union activity in the islands is still very limited, but gives promise of sound development. The British Trade Union Congress should be advised of our interest and of our desire to serve with a British trade union committee and with the trade union leaders from each of the British West Indies to consider what may be rightfully described—our mutual problems.

Your committee also recommends that the workers of each of the countries of Central and South America should have the opportunity to derive an immediate and personal benefit from or through any loans which the government of the United States may make to any of these countries and therefore urges that the American Federation of Labor through its President present to the Congress of the United States an appeal that all loans made to any Latin American country for its economic development should be conditioned in such a way as to assure the workers of the country involved an opportunity to share in the benefit from the loan itself.

Then, too, your committee calls attention to the fact that the Federation has for some time urged that there be close cultural cooperation among the workers of all countries. It is our belief that the culture of a nation is expressed in every phase of its daily experience; that it is a gross error to regard the culture of a nation as limited only to its purely academic work supplemented by a limited expression by fine arts and fail to embrace the culture of the humanities. Hence we urge that exchange in the field of cultural relations be more widely extended and be not limited to persons or groups interested in a purely formal academic ex-

perience, or to an educational experience in the formal higher levels.

With these observations and recommendations, your committee recommends approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### HOPE AND AID TO AN OPPRESSED AND PERSECUTED PEOPLE

While no specific reference has been made in any resolution to the persecution of the Jewish people in foreign lands, and in their hope for the establishment of a national home in Palestine, nevertheless throughout the Executive Council's report there is manifested the great sympathy the Federation has always entertained toward the oppressed and persecuted no matter where situated, and regardless of the cause of persecution.

With a feeling of confidence and faith, the Federation has also given at all times a full measure of support to its Jewish membership and to Jewish organizations in the effort put forth to establish a Jewish home land in Palestine. When the Balfour Declaration was first announced, the Federation viewed this great statement in hopeful and gleeful anticipation. We wish on this occasion to reaffirm our endorsement of this great declaration, and proposed that it be implemented to insure an early opportunity to the Jewish people to develop their national culture and home land.

We draw particular attention to the fact that the area terrorized by the Nazis continues to expand, and that the Jewish people have been singled out by the Hitler regime for especial savage persecution. It is, therefore, all the more urgent that this suffering people, the greatest of all sufferers at the ruthless hands of our enemies of freedom and democracy should be accorded real hope and aid through a restoration of rights long overdue it—rights to a full development in Palestine. This is the least the democracy of the world can

pledge in these fateful hours of humanity.

We therefore recommend, as an expression of this Convention, the hope that when this war against the barbarism of Hitler, and of black absolutism, is over, when freedom and democracy once more may breathe in peace throughout the world, that Great Britain in cooperation with the United States, and other democratic countries, will take the necessary steps to implement the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in its full meaning by facilitating further immigration and a large scale settlement of Jewish laboring masses in their national home in Palestine. Genuine equality of the Jewish among the nations of the earth can only be advanced through restoring their national life on the soil of Palestine.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: This completes the committee's report, and it is signed by all members of the committee:

THOMAS E. BURKE,  
Chairman  
MATTHEW WOLL, Sec'y  
WILLIAM GREEN,  
D. J. TOBIN,  
GEORGE L. BERRY,  
W. D. MAHON,  
WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
WM. J. BOWEN,  
ALBERT ADAMSKI,  
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,  
JOSEPH P. RYAN,  
E. E. MILLMAN,  
J. A. FRANKLIN,  
JOHN P. FREY,  
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,  
EDWARD FLORE,  
HENRY F. SCHMAL,  
DENNIS LANE,  
WM. J. MCSORLEY,  
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,  
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,  
P. J. MORRIN,  
FELIX H. KNIGHT,  
JAMES MALONEY,  
HARRY STEVENSON,

Committee on International Labor Relations.

Secretary Woll: I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

### **Appreciation of Service By Convention Committees**

President Green: That completes the reports of all the convention committees, and I wish to thank all members of the committees, all of them, including the Goodwill Committee, made up of Brother Adamski and Brother Howlin, for the excellent services rendered the officers and delegates of this convention.

The convention committees are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

### **Kohler Company Adjustment**

Delegate Herman Seide, Wisconsin State Federation: Just a few words, Mr. Chairman and Delegates. I realize it is late, but I don't want to leave this convention without advising the delegates here that the Kohler strike that has been going on for seven years has been settled since your last convention. We advised the American Federation of Labor, of course, and they have all the information.

However, I arise at this time to give you—I am going to make it very brief—some of the story of the settlement of this controversy.

When I first came into office that was one of the pieces of unfinished business left on my desk. We called in one of our men and sat down and worked out a program, and I made the statement, "This thing has gone on for seven years and that is long enough; we will stay on the job until it is done." One of the obstacles in our way was that the independent union there in 1934 had won the election and had been certified as the official bargaining agent for the workers in the plant. With that obstacle in the way, of course all the other previous moves were fruitless in obtaining any kind of an adjustment. However, we sent our representatives to the convention at New Orleans, to the convention of the Building Trades Department, and it was through the efforts and the assistance of the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor

that we finally had this matter adjusted. I want to say that our representatives received every consideration from the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and Brother Green.

The Kohler Company at that time was starting a building program, and we were becoming rather confused, and our membership was. Here was a big building job going on, and yet a picket line of seven years' standing staring them in the face. Being honest in this, I want to say after we started negotiations the representatives of the Kohler Company cooperated in bringing this matter to an adjustment.

I want at this time to express my thanks and appreciation and the thanks and appreciation of the labor movement in Wisconsin for the support and assistance given them by the Building Trades Department, the American Federation of Labor, and our President William Green, who had a lot of patience and showed a lot of patience with us in getting this thing adjusted.

I thank you.

### **SECRETARY EMERITUS FRANK MORRISON**

President Green: Perhaps you have all observed that a great figure in the growth, service and administrative work of the Federation of Labor has been sitting on the stage here every day and at every session of this convention. It would seem inappropriate for any convention to finally adjourn without this outstanding figure being privileged to say just a word.

I know you understand to whom I refer, Secretary Emeritus of the American Federation of Labor, our old friend, Frank Morrison.

(The delegates arose and applauded.)

Secretary Emeritus Morrison: Mr. President, delegates to this convention and guests, I esteem it a great privilege to have the opportunity to be here at this wonderful convention. It means much for the future.

I remember over 55 years ago I said I would live to see the day when two fears



were driven out of the minds of the men and women of our country, the fear of old age, when you are unable to follow your regular vocation, and the fear of unemployment. With the reports you have heard from government officials, with the information you have I am safe in saying that I have seen the change that has taken place, and that the future means that our people will be taken care of from the cradle to the grave.

I want to thank the convention and the Federation that has made it possible for me to be here, and I want to conclude with a statement that I am certain judging from the history of the last year, that Secretary-Treasurer Meany will report to the next convention well over 5,000,000 paid members of the American Federation of Labor.

I hope to live to see the day—and I believe I will—when the shorter work day will be inaugurated in our country to the extent that everyone that desires to work will have an opportunity to work.

I thank you. I am glad I am here and I wish you all success.

President Green: Some of you may be asking yourselves the question, why was it not possible to present our Secretary Emeritus to the convention before? Well, I asked him every day if he was ready to be presented, every day, and he said, "Oh, no, I don't want to, just let it go until later."

Now, it comes to about the time we are through, and I did not ask him any more. I just presented him. That is the answer.

### **PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING ADDRESS**

Now, fellow delegates, visitors to this great convention, we have reached the end of our work and the end of our deliberations in this convention. Perhaps we are too close to the picture presented at this convention to properly appraise the great service it has rendered and the great constructive work it has performed, but as in days gone by, when we move farther from the picture and are privileged to look back in a retrospective manner,

see the picture as it is, and evaluate the great service rendered by this convention we will have a new understanding of its historic value and of the great service it rendered the laboring men and women of America and the membership of the American Federation of Labor. I characterize this 61st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor as a great convention, in fact, one of the greatest we have ever held. We have faced every question that was presented to the convention for consideration. We have at no time avoided the consideration of any question. We have faced the facts. And we have maintained the dignity and standing of the American Federation of Labor as originally established, because the work has been performed in a most admirable and orderly way. The discussion has been of the highest order. Pray tell me where a finer course in economics could be provided for by any institution in America than we have given here in this last two weeks.

And now we go back to our homes, I hope, inspired by our attendance at this convention, to render additional service to the great organized labor movement; and in addition I know we shall go back with a new sense of our responsibilities, and that, in itself, will be of great value to the American Federation of Labor.

I wish for all of you a happy and safe return to your homes, and I especially wish that our fraternal delegates may continue to enjoy their visit in the United States and that when they turn their faces homeward to their loved ones beyond the sea they will be privileged to return and meet with them in a safe and protected way. We ask you to remember these fraternal delegates when you go home, and if they are privileged to visit in your communities in the cities where you will come in contact with them you will know them and I know you will extend to them a hearty welcome and a warm reception.

Now our convention is about to adjourn. I think I can safely say that the hour of adjournment has arrived. But before we adjourn sine die I am going to ask Brother Steeper, a delegate representing, along with his colleagues, the American

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Federation of Musicians, to come to the stage, sit at the piano and give us "God Bless America," and then we will all join together in the singing.

Delegate Steeper is a union man, a union musician, and an outstanding representative of the American Federation of Musicians.

Delegate Harry J. Steeper of the American Federation of Musicians played "God

Bless America" while the entire delegation arose and sang.

President Green: And now I solemnly declare the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 6:50 o'clock Thursday, October 16, 1941, the Sixty-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

*George Meany*

Secretary-Treasurer,  
American Federation of Labor.

*George D. Early*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

# GENERAL INDEX

## 1941 PROCEEDINGS

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